

A Collection of severall

# REPLIES

AND

# VINDICATIONS

Published of late, most of them,  
In Defence of the  
*CHURCH of ENGLAND.*

By

HEN: HAMMOND, D.D.

Now put together in three Volumes.

I PET. 3. 15.

Ἐτοιμοὶ ὦμεν πάντες ἀπολογίαὺς παντὶ τῷ αἰσύνῃσι ὑμᾶς λόγον δεῖ εἶναι ὑμῶν  
ἐκείνῳ, ὡς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ῥέβη.

LONDON,

Printed for R. ROYSTON, at the Angel in Ivie-lane.  
M. DC. LVII.



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# REPLY

TO THE  
CATHOLICK GENTLEMANS

## ANSWER

TO

The most materiall parts of the  
Booke of SCHISME.

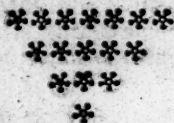
*Wherein is annexed,*

An Account of *H.T.* his *Appendix* to  
his *Manual of Controversies*, concerning the  
*Abbot of Bangors Answer to Augustine.*

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By H. HAMMOND, D.D.

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LONDON,  
Printed by J. G. for R. ROYSTON, at the  
*Angel* in *Ivie-lane*. 1654.

THE  
OFFICE OF THE  
SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF  
SHERIFF'S OFFICE

IN RE  
THE ESTATE OF  
JAMES H. HANCOCK  
DECEASED

ADMINISTRATOR  
OF THE ESTATE OF  
JAMES H. HANCOCK  
DECEASED

JAMES H. HANCOCK  
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ADMINISTRATOR  
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DECEASED



# A R E P L Y

T O

*The Catholick Gentlemans Answer  
to the Book of SCHISME.*

*The Introduction.*

N<sup>o</sup> 1.



He *Letter* from the *Catholick Gentleman*, which undertakes to have answered the most materiall parts of the *Book of Schisme*, is said to expect some account from me. And I shall give it, if not quite, with the same brevity, yet directly in the same method which he hath chosen, attending him, as he shall please to lead, not by resuming the whole matter againe, but by reflecting on those few passages, which he hath thought good to take notice of, and freeing them from all though the lightest exceptions, which he hath made to them.

2. Upon this account, I shall say very little to his *Preamble* in these words,

SIR,

*You have been pleased to send me Doctor Hammonds Booke of Schisme, or a Defence of the Church of England, against*

## The Introduction.

the exceptions of the Romanists, as also your Letters, wherein you lay commands on me to read it, and therefore to give you my opinion: truly Sir, both the one and the other could never have come to me in better season, for having heard from some of my friends in England a good while since, of another Book written by Doctor Earne, to the same purpose, and also that lately come out, of the Bishop of Derry's, and of this which you have sent me, I was wondering what those who call themselves of the Church of England, could say to defend themselves from Schisme; but now through your favour of letting me see this of Doctor Hammonds, I am freed from my bondage, and satisfied, in supposition, that the most can add little to what hath been upon that subject of Schisme said by him, whom you stile wise and Learned, and well may be so; but here he hath failed, as all men must, that take in hand to defend a bad cause, which I think to make appeare to you, or any indifferent judge, and which I will doe rather upon some observations of severall passages in his book, than consideration of the whole, which I will leave for some other, who hath more leisure. In the meane time I must say with the Poet, speaking of some Lawyers in his time,

Fur es, ait Pedio; Pedius quid? Crimina raris  
Librat in Antithetis:

The Roman Catholick says to Doctor Hammond, You are an Heretick, you are a Schismatick, and Doctor Hammond replies good English, some Criticismes, much Greek, with many citations out of antiquity, indifferent to both parts of the question.

3. I shall not here need solemnly to ~~avert~~ the good words bestowed on me; because 1. if they had been meant in earnest, they have yet no influence on the matter in hand: As unlearned a Man, as I, and as learned as he, which is by some characters thought to be the Author of this Answer, may agree in this common fate, that as one is not able to defend a bad cause, so the other hath not in any eminent manner betrayed a good: 2. because 'tis evident, that it was ~~designe~~, and justice to bestow the good words on me, that so he might get



get himselfe the easier taske: And therefore the onely thing that is here necessary for me to tell the Reader, by way of *Proeme*; is, that since the publishing this *tract* of *Schisme*, that most excellent discourse on the same subject, written by the *Bishop of Derry* hath truly made that former care of mine very *unnecessary*, and so should in all reason have been undertaken and answered by this *Catholick Gentleman*, if he had really designed to *satisfie* conscience in this *question*. And should it be believed by him, what here he saith in the *Title* page, that he hath answered the most *materiall* parts of *Doctor Hammonds Book of Schisme*, yet I can assure him he is so much mistaken in his *supposall*, that there can little be added by any to what hath been said by him, that he is in all justice to undeceive the Reader, and make him *amend* by giving him not a *slight*, but *punctuall* answer to every part of that *Bishops Booke*, before he thinke he may safely charge the Church of *England* with *Schisme*, as still he adventures to doe.

4. Having said this, I shall make no kinde of *Reply*, to the rest of his *Proeme*, but proceed immediately to his first and onely *exception*, wherein the *first Chapter* is concerned.

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A 3. CHAP.

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## CHAP. I.

*Of the cause of Schisme being left out of this debate.*

## SECT. I.

*No cause able to justify Schisme. Every voluntary Division a Schisme, whatsoever the motive were. Master Knot's Testimony.*

Num. 1.

**H**is words are these,

*But to draw neere your satisfaction, His first Chapter is, for the body of it, common to both parts, yet I cannot omit one strange piece of Logick at the end of the first Chapter, Sect. 9. where he concludeth, that the occasion or motive of Schisme is not to be considered, but only the fact of Schisme. Of which position I can see no connexion to any premises going before, and it selfe is a pure contradiction, for not a Division, but a causeless division is a Schisme, and how a Division can be shewed to be unreasonable and causelesse, without examining the occasions and motives, I doe not understand, nor (with his favour) I thinke he himselfe.*

2. *What want of Logick there is in that conclusion of the first Chapter, which extorted this animadversion from the Romanist, and what store of that faculty (somewhat necessary to the managing of a controversie) we are to expect from him, will soon be discernible by the view of that place which is accused by him, where having premised the criminousnesse and weight of Schisme, and unexcusablenesse of all, that, upon what provocation soever, breake the unity of the Church, I conclude that he that shall really be guilty of it, and the fact, wherein that guilt consists, proved against him will no way be able to defend himselfe by pleading the cause or motive to his Schisme, there being no such cause imaginable, which can justify this fact of his, as both out of Irenaeus and Saint Augustine*

guishme had been newly vouched. Upon which, my resolution there, was (as to me seemed) but necessary, to divolve the whole debate into this one *quare*, whether we of the Church of England were *de facto*, guilty of this crime; were *Schismatics* or no, concluding that if we were, there were nothing to be said in excuse of us.

3. From this view of the *πὸ λόγου*, the rational importance of that Section, 1. It is evident (what the Romanist professeth not to be able to see) what is the connexion of my position to the premises foregoing, viz. this, no cause can excuse the *Schismatick*, therefore the examination of the cause is unnecessary, whatsoever can be pretended on that head, is not worth the producing or heeding in this matter.
4. 2. 'Tis as evident how farre the position it selfe is removed from being a contradiction, which yet the Romanists Logick hath pronounced to be a pure one. A pure contradiction is in our Logick, *est and non est*, It is a Schisme, and It is not a Schisme, It is causelesse, and it is not causelesse, and the like. But certainly my concluding that no cause can justify a Schisme, or if the Schisme be proved, tis in vain to plead that we had cause for it, contains no such contradictory enuntiations. He that should say that a Seditious person or a Rebell, is worthy of death whatsoever cause it were that incited him to that villanie, doth neither affirme the Rebell to be no Rebell, nor the cause he pretends, to be no cause, onely he saith indeed, that whatsoever the cause be, 'tis incompetent to justifye so foule a fact.
5. 3. The prooffe, which he addes to conclude this position to be a pure contradiction, is very farre from proving it. The proof is this, for, saith he, not a division, but a causelesse division is a Schisme. But this hath been shewed to have no truth in it, because Division and Schisme being exactly the same, one a Latine, the other a Greek word, every Division is and must necessarily be, in him who is guilty of it, a Schisme, and if a voluntary Division, a criminous Schisme, whatsoever were the motive or cause of it, by Division or Schisme understanding (as I declare my selfe to doe) a spontaneous receding, or dividing from the unity of the Church, not being cut off or driven from it.

Lastly,

6. Lastly, what he addes as a *consequentiary* of his proof, that [he doth not understand how a Division can be shewed unreasonable and causelesse, without examining the occasions and motives] he may now, if he please, without much difficulty comprehend, *viz.* by considering, that no *cause* or *reason*, how weighty soever, is sufficient to justify a division. For as long as this is either proved or granted, the conclusion will be indubitable, without examining of the motives, that the Division is unreasonable and causelesse. Let it once be granted or proved by the known Lawes of a Nation, that every act of Sedition is a transgression of Law, criminous and punishable, whatsoever the motive be that incited it, and then there will need no more than conviction of the fact, to conclude that fact unreasonable. That which is in it selfe so culpable and *inexcusable*, that no reason whatsoever can be able to justify it, is ready for the sentence of condemnation, without farther processe; when 'tis reasonably resolved, that no reason can excuse such a fact, what reason can there be to lose time in examining reasons? This is the very case in hand, as 'tis apparent to any that will but view the place, and 'tis not much for my encouragement in this taske, that the Gentleman, to whom I must reply, was willing to think this so deep a riddle, so much above common understandings.

7. I shall here only adde, that what was thus said, was not in reason to provoke the Romanist, being a concession that cut me off from many visible advantages, and so deserved his reward, much better than rebuke, and being thus early and unexpectedly fallen under his short displeasure, by my indeavour to oblige him, I have yet a shield, which promiseth me security from the continuance of it, I meane not the evidence of the truth affirmed by me, (for that is not an amulet alwaies to be depended on, when it is against interest to acknowledge it) but the suffrage of his owne great Champion Master Knor, who hath directly affirmed what I affirmed (and therefore I may be allowed not to understand, how this should be so unintelligible) citing it out of Saint Augustine, That there is no just necessity to divide unity, And that it is not possible that any man have just cause to separate—Infidel: unmasked

masked, cap. 7. num. 5. And so it is as manifest that this part of the first Chapter is common to both, as the former of which he affirms it, the conclusion in all reason being involved in the same condition which belonged to the *Premises*, and it was onely my ill luck, or his unwillingnesse to finde fault, that it was not formerly apprehended to be so.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Heresie, Excommunication, Infallibility.

SECT. I.

Of passing slightly over the difference betwixt Heresie and Schisme.

Nũ. I. **T**HE exceptions to the second Chapter are three; the first concerning Heresie, the second concerning Excommunication, the third concerning Master Knots concession, which ushers in a Discourse of Infallibility.

2. The former in these words,

He slightly passeth over the distinction of Heresie and Schisme, as if he would not have it understood, that all Heresie is Schisme, though some Schisme be no Heresie.

3. What is here called the slight passing over the distinction of Heresie and Schisme, is one piece of injustice in him, and the cause to which it is affixt, my unwillingnesse that it should be understood that all Heresie is Schisme, will soon appear to be another.

4. For the first, It is evident that in that Sect. 3. of Chap. 2. I do not at all consider the distinction of Heresie, and Schisme, nor could, without absolute interruption and disturbance of the discourse in hand, & direct transgression of all rules of method, say any thing to that subject, in that place. The thing that I there manifest is the difference betwixt Excommunication and Schisme (and sure that is not Heresie and Schisme, unlesse Excommunication be Heresie, and so the punishment of the Sin be the Sin it selfe) between the passive and the active, or reciprocal division or separation, and all that I say in



that *Section*, which can relate to *Heresie*, is, that where the offence, for which a man is excommunicated, is *Heresie* and not *Schisme*, there it is evident, that his *Excommunication*, which still is his *punishment* and not his *sinne* (the cause of it also being not *Schisme*, but somewhat else, *Heresie*, or the like) cannot be the *guilt* of *Schisme* in him that is so *punished*.

5. Now it is evident, that I cannot be said to *pass* over that *slightly*, which I doe not *speak* to at all, and to which I had no *occasion* to *speak*, and consequently that I was no way lyable to this *exception*.
6. And that being said, the second part of the same *exception*, that of the *ground* on which I doe this, must needs be as *causlesse* as the former. For 1. 'tis certaine, that my *thoughts*, or *wishes*, or *designes*, are not things which can duely fall under this *objecters cognizance* (he cannot upon any sure grounds, *divine* or *affirme*, what I aimed at in such or such a *light passage*) and 2. 'tis yet more certaine, that no *collection* can justly be made from my doing that *slightly*, which I did not meddle with at all. But then 3. to remove all *scruple* or possible *ocration* of *jealousie* in this matter, 'tis the *designe* of *Chapter 8.* (the method then leading to it) under a second sort of *Schisme*, to consider the *departure* from the *Unity* of the *Faith*, which being but a *periphrasis* of *Heresie*, is consequently the defining all *Heresie* is *Schisme*, and so the profest avowing of that, which he suspected me *unwilling* to have *understood*. And so still there is not the least appearance of *justice* in this suggestion.

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Sect. II.

*Excommunication* how it differs from *Schisme*. *Wilfull continuance* under *censures* is *Schisme*. The *Bishop* of *Rome* is not our *Lawfull Governour*. The *severe conditions* of their *Communion*.

Num. I.

**H**IS second *exception* is perfectly of the same making with the former, thus,

*Again*

2. Again, saith he, treating of Excommunication, he easily slideth over this part, that wilfull continuance in a just Excommunication maketh Schisme.
3. Here againe 'tis evident, that I treat not of Excommunication, nor have any occasion fitly to treat of it, farther than to shew, that Schisme, being a voluntary separation, the word in no propriety pertaines to that act of the Governour of the Church, whereby he separates or cuts off any by way of Censures. Certainly he that is put to death by Sentence of Law, cannot be judged a Felo dese, one that hath voluntarily put himselfe out of the number of the living, or be liable to those forfeitures which by the Law belong to such. He that is banished out of the Kingdome cannot be guilty of the breach of that Statute, which forbids all Subjects going out of it, nor be punished justly for that which is his suffering, not his deed; his punishment, not his delinquency.
4. As for his wilfull continuance under just Censures, the wilfulnesse of that, certainly makes him culpable, and the continuance in Excommunication, being also continuance in separation from the Church, which is Schisme, whensoever it is voluntary, I make no doubt of the consequence, that such wilfull continuance in Excommunication, be it just or unjust, is actuall Schism, supposing (as the word wilfull must suppose) that this continuance is wholly imputable to the will of the Excommunicate, i.e. that if he will submit to that which is lawfull for him to submit to, he may be absolved and freed from it.
5. If this were it, that he would have had more explicitly affirmed, then I answer, that as there I had no occasion to speak to it, so now upon his slightest demand I make no scruple to give him my full sense of it, that he, which being cast into prison for just cause, may upon his Petition, and promise of Reformation be released, or if the cause were unjust, may yet without doing any thing any way unlawfull, regain his Liberty, from thenceforth becomes not the Magistrates, but his owne Prisoner, and is guilty of all the damage, be it disease, famishing, death it selfe, which is consequent to his imprisonment. And the analogie holds directly in Excommunication;

He that continues under the *Censures* of his Ecclesiastical Ruler, when he might fairely obtaine *absolution* from them, is by *himselfe* sentenced to the continuance of this punishment, as by the Governor of the Church, to the beginning of it. But then all this while this is not the condition of our Church, in respect of the Church of Rome, they being not our Lawful Superiors, indued with jurisdiction over us, and for other communion, such as alone can be maintained or broken among fellow-brethren, or Christians, it is carefully maintained by us, as farre as it is lawfully maintainable.

6. And both these being there evidenced in that, and the ensuing Chapters, I did not warily or purposely abstaine from (because I had nothing that suggested to me any opportunity of) saying any thing more to this purpose. The severe conditions which are by the Romanists required of us to render us capable of their communion, subscription of error, or profession against Conscience, make it impertinent to propose or disscusse either of these two questions, 1. Whether we lye under a just excommunication, 2. Whether, if we did, we would wilfully continue under it, or consequently, whether we be now guilty of Schisme in this notion?

### Sect. III.

*Mr. Knots concession and conclusion. The power of a fallible Church to require believe. Of Antiquity, Possession, Perswasion of Infallibility, Motives for Union. Uncertainty of the Protestants reasons. The grand Heresie and Schisme of not believing Rome infallible. Believe sufficient without infallibility. Fictions of Cases.*

Num. I.

**T**He third exception inlargeth to some length, in these words,

2. *What he call: Master Knots concession, I take to be the publique profession of the Roman or Catholike Church, and that nature it selfe teacheth all rationall men, that any Congregation that can lye, and knoweth not whether it doth lye or no, in any*  
pro-

proposition, cannot have power to binde any particular to believe what shee saith, neither can any man of understanding have an obligation to believe what shee teacheth farther than agrees with the rules of his own reason: Out of which it followeth, that the Roman Churches binding of men to a profession of Faith (which the Protestants and other hereticall multitudes have likewise usurped) if shee be infallible, is evidently gentle, charitable, right, and necessary, as contrariwise in any other Church or Conregation, which pretend not to infallibility, the same is unjust, tyrannical and a selfe-condemnation to the binders: so that the State of the question will be this, whether the Catholick or Roman Church be infallible or no; for shee pretendeth not to binde any man to tenets or beliefs upon any other ground or title. By this you may perceive much of his discourse — to be not onely superfluous and unnecessary, but also contrary to himselfe, for he labourereth to perswade that the Protestant may be certaine of some truth, against which the Roman Catholick Church bindeth to profession of error, which is as much as to say, as he who pretendeth to have no infallible rule by which to governe his Doctrine, shall be supposed to be infallible, and he that pretendeth to have an infallible rule, shall be supposed to be fallible; at most because fallible objections are brought against him: now then consider what a meek and humble Son of the Church ought to doe, when of the one side is the Authority of Antiquity and Possession (such Antiquity and Possession without dispute or contradictions from the adversary, as no King can shew for his Crowne, and much lesse any other person or persons for any other thing) the perswasion of infallibility, all the pledges that Christ hath best to his Church for Motives of Union: on the other side, uncertaine reasons of a few men pretending to learning, every day contradicted by incomparable numbers of men Wise and Learned, and those few men confessing those reasons and themselves uncertaine, fallible, and subject to error, certainly without a bias of interest or prejudice, it is impossible for him to leave the Church if he be in it, or not returne if he be out of it: for if infallibility be the ground of the Churches power to command, believe, as shee pretends no other, no time, no separation without memory of History, can justifie a continuance out of the

B 3

Church;

*Church: You may please to consider then how solid this Doctors discourse is, who telleth us, for his great evidence, that we, (saith he) who doe not acknowledge the Church of Rome to be infallible, may be allowed to make certaine suppositions (that follow there) The question is, whether a Protestant be a Schismaticke because a Protestant? and he will prove he is not a Schismaticke, because he goeth consequently to Protestant, that is Schismatical grounds: I pray you reflect, that not to acknowledge the Church to be infallible is that for which we charge the Doctor with Schisme and Heresie in Capite, and more than for all the rest he holds distinct from us, for this principle taketh away all believe, and all ground of believe, and turneth it into uncertainty and weather-cock opinion, putteth us into the condition to be circumferri omni vento Doctrinæ, submitteth us to Atheisme and all sort of miscreancy, let him not then over-leap the question, but either prove this is not sufficient to make him a Schismaticke and an Heretick too, or let him acknowledge he is both.*

3. This discourse thus enlarged to the consideration of fallibility and infallibility in a Church, is certainly a digression in this place, and taking the occasion from some words of mine, *Sect. 6.* of a concession of Master Knots, it is a little necessary to recount, what concession that was, and the use that I there made of it, that so it may appeare, whether there were any thing blameable in my procedure.
4. The subject I was upon, *Sect. 5.* was the undoubted lawfulness of being and continuing excluded from any such Church, the conditions of whose communion containe Sin in them. To this head of discourse I mentioned a concession of Master Knots, that it is perfectly unlawful to dissemble, equivocate, or lye in matters of Faith, and this as a confirmation of my then present assertion, that when I am not permitted by the Romanists to have external communion with them, unlesse I doe thus dissemble, equivocate and lye, affirme my selfe to believe what I doe not believe, I may lawfully continue thus excluded from their communion. But then I could not justly conceale what Master Knot there added as his conclusion from hence (together with the acknowledged unlawfulness of forsaking the external communion of Gods visible Church) that there;



therefore the Church of Rome is infallible, because otherwise men might forsake her communion.

5. Here indeed I thought it very strange, that this conclusion should be thus deduced from such premisses, that it should be deemed lawfull to separate from a Church for every error, or for no more but being subject to error, being fallible, though it were actually guilty of no error, which I conceived to be the same in effect, as to affirme it lawfull to forsake the communion of all but Saints, and Angels, and God in Heaven, because all others were peccable and fallible. But yet I thought not fit to goe farther out of my way to presse the unreasonableness of it, but contented my selfe with that, which was for my present turne, his confession that it was lawfull to separate or continue in separation from the Church of Christ, in case we could not without lying, &c. be permitted to communicate with it.
6. This being the whole businessse, as it lyes visible to any in that 5. and 6. Sect. Let us now see what a confusion is made to gaine some small advantage from hence, or excuse for a long digression.
7. First it is the conclusion, viz. [that any Congregation that can lye, &c. cannot have power to binde any to believe what shee saith] which he saith is called by me Master Knots concession. But this is a great mistake, I never lookt on this as his concession, never called it by that title, but as a conclusion that he made a strange shift to deduce from another concession.
8. A concession, this Gentleman should in reason have understood to be somewhat which the Adversary yeilds, and which the disputer gaines advantage by his yeilding it, such was his assertion, that all lying and dissembling was unlawful, and that rather than that should be admitted, it were lawfull to forsake the external communion of the Church of Christ. And that, and nothing but that, was by me cited as his concession.
9. Secondly, That conclusion it self, that the Congregation that is fallible cannot have power to binde to believe,—is not so much as considered by me in that place or else where; I said not one word

word against it, which might provoke this *objector* to take it up, and confirme it, neither was it in the least *needfull*, or pertinent to the matter then in hand, to enter into the *consideration* of it. All that was by me taken notice of (and that but in *passing*) was the *consequence* or *coherence* betwixt the *premises* and that *conclusion*, which naturally inferred a third thing, that it was in *Mr. Knots* opinion, *lawful* to forsake the *Communion* of any fallible Church, which I thought by the way, would be sure to excuse us (though we should be granted to have forsaken and continued wilfully in Separation from the *Roman Church*) if it might but appeare, that either that were guilty of any one error, or lyable to fall into any one. And this being intirely all that was there said by me, there is no reason I should so far attend this *Gentleman* in his digression, as to consider what here he proceeds to say, upon his new-sprung subject of discourse, very distant from that of *Schisme*, to which I indeavoured to adhere, having elsewhere pursued at large, the *Romanists* other hypothesis concerning their Churches *Infallibility*.

10. Were it not thus remote from our matter in hand, and perfectly unnecessary to the defence of our Church from *Schisme*, I might discover farther many infirme parts in this procedure. I shall but briefly touch on some of them.

11. I. For the truth of that proposition [that a Congregation that can lye, i. e. a Church that is fallible, and knoweth not (i. e. hath no infallible certainty) whether it lye or no in any proposition, cannot have power to binde any to believe what she saith] I may certainly affirme, 1. That this is no infallible truth, being no where affirmed by any infallible speaker, or deduced from any infallible principle. For as to the *Scripture*, it is not pretended to be affirmed by that, and for *Natural Reason*, that cannot be an infallible Judge in this matter of defining what power may be, or is by God given to a Church, without defining it infallible. A Prince may no doubt be impowered by God to give Lawes, and those Lawes oblige Subjects to obedience, and yet that Prince never be imagined infallible in making Lawes. And natural reason cannot conclude it impossible

possible, that a Church should have a proportionable power given it by God to binde belief, &c.

12. As for the *Catholick* or *Roman Church*, 1. that is a misprision, the *Catholick* is not the single *Roman Church*, nor the *Roman* the *Catholick*. 2. There no where appears any such definition, either of the *Catholick*, i.e. *Universall Church* of God, or particularly of the *Roman Church*, no act of Councell representative of that Church, no known affirmation of that diffused body under the *Bishop of Rome's Pastorage*, that all authority to oblige belief is founded in *Infallibility*. 3. If any such definition did appear, it could no way be foundation of belief to us, who doe not believe that Church, or any definition thereof, as such, to be infallible.

13. 2. If we shall but distinguish and limit the termes, 1. what is meant by [*can lie*] 2. By knowing or not knowing whether it lie or no, 3. By power to binde, 4. By belief, (as every of these have a latitude of signification, and may be easily mistaken, till they are duly limited) It will then soon appear that there is no unlimited truth in that which he saith is the whole Churches affirmation, nor prejudice to our pretensions from that limited truth, which shall be found in it.

14. 1. The phrase [*can lie*] may denote no more than such a possibility of erring, as yet is joyned neither with actual error, nor with any principle, whether of deficiency on one side, nor of malignity on the other, which shall be sure to betray it into error. Thus that particular Church, that is at the present in the right, in all matters of faith, and hath before it the Scripture to guide it in all its decisions, together with the traditions and doctrines of the antient and Primitive Church, and having skill in all those knowledges, which are usefull to fetch out the true meaning of Scripture, and ability to inquire into the antient path, and to compare her self with all other considerable parts of the *Universall Church*, and then is diligent and faithfull to make use of all these succours, and in uprightness of heart seeks the truth, and applies it self to God in humble, and ardent, and continuall prayer for his guidance to lead into all truth; This Church, I say, is yet fallible, may affirm and teach false, i.e. this is naturally possible that it may, but

it is not strongly probable that it will, as long as it is thus assisted, and disposed to make use of these assistances, and means of true defining.

15. 2. That Churches knowledge, whether it define truly or no in any proposition, may signifie no more than a full persuasion or belief (*cui non subest dubium*, wherein they neither doubt nor apprehend reason of doubting) that what they define is the very truth, though for knowledge properly so called, or assurance, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, which is unerrable or infallible in strictness of speech, it may not have attained, or pretend to have attained to it.

16. 3. By power to binde may be meant no more than authority derived to them from the Apostles of Christ to make decisions, when difficulties arise, to prescribe rules for ceremonies or government, such as shall oblige inferiors to due observance and obedience, by force of the Apostles *verba imperiosa*, his precept to obey the rulers set over us in the Church, which we may doe without thinking them simply, or by any promise of God, *inerrable* or *infallible*, as the obedience which is due to civil Magistrates, which supposes in them a power of binding subjects to obey, doth yet no way suppose or imply them incapable of erring and sinning, and giving unreasonable commands, and such as wherein it is unlawfull to yeild obedience to them.

17. 4. Beside this, there may farther be meant by it a general obligation that lies on all men, to believe what is with due grounds of conviction proposed to them, such as the disbelieving or doubting of it shall be in them inseparable from obstinacy; and this obligation is again the greater, when that which is thus convincingly proposed, is proposed by our superiors, from whose mouth it is regular to seek and receive Gods will.

18. Lastly, Believing may signifie not an implicate, irrational, blinde, but a well-grounded, rational, explicate belief of that which, as the truth of God, is duly proposed to us; or again, where there is not that degree of manifestation, yet a consent to that which is proposed as most probable, on the grounds afforded to judge by, or when the person is not competent to search

search grounds, a bare yeilding to the judgment of *superiours*, and deeming it better to adhere to them, than to attribute any thing to their own judgment, a believing so farre as not to disbelieve. And this again may rationally be yeilded to a Church, or the Rulers and Governors of it, without deeming them *inerrable* or *infallible*.

19. Nay, where the proposition defined is such, that every member of that Church cannot without violence to his understanding yeild any such degree of belief unto it, yet he that believes it not, may behave himself peaceably and reverently, either duely representing his grounds, why he cannot consent to it, or if his subscription or consent be neither formally nor interpretatively required of him, quietly enjoy his contrary opinion. And this may tend as much to the peace and unity of a Church, as the perswasion of the *inerrability* thereof can be supposed to doe.
20. By this view of the latitude of these terms, and the limitations they are capable of, it is now not so difficult to discern, in what sense the proposition under consideration is false, and in what sense it is true, and by us acknowledged to be so.
21. A congregation that is fallible, and hath no knowledge or assurance (*cui non potest subesse falsum*) that it is not deceived in any particular proposition, may yet have authority to make decisions, &c. and to require inferiours so farre to acquiesce to their determinations, as not to disquiet the peace of that Church with their contrary opinions.
22. But for any absolute infallible belief or consent, that no Church, which is not it self absolutely infallible, and which doth not infallibly know that it is infallible, hath power to require of any.
23. By this it appears in the next place, in what sense it is true, which in the following words is suggested of Protestants, that they binde men to a Profession of Faith, and how unjustly it is added, that, supposing them not to be infallible, it is unjust, tyrannical, and self-condemnation to the binders. The contrary whereto is most evident, understanding the obligation with that temper, and the infallibility in that notion, wherein it is evident we understand it. For what injustice or tyranny &c.



can it be in any *lawful superior*, having defined what verily he believes to be the truth of *God*, and no way doubts of his having deduced it rightly from the *Scripture*, but yet knows that he, as a *man*, is *fallible*, and that it is possible he may have some way failed in this, as in any other his most *circumspect* action, what *injustice*, I say, can it be, *authoritatively* to direct this definition to those, who are committed to his charge, and expect their due *submission* to it? meaning by *submission*, what I have here exprest to mean by it.

24. So again it appears of the *Roman Church*, how far it is from gentle or *charitable* in them to bind men to *profess*, as matter of *faith*, whatsoever is by that *Church* defined, upon this one account, that the *Church* is *infallible* & can't erre; when this very thing, that it is *infallible*, is not at all made *probable*, much lesse *infallibly* deduced frō any *reason* or *testimony* that is *infallible*.

25. Next then, when he saith, that *the state of the question will be this, whether the Roman Church be infallible or no*, I am not sure I know what *question* he means, whether the main *Question* on which the *Traict of Schisme* was written, i. e. whether the *Church of England* be *schismaticall* or no, or whether the *particular question*, which this *Gentlemans* haste hath framed to himself in this place, Whether a *fallible Church* may have power to binde any to believe what she saith? But I suppose by some *indications*, that the latter is it, and then, as from hence I learn what he means by *infallible*, a *Church* that cannot possibly erre, all whose definitions are such, *quibus nequis subesse falsum*, so untill this be proved of that *Church*, I must be allowed to speak like one who think not my self obliged to the belief of it, and being sure of this, that a *Protestant* is or may be verily perswaded of some truth, against which the *Roman Church* bindeth to profession of error (meaning by verily perswaded, such a certainty only, *cui non subest dubium*, he hath no doubt nor reason to induce doubting of it) I cannot imagine how that part of my *discourse*, wherein I have supposed or asserted this, can be either *superfluous*, *unnecessary*, or (whatever other weakness it be guilty of) *contrary to my self*. For certainly I that think I am *fallible*, may yet verily believe, without all doubt, the truth of many *propositions*, which

if

if I should affirm my self not to believe, I must doubtlesse lie, and then sin, by Mr. Knot's former concession. And 'tis as certain on the other side, that he that pretendeth to have an infallible rule, may yet foully mistake, both in that generall, originall, and in many other particular, derivative pretensions; His supposed infallibility, if it be not rightly supposed (and till it be proved, it will not be so) will be so farre from an amulet to keep him safe from all error, that it is the likeliest way to deliver him up to it, as the premature perswasion of his particular election may be the ingulfing any, through security and presumption, in the most certain ruine.

- 26 In the proceſſe of this discourse he is pleased to mention four advantages of the Roman Church above any other, Antiquity, possession, perswasion of Infallibility, the pledges that Christ hath left to his Church for motives of union, and nothing but uncertain reasons on the other side, which saith he, must make it impossible for any without interest or prejudice to leave the Church, if he be in it, or not return, if he be out of it.
27. To this imaginary setting of the scales between them and us, and particularly to the fourth advantage pretended to, the pledges that Christ left for motives of union, it is sufficient to reply in generall, that for us, which have not voluntarily separated, but are by them violently removed from communion with them, and cannot be admitted to reunion, but upon conditions, which without dissembling and lying we cannot undergoe, it is in vain to speak of motives or obligations to return to their communion. We that are bound, as much as in us lies, to have peace with all men, must not admit any known or wilfull sin in order to that most desirable end. And this one thing as alone it is pertinent to the matter in hand, that of schisme, so it is necessarily the concluding of this controversie, We that are not permitted to return, and so we are, if the conditions of our return be so incumbered, as to include sin, cannot with any justice or equity be charged for not returning.
28. Against this here is nothing said, any farther than the bare mention of the three other advantages on their side. And none of these are of any force to perswade our return, upon such conditions as these, much lesse to exact it as duty from us.

29. By *Antiquity* and *possession*, as here they are spoken of, I am apt to suppose he means not *antiquity* of the *Roman Church*, or the *present doctrines* ( and therefore I shall not speak of them ) but the *antiquity* of our *communion* with them ( if he mean a *Possession* in the belief of the *Popes Universal Pastors*, I shall have occasion to speak of that \* hereafter.) And if this be granted, as for *fraternall communion*, and such as is due from one *sister Church* to another, it is willingly granted, then this will divolve the *blame* on those who are *guilty* of this breach, who have cast us out, and permit us no way of *returning* with a good *conscience*, And so this is little for the *Romanists* advantage.
30. But if in stead of *fraternall communion*, it be *subjection* to the *Roman See*, that is by his words claimed, and pretended to by *possession*, then as we willingly grant to that *See* all that the *antient Canons* allowed to it, and so cannot in that respect offend against *Antiquity*, so what, contrary to those *Canons*, they have at any time *assumed*, and unlawfully *possess* themselves of, can no way be pretended to be their right, or they to be *bona fidei possessores*, true or fair *possessors* of it, which *qualification* and *condition* is yet absolutely necessary to found their plea from *possession*, and which alone can bear any proportion with that, which *Kings* can shew for their *crowns*, or *proprieties* for their *inheritances*.
31. Of this head of *possession*, or *prescription*, it were easie to adde much more, by considering that *claim* and *title*, by the known rules whether of the *Canon*, or *Civil Law*. The *Civil Law*, which is generally more *favourable* to *Prescription*, doth yet acknowledge many waies of *interrupting* it, as by calling it into *question*, and that is sufficiently done in some cases, *per solam conventionem*, by citing, or *summoning* the possessor, and when *contestatio litis*, the entering a *suit* is actually *required*, yet still he that appears to have caused the *impediment*, and kept it from coming to this *contestation*, is not to gain any *advantage* by his *guilt*, but *adversus eum lis habetur pro contestato*, he shall be lookt on, as if the *suit* had been actually *contested* against him. See *Bartolus in l. si eum §. quis injuriarum in fi. ff. si quis caus*:

But

32. But as to the *Canon Law*, which in all reason the *Catholic* is to own in *this question*, it is known that it admitteth not any the longest *prescription*, without the *bona fidei possessio*, (he that came by any thing *dishonestly*, is for ever obliged to *restitution*) and for the judging of that, allows of many waies of *probation*, from the *nature of the thing* (the course we have taken in this *present debate*) and from other *probable indications*, and where the appearances are *equal* on both sides, the *Law*, though it be wont to judge most *favourably*, doth yet incline to *question* the *honesty* of coming to the *possession*, and to presume the *dishonesty*, upon this account, because *mala fides*, *dishonesty* is presumed industriously to contrive its own *secrecie*, and to lie hid in those *recesses*, from which at a distance of time it is not easily fetcht out. So *Felinus* in *C. ult. de prescript: per leg: ult: C. unde vi*. And in a word, it is the affirmation of the *Doctors*, *presumi malam fidem ex antiquiore adversarii possessione*, the *presumption* is strong that the *possession* was not *honestly* come by, when it appears to have been *antiently* in the other hands, and the way of conveyance from one to the other is not *discernible*. See *Panormit: and Felinus in c. si diligenti X de prescript: Menochius arbit: quest: Casu 225. n. 4.* and others referred to by the learned *Grotius* in *Consil: Jurid: super iis qua Nassavii*— p. 36. &c. But I have no need of these *nicer disquisitions*.
33. As for the *perswasion* of *infallibility*, meaning, as they *must*, their *own perswasion* of it, that can have no *influence* upon us, who are sure that we are not so *perswaded*, unless the *grounds*, on which their *perswasion* is founded, be so *convincingly* represented to us, that it must be our *prejudice*, or other *vitious defect*, or *affection* in us, that we are not in the like manner *perswaded* of it. But on this we are known to *insist*, and never yet have had any such *grounds* offered to us: As may in some measure appear by the *view* of that *Controversie* as it lies visible in the Book, intituled, *The view of Infallibility*.
34. As for the *uncertainty* of the *reasons* on the *Protestants* side, by *uncertainty*, meaning *fallibility*, and the *potest subesse falsum*, whilst yet we are, without *doubring*, verily *perswaded* that our *reasons* have force in them; that cannot make it possible

possible for us to believe what we do not believe, or lawfull upon any the fairest intuition to professe contrary to our belief. I believe that Henry VIII. was King of this Nation, and the reasons on which I believe it, are, the testimonies of meer men, and so fallible; yet the bare fallibility of those testimonies cannot infuse into me any doubt of the truth of them, hath no force to shake that but humane belief, and while I thus believe, I am sure it were wilfull sin in me, though for the greatest and most pretious acquisitions in my view, to professe I do not believe it. The like must be said of any other persuasion of mine, denied by the Romanists, and the denying whereof is part of the condition required of me to make me capable of communion with them.

35. But it is not now time to insist on this, both because here is nothing produced against it, and because here follows a much higher undertaking, which swallows up all these inferior differences between us, viz: that not to acknowledge the Church (that must be the Roman Church) to be infallible, is the great crime of schisme and heresie in capite, and more than all that I hold distinct from the Romanists.

36. This I acknowledge was not foreseen in the Tract of Schisme, and may serve for the *una litura*, the one answer to remove all that is there said. For if our grand Fundamental schisme and heresie be all summed up in this one comprehensive guilt, our not acknowledging the Church of Rome to be infallible, then it was and still is impertinent to discourse on any other subject but that one of Infallibility, for if that be gained by them to belong to their Church, I am sure we are concluded Schismatics, and till it be gained, I am sure there is no reason to suppose it.

37. But then as this is a compendious way of answering the Tract of Schisme, and I wonder, after he had said this, he could think it seasonable to proceed to make exceptions to any other particulars, this one great mistake of the Question being discovered, made all other more minute considerations unnecessary (as he that hath sprung a mine to blow up the whole Fort, need not set wisps of straw to severall corners to burn it) so it falls out a little unluckily, that this doth not supersede, but only



only remove this *Gentleman's labour*, it being now as necessary that he should defend his *hypothesis* of the *Church of Romes Infallibility*, against all that is formerly said by me on that subject, as now it was to make this *Answer* to the *Book of Schism*, and till that be done, or attempted to be done, there is nothing left for me to *reply* to in this matter.

38. For as to his bare affirmations, that the *not acknowledging* their *Infallibility* takes away all belief and ground of belief, turns all into uncertainty, &c. nay, submitteth to *Atheisme* and all sorts of *miscreancy*.] It is sure but a *mistake* or *misunderstanding* as of some other things, so particularly of the nature of belief; For beside that I may have other grounds of belief than the affirmations of the *Roman Church*, the authority of *Scripture* for the severalls contained in it, and the *Testimony of the universal Primitive* (that sure is more than of the present *Roman*) *Church*, to assure me that what we take for *Scripture* is *Scripture*, and to derive *Apostolical traditions* to me, and so I may believe enough without ever knowing that the *Roman Church* defines any thing *de fide*, but much more without acknowledging the truth of all she defines, and yet much more without acknowledging her *inerrable* and *infallible*: Beside this, I say, it is evident that belief is no more than consent to the truth of any thing, and the grounds of belief, such arguments as are sufficient to exclude doubting, to induce conviction and persuasion, and where that is actually induced, there is belief, though there be no pretense of infallibility in the argument, nor opinion of it in him that is persuaded by it.

39. That all that God hath said is true, I believe by a belief or persuasion, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, wherein I cannot be deceived, and there I acknowledge infallibility upon this ground, whether of nature or of grace, of common dictate, or of religion, that it is impossible for God to lie, to deceive, or to be deceived; But that the whole Canon of *Scripture*, as it is delivered to us by the *Laodicean Councel*, is the *Word of God*, though I fully believe this also, and have not the least doubt to any part of it, yet I account not my self infallible in this belief, nor can any *Church* that affirms the same, unlesse they

are otherwise *priviledged* by God, be *infallible* in *affirming* it, nor any that *believes* that *Church* be *infallible* in their *belief*; And as that *priviledge* is not yet proved by any *donation* of Gods to belong to any *Church*, particularly to the *Roman*, so till it be *proved*, and proved *infallibly*, it can be no competent *medium* to induce any new *act* of *Infallible belief*, the want of which may denominate us either *hereticks* or *schismaticks*.

40. In the mean time, this is certain, that I that doe not pretend to *believe* any thing *infallibly* in this matter, not so much as that the *Church* is not *infallible*, must yet be acknowledged to *believe* her *fallible*, or else I could not by this *Gentleman* be adjudged a *schismatick* for so *believing*: And then this supposeth that I may *believe* what in his opinion I believe *untrue*, that sure is, that I may *believe* what I doe not *believe* *infallibly*. The matter is *visible*, I cannot think fit to *inlarge* on it.

41. One thing onely I must farther take notice of, the ground which he here had, on which he founds his exception against the *solidity* of my discourse, calling it my *great evidence*, that we that doe not acknowledge the *Church* of Rome to be *infallible*, may be allowed to make certain *suppositions* that follow there.

42. The matter in that place Chap. II. Sect. 12. lies thus. In examining the nature of *schisme*, I have occasion to mention one (not *reall*, but) *fiction* of case; Suppose first that our *Ancestors* had *criminally* separated from the *Church* of Rome, and suppose *secondly*, that we their *posterity* repented, and desired to *reform* their sin, and to be *reunited* to them; yet supposing *thirdly*, that they should require to our *remission* any condition which were *unlawfull* for us to perform, in this conjuncture, I say, we could not justly be charged for *continuing* that *separation*.

43. This *fiction* of case I could not think had any weak part in it, for as it supposed that on one side, which I knew a *Remanist* would not grant, viz: that they should require any condition *unlawfull* for us to perform, so it supposed on the other side, that which we can no way grant, viz: that our *Ancestors* *criminally* separated; But this I knew was ordinary to be done in *fictions* of cases; *Suppositio non ponit*, is the acknowledged

ledged rule, my *supposing* either of these was not the taking them for *granted*, And yet after all this, I foresaw that *objection*, that the *Romanist*, who acknowledges not any such hard *condition* required to our *reconciliation*, will conceive this an *impossible* case; And to this I answered, that we, that acknowledge not their *Church* to be *infallible* may be allowed to make a *supposition* (meaning as before a *fiction* of case) which is founded in the *possibility* of her *inserting* some error in her *confessions*, and making the acknowledgment of it the *indispensable* condition of her *communion*. What I have offended herein, I cannot imagine, for 1. I onely set a *fiction* of case, doe not take their *infallibility* for a thing *confestly* false; nor in that place so much as *dispute* against it, Only I say that which was sufficiently known before I said it, that their *Infallibility* is not acknowledged by us, and so that her *inserting* some error in her *Confessions*, is to us, i. e. in our *opinion* a thing *possible*, and so for *disputation* sake *supposable*, in the same manner as I suppose that which I am known not to *believe*, and if this *Gentleman* be thus *severe*, I shall despair to approve my *discourses* to him.

44. Secondly, that I make it my *great evidence*, is not with any appearance of *reason* suggested by him, It comes in meerly as an *incidentall*, *last* branch, the least necessary, most *unconsiderable* of any, and that which might have been *spared* then, or left out now, without any *weakening* of, or *disturbing* the *discourse*.
45. Thirdly, Whereas he adds, that I proceed to make certain *suppositions* that follow there, this is still of the same strein, I make but one *supposition*, viz: in case she make any *unlawfull* act the *indispensable* condition of her *Communion*, And that one certainly is not in the *plurall*, *more*, or indefinitely, certain *suppositions*.
46. That I put this one case as *possible*, and then proceeded to consider, what were by the *principles* acknowledged by all, particularly by Mr. *Knot*, to be done in that one case, was agreeable to the strictest *laws* of *discourse* which I have met with. And if in compliance with this *Gentleman*, I must deny my self such *liberties*, and yet yeild him so much *greater*, on the

the other side, If I must at the *beginning* of a *defense* of the *Church* of *England*, be required to grant the *Church* of *Rome* *infallible*, i. e. to yeild not onely that she speaks *all* truth, but also that it is *impossible* she should speak any thing but *truth*, whom yet, by entring on this theme, I undertake to *contradict*, and to prove injurious in *ensuring* us for *Schismaticks*, this were, as I have said, an *hard* task indeed, The very same as if I were required to begin a *duell* by presenting and delivering up all *weapons* into the *enemies* hand, to *plead* a cause, and introduce my defense by *confessing* my self *guilty* of all that the *plaintiffe* doth, or can have the confidence to charge upon me.

47. And if these be the *conditions* of a *dispute*, these will questionlesse be hard, whatsoever the *conditions* of our *reunion* be conceived to be, and moreover this *Gentleman* will be as *infallible* as his *Church*, and then 'tis pity he should lavish out *medicines*, that is so secured by *charms*, that he should defend his cause by *reasons*, which hath this one so much cheaper expedient, to answer a whole book in one period.
48. And so much for his *Animadversions* on this *second Chapter*, which are no *excellent presage* of that which we are to expect in the *insuing*.



### CHAP. III.

*Exceptions to the third Chapter answered.*

#### SECT. I.

*The Division of Schisme justified. Of Schisme against the authority of Councells. Of Unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the Churches.*

Num. 1. **T**He exceptions against the third Chap: are reducible to 4 heads. The first about the insufficiency of the division of Schisme, in these words,

2. In his third Chapter, what is chiefly to be noted to our purpose, is, that his division is insufficient, for he maketh Schisme to be only against Monarchicall power, or against fraternall charity, which is very much besides the principles of these Protestants, who pretend so much to the authority of Councells, me think; he should have remembred there might be schisme against conciliatory authority, whether this be called so when the Councell actually sitteth, or in the unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the Churches, so that the Doctor (supposing he concluded against the Pope) hath not concluded himself no schismatick, being separated from the Catholick world.

And again in the next page, by way of recollection or second thoughts, thus,

But I must not forget here what I omitted to insert before, that in his division of Schisme he omitteth the Principall, if not indeed, and in the use of the word by the Antients, the onely schism, which is when one breaketh from the whole Church of God: for though a breach made from the immediate superior, or a particular Church, may in some sort, and in our ordinary manner of speaking be called a schisme, yet that by which one breaketh away from the communion of the whole Church, is properly, and in a higher sense called Schisme, and is that out of which the present



question proceedeth, whereas other divisions, as long as both parts remain in communion with the Universall Church, are not properly schismes, but with a diminutive particle, so that in this division he left out that part which appertained to the question.

3. My division of schism is that which I could not conceive subject to the exceptions of any rational man, of what persuasions soever; schism being a breach of unity and communion; as many sorts as were conceivable of unity and communion, so many, and no more, I set down of schisme, some as breaches of the subordination which Christ settled in his Church, others of mutual charity, which he left among his Disciples.
4. For is it not evident, that all men in the world are either our superiors, or inferiors, or our equals? and can I break communion with any, as long as being an inferior, I live regularly under all my superiors, and brotherly with all my equals? There is certainly no place of doubt in this. When therefore in his second period here set down, he mentions it, as the principall, (and in the Antients use of the word) the onely Schism, when one breaketh from the whole Church of God, it is strange he should think that man was not comprised in either member of my division, when certainly he is guilty of both. For how can he separate from the whole Church, unless he separate both from his superiors and his equals too? And if he separate from both, then questionlesse he separates from one, and from more than one of them.
5. Was it possible for any care more solicitously to have prevented this exception, than that which by me was used, when among the branches of equality, with which every one is obliged to preserve unity and communion, I reckoned up, not only the believers of the same Congregation, &c. but the severall communities of Christian men from Parishes and Dioceses, to cities of the whole Christian world, Chap. 3. §. 5. And indeed it is a great piece of austerity, that when I have indeavoured to prove that we of the Church of England have not voluntarily separated (and that onely is the crime of Schism) from any one particular Church, and no one of those proofs is invalidated, nor as yet so much as excepted against, it should yet

yet be thought reasonable to reply, that we have broken off from the whole Church of God.

6. Is not that whole made up of these severals, as a body of limbs, the universal of particulars? And can the hand be broken off from the whole body, when it is not broken off, but remains in perfect union with every part of the body? If the arm be broken from the body, the hand, which remains united to the arm, may yet be separate from the whole body, because by being fastned to the arm 'tis united but to one, and not to all the members of the body. But an union to all the members of the body supposes a separation from no one part that remains in the body; and sure that must be an union with the whole body, which is nothing else, but all the members together.
7. And so as his second thoughts were effects, not remedies of his forgetfulness, the very same, which he had mentioned before under the style of separation from the Catholick world, so certainly they were again effects of his inobservance, that his principall sort of schisme, separation from the whole Church; was comprehended by me under this style, separation from the severall communions of the whole Christian world.
8. As to the former branch of his exception, that in my division of schisme, into that which is against Monarchical (I said, and when he recites my words, he should doe so too, paternal) power, and that which is against fraternall charity, I omit to mention the authority of Councils, It is evidently a causeless suggestion. For 1. if Councils, as he saith, have any authority, that will certainly be reducible to paternal power. And if they have none, any farther than by way of counsell and advice, that will directly fall under the head of fraternall charity.
9. Secondly, If by Councils he mean Provinciall Councils, it is evident that the power which severally belongs to the Bishops of each Province, is united in that of a Provinciall Council, where all the Diocesan Bishops are assembled, and the despising of that is an offence under the first sort of schisme, a breach of the subordination to the Bishop, yea, and the Metropolitan too, who presides in the Provinciall Council.
10. So again, if he mean Nationall Councils, the power of the Bishops

*Bishops* of all the *Provinces* there assembled, divolves upon this assembly, compounded of all of them, the *despising* thereof is the *despising* of these *Ecclesiasticall* *superiours* of the whole nation, and culpable, and *schismaticall* upon that account.

11. As for *Oecumenicall* or *Generall Councils*, if they be truly such, the power of all the *Bishops* of all the *Provinces* in all *Christian* nations divolves upon that, and so cannot be *despised* without *despising* of all ranks of our *Ecclesiasticall* *superiors*, *Bishops*, *Metropolitans*, *Primates* or *Patriarchs*, and therefore this sort of *schisme* could not be deemed to be omitted, where all those other branches, of which it is made up, were so particularly handled.
12. That any more *speciall* consideration was not taken of *Generall Councils* in that discourse, the account (beside that which is now given) is more than intimated in that *Traet* of *Schism*, pag. 60. first because they were *remedies* of *schisme*, and *extraordinary*, not any standing *Judicatures*, to which our *constant subordination* and *subjection* was required. 2. Because these were such, as without which the *Church* continued for the first 300 years, and so could not belong to a *generall* discourse, which spake of all the *certain* and *ordinary* and *constant* sorts of *schisme*, and such as all times were capable of, and enlarged not to those other of *accidentall emergencies*. 3. Because they are now *morally* impossible to be had, the *Christian* world being under so many *Empires*, and divided into so many *communions*, that it is not visible to the eye of man how they should be *regularly* assembled.
13. As for those that are already *past*, and are on due grounds to be acknowledged truly *Oecumenicall*, the *communion*, which is possible to be had or broken with them, is that of *compliance* with, or *recession* from their *definitions*, and our *innocence* in that respect is avowed, p. 160. as the congregating of the like (when *possible*, and *probable* toward the end) is recommended, p. 158. as a *supply*, when there should be need of *extraordinary* remedies.
14. *Lastly*, if none of this had been done, or if this had not been undertaken so solemnly and *formally*, as some other supposed

supposed branches of *schism* were, in that *Traët*, yet the account of that is visible to any, because the principal sort of *schisme* charged by the *Romanist* on the *Church of England* is that of casting out the *Bishop of Rome*, not contemning the authority of *Councils*, and therefore I was in reason to apply my discourse most largely and particularly to that head, to which their objections, not my own choice directed me. So evidently contrary to the notoriety of the fact is this complaint of this Gentleman, that my division of *schism* was insufficient, and that I took no notice of this (as he pleases to call it) conciliatory authority.

15. That to make his suggestion seem more probable, he advisedly chose to change the terms of my division from that which was against *Paternal*, to that which is against *Monarchical* power, upon this apprehension, that *Paternal* power would visibly include that of the *Fathers* in *Council* assembled, as well as in *several*; but *Monarchical* power could not so fitly bear it, I shall not enter into his secrets to divine. This I am sure of, that the unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the *Churches*, cannot with any propriety (as by him it is) be defined a branch of *Conciliatory* authority, for certainly the *Churches* dispersed are not met together, the *διακογή* or dispersion of the *Jewes* differed much from the *Council* assembled at *Jerusalem*, and the *Christian Church* at this day is without question no *Oecumenical Council*.
16. And then what authority scattered members can have, which never legally command, or exercise authority, but when they are in conjunction, I shall not here make stay to demonstrate: whatsoever there is of this nature will most properly be comprised under the head of communion or unity *Fraternal*, and the *schisme* which is a transgression of that, being at large handled also, *Chap. 8. 9. 10.* there was no insufficiency, in any justice, to be charged on this division.

## SECT. II.

Of the extent of the Roman Province. The Bishops of Italy distinct from those that belong to Rome. The Ecclesiastical distributions agreeable with the Civil. Ruffinus vindicated.

Num. I. **T**He second charge on this Chapter is about the extent of the Roman Patriarchie, in these words:

2. In this Chap: he telleth us many things, some true, some not so, but all either common to us both, or not appertaining to the controversy, untill he concludes, that certainly the Roman Patriarchie did not extend it self to all Italy, and this he does out of a word in Ruffinus, which he supposeth to be taken in a speciall propriety of law, whereas indeed that author's knowledge in Grammar was not such as should necessarily exact any such belief, especially learned men saying the contrary.
3. The place, to which this exception belongs, is not set down by this Gentleman, but by annexing the testimony out of Ruffinus, I discern it to be that of pag. 52. where speaking of the *Picenum suburbicarium* and *Annonarium*; I say the former belonged to the *Præfecture* of Rome; the latter, with the seven Provinces in the broader part of Italy, belonged to the *Diocese* (as it was antiently called) of Italy, of which Milan was the *Metropolis*.
4. This being the affirmation which he excepteth against, I did not, nor yet doe make any question of vindicating, and defending it against any objection.
5. That learned men say the contrary, is here suggested, in the close, but as there is not one learned man named, nor testimony produced (which therefore amounts no higher than the bare opinion or affirmation of this one Gentleman, without any one reason or authority to support it) so when any such learned mens names and testimonies shall be produced, it will be easie to shew, that there is very little of their learning exprest in so saying.
6. On the other side I had (pag. 50. in the margin) referred to some testimonies whereon my assertion was founded, viz: those which manifestly distinguisht the Province of the Bishop of



of Rome from the Province of Italy, which could not have had truth in them, if the Province of the Patriarch of Rome extended to all Italy.

7. Such was that of \* Eusebius distinctly mentioning the *Bishops of the Cities of Italy*, and the *Bishops* that belong to the *City of the Romans*. The testimony out of the *Edict of the Emperor Aurelian*, in the controversy betwixt *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Domnus*, where it is decreed, that the *house*, about which they contended, should be delivered οἷς ἀν οἱ κτ' τῶν Ἰταλίων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπισκοποὶ \* ὅς δὲ γινώσκουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ \* γρ: δια-  
λοισιν, to those to whom the *Bishops* through *Italy* and the *City of the Romans* should decree it.
8. The like was that of the *Council of Sardice* set down in \* *Athanasius* in the title of their *Epistle* to the *Alexandrians*, \* *Apoll: 2. ad*  
Thus, Ἡ ἀγία Σύνοδος ἡ κτ' διὰ χάριν ἐν Σαρδίκῃ συναχθεῖσα Imp: Conf:  
ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλίων, Γαλλίων, Ἰταλίας, &c. The holy Synod Edit: Par:  
by God's grace assembled at Sardice, from Rome, and Spain, Tom: 1.  
France, Italy, &c. p. 756:
9. So in \* *Athanasius*'s declaration of his own affairs, and the \* *Επισ: τοῖς*  
(συμφωνία) agreement of many *Bishops* with him, he specifies, μονήν βιδν  
who and how many they were, πλείους δὲ ἢ ὅσα ὑμῶν τῆς μεγά- ἀσκήσι,  
λης Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης, Καλαβρίας τε, &c. There were Paris: Ed:  
more than four hundred both from great Rome, and from all t. 1. p. 827.  
Italy, and from Calabria, &c. Where the *Bishops* of the Roman C.  
Province are distinguished from the *Bishops* of *Italy*, as those  
again from the *Bishops* of *Calabria*, &c.
10. So among the names prefixt to the \* first *Council of Arles*, \* *Concil:*  
we have ex provinciâ Italia, civitate Mediolanensi, &c. ex ur- tom: 1.  
be Româ, quos Sylvester Episcopus misit ex Provinciâ Romanâ, p. 266.  
civitate Portuensi, &c. of the Province of Italy, from the city  
of Milan &c. from the city of Rome those whom Bishop Sylve-  
ster sent, of the Province of Rome, from the City of Porta &c.  
such and such were assembled at that Council, where again  
the matter is clear as to the distinction of those Provinces of  
Rome and Italy, the former under the presidency of the Bishop  
of Rome, the later of the Bishop of Milan.
11. By this it might have appeared to this Gentleman (if as he  
pleased to mention the much Greek, in his Preface, so he had  
been

been at leisure to consider the importance of it) that beside the testimony (which he will call a word) of *Ruffinus*, I had made use of other waies of proof, that the presidency of the Bishop of Rome (I suppose that he must mean by the Roman Patriarchie) did not extend it self to all Italy.

12. Again after the testimony of *Ruffinus*, I mentioned another evidence, from the proportioning Ecclesiastical jurisdictions to the Temporal of the Lieutenants; This may appear in these,

\* *Cont: Cels:* by the words of \* *Origen*, of which I shall now, because I did not there, take notice; *ἔτι δὲ ἡ ἀρχιερατικὴ ἐκκλησία ἐκείνη πόλεως ἀρχιερίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκλητοῦ*, It is fit that the Prefect of the Church of each City, should correspond to the Governour of those which are in the City. And that so it was, appears by the second Canon of the Council of Constantinople, where the jurisdictions of the Bishops are still proportioned to the condition of the Cities where they were, the Bishop of Alexandria to have power over all Egypt, the Metropolis whereof was Alexandria, and so in the rest. And this is in the *Traët of Schism* largely deduced and cleared also, p. 54, 55, &c. and need not be here again repeated, And so here was more again than the word of *Ruffinus*, for what I said.

13. Lastly, that for which *Ruffinus* was cited, being but this, that the Bishop of Rome was authorized by the Nicene Canon to take care of the suburbicarian regions, I could not sure be mistaken in thinking, that he took the word suburbicarian in such a propriety (I say not of law, but) of common language, as will conclude the *Picenum suburbicarium* to belong to the Roman Prefecture, as the *Annonarium* did to the Diocese of Italy.

14. And certainly *Ruffinus*, that lived so neer after the Council of Nice, and that in Italy, a Presbyter of Aquileia, knew how that was distributed in his time, better than this Gentleman at this distance can pretend to doe, may also be allowed to know so much of Grammar, as to expresse his own sense (in a Paraphrase) of that Nicene Canon.

15. In a matter so clear I shall adde no more, but the words of a most excellent person, *Jac: Leschasserius* in his *Consultatio ad Clarif: Venet: Ruffino bellum indicunt scriptores Romani hujus temporis*,

temporis, &c. The Romanists of this time are displeased with Ruffinus, not knowing what Churches they were, which the Nicent Canon understands to be under the first and ordinary power of the Pope. Whereas Ruffinus understood it of the Churches of the suburbicarian Provinces and regions, which are four, the first the Roman, with the bounds of the Prefecture of the City, and three other with which that is incompass, All Campania, Picenum suburbicarium, and Tuscia suburbicaria, of which there is frequent mention in the *Notitie* of the Roman Empire. And of this the same Author hath written a learned Tract, And so here is a distinct testimony of a very learned man, and this is a sufficient answer to his bare indefinite affirmation that learned men say the contrary.

SECT. III.

The identity of the office of Primates and Patriarchs, the authorities of Gratian, and Anacletus, and Anicetus.

Num. I. **T**He third charge wherein this third Chapter is concerned; remains about the identity of the office of Primates, and Potriarchs, in these words:

2. Then he telleth you that the office of Primates and Patriarchs He urgeth was the same, onely authorising that affirmation from an Epistle Gratian of Anacletus, the which, as soon as occasion serveth, he will tell too. you is of no authority, but fictitious.
3. What I said of Primates and Patriarchs, that though the Patriarchs had the precedence, in Councils, the deference in respect of place, yet the power and jurisdiction of Primates was as great as of Patriarchs, and the office the same, I thought had sufficiently been evidenced to the Romanist p. 58: For as one manifest indication of it was there mentioned, viz: that in Authors the very titles are confounded, witness Justinian who commonly gives Primates the name of Patriarchs of the Dioceses, so the reference to those two authorities so acknowledged and owned by the Romanists, the Epistle of Anacletus, and the Decree of Gratian, seemed to me to put it out of all question.

4. For in the body of their *Canon Law* corrected and set out by *Pope Gregory XIII.* as *Gratian's* decree makes up the first and principall part, so in that, par: 1. distinct: 99. we have these words, *De Primatibus autem queritur quem gradum in Ecclesiâ tenuerint, an in aliquo à Patriarchis differant, The question is made concerning Primates, what degree they have in the Church, and whether in any thing they differ from Patriarchs.* And the answer is, *Primates & Patriarcha diversorum sunt nominum, sed ejusdem officii, Primates and Patriarchs are of different names, but of the same office.*
5. What could have been said more punctually and expressly to the business in hand? What more authentick and dilucid testimony could have been produced to any *Romanist*, with whom I had to doe? And 'tis a little strange, that this Gentleman should say that I onely authorize my affirmation from an *Epistle of Anacletus*, and then either he, or some Supervisor for him, put in as a marginal note, *He urges Gratian too, When 1. if I urged Gratian, I did not urge Anacletus onely; and 2. it is evident I did urge Gratian as punctually as Anacletus, and 3. Gratian's words are so expresse as nothing can be more, and 4. Gratian's authority with them is as great as any could have been produced; and 5. there is not one word offered to avoid the force of Gratian's testimony, as to that other of Anacletus there is, which argues that this Gentleman was concluded by Gratian, yet would not consent to the proposition unanswerably inferred from him. And this may suffice to be noted concerning that testimony.*
6. Then for *Anacletus* 1. his words are these, *Provinciarum divisio ab Apostolis est renovata, The division of Provinces was renewed by the Apostles, Et in capite Provinciarum— Patriarchas vel Primates, qui unam formam tenent, licet diversa sint nomine, leges divina & Ecclesiastica poni & esse jusserunt, ad quos Episcopi, si necesse fuerit, confugerent, eosque appellarent, And in the head of the Province— Patriarchs, or Primates, who hold the same form (are of the same nature) though they be divers names, are placed by divine and Ecclesiasticall laws, so that to them the Bishops, when 'tis needfull, may resort and make their appeals. This testimony again as punctually to the purpose as could have been devised.* And

7. And then *secondly*, this being by the *Romanists* received as a *Decretall Epistle* of that *Pope* and *antient Bishop of Rome*, was in reason, whatsoever it were to us, to stand with the *Romanist* in full authority.
8. *Thirdly*, This being in perfect concord with the decree of *Gratian*, is in the aforesaid body of their *Canon law* approved, and set out by *Pope Gregory XIII.* annexed to that decree of *Gratian*, *Distinct: 99. c. 1.*
9. And *fourthly*, whereas this *Gentleman* saith, that as soon as occasion serves I will tell you this *Epistle* of *Anacletus* is of no authority, I must say 1. that I have no where, that I remember, ever said so. 2. That this *Gentleman* cannot without *divining* tell me now, what I shall doe hereafter. 3. That occasion not yet requiring it of me, but *Anacletus* affirming what I affirm, I have no temptation to doe so, and so as yet he can have no pretence to make use of this subterfuge. 4. That there are things called *argumenta ad homines*, arguments that may binde him who acknowledges the authority, from which they are drawn, though they conclude not him that allows not those authorities, and such is this of *Anacletus* his *Epistle*, to a *Romanist*.
10. And by the same *Logick* that he can inferre that *Anacletus's* authority was unduely produced by me, who (as he but thinks) will not stand to *Anacletus's* authority, I may sure conclude that *Anacletus's* authority was duly produced by me, because against him, who, I have reason to presume, must stand to *Anacletus's* authority.
11. A third testimony of the same nature I shall now adde, which must again have force with a *Romanist*, that of *Anicetus* ad *Episcopos Gallie*, which follows there in the \* *Corpus Juris* \* *Decret: Canonici. Primarum civitatum Episcopos Apostoli & successores* Grat: par: 1. res *Apostolorum* regulariter *Patriarchas & Primates* esse con: dist: 92. c. 2. *stinerunt.* The *Apostles* and their successors regularly appointed that the *Bishops* of the *Prime Cities* should be *Primates* and *Patriarchs*. And till somewhat be produced to the contrary, as 'tis sure here is nothing offered by this *Gentleman*, this may at the present suffice in this place.

Sect.



## Sect. IV.

*The supreme Ecclesiasticall power of Patriarchs. The power of convoking Councils, a prerogative of Supremacy. That the Bishop of Rome is not over Patriarchs. Proofs from the Councils, and Canons Apostolick, and the Corpus Juris, and Pope Gregory's arguing.*

Num. I.

**T**He last exception concerns the *supreme Power of Patriarchs*, or the no *superiority of any Ecclesiasticall power* over them, Thus.

2. *Then he saith there was no power over the Patriarchs, his proof is because the Emperour used his secular authority in gathering of Councils, concluding, that because the Pope did not gather general Councils, therefore he had no authority over the Universal Church, which how unconsequent that is, I leave to your judgment.*
3. *That there was no supreme power in the Bishop of Rome, nor in any other above that of Primates and Patriarchs, but onely that of the Emperour in the whole Christian world, as of every sovereign Prince in his dominions, I thought sufficiently proved by this, that the power of convoking Councils did not belong to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Prince in every nation, and the Emperour in the whole world. And I deemed this a sufficient proof, not because there are no other branches of a supreme authority imaginable, or which are claimed by the Bishop of Rome save onely this; but 1. because this of convoking Councils is certainly one such prerogative of the supreme power, inseparable from it, and he that hath not that, hath not the supreme power (as in any nation some prerogatives there are, which alwaies are annexed to the Imperial Majesty, and wherever any one of them truly is, there is the supreme power, and 'tis treason for any but the supreme, to assume any one of them, and one of that number is calling of national Assemblies) And secondly, because the Bishop of Rome doth as avowedly challenge this power of convoking General Councils, as any other I could have named or insisted on. And truly that was the onely reason why I specified in this,*

this, because this of all others is most *eminent* in it self, most *characteristical* of the *supreme power*, and most *challenged* by the *Bishop of Rome*, and most due to him, in case he be the *Universal Pastor*.

4. And then where there be *several* branches of a *power*, all resident in the same subject *inseparably*, from the *absence* of one to collect the *absence* of all, I must still think, a *solid* way of *probation*, and cannot discern the *infirm* part, or *inconsequence* of it. If I could, it would be no difficult matter to repair it, and supply the *imperfection* of the proof, by what is put together in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (even now cited) *Decret: par: 1. dist: 99. c. 3, 4, 5.*
5. The thing that I had to prove, was, that there was not antiently any *summum genus*, any *supreme* either of, or over *Patriarchs*, beside the *Prince* or *Emperour*. To this, as farre as concerns the *negative* part, that the *Bishop of Rome* is not this *summum genus*, I now cite from that third Chap. *Prima sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps sacerdotum, vel summus sacerdos*, The *Bishop of the first seat* ought not to be called *Prince of the Priests*, or *supreme Priest*. And this testified out of the *African Council*, *Can: 6.* where the very words are recited with this addition of [*aut aliquid hujusmodi*] he is not to be called by any other *title* of the same *kind*, *sed tantum prima sedis Episcopus*, but onely *Bishop of the first See*, and there were three such at that time, (those named in the *Nicene Canon*) *Alexandria, Rome, Antioch*, as is sufficiently known.
6. And that he may see the *practice* of the *Church* was perfectly concordant with that *definition*, I referre this *Gentleman* to the *Milevitan Council*, *cap 22.* where speaking of *appeals* from their *Bishops*, the rule is, *non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad Primate Provinciarum suarum*, They must appeal to none but the *African Councils*, or the *Primates of their own Provinces*. *Ad transmarina autem qui putaverint appellandum, à nullo intra Africam in communionem recipiantur.* But if any shall think fit to appeal to any *transmarine* (foreign) *judicature*, they are not to be admitted to *communion* by any within *Africa*.
7. And indeed the same had been before defined by the first

*Nicene Council*, c. 5. where the sentence pronounced against any by the *Bishops* in each *Province* was to stand good according to the *Canon* ( I suppose the 12 *Apostolick* ) which pronounces τὰς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθείσας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ παρὰ τῶν, that they which are excommunicated by some, shall not be received by others. And accordingly in the *Synodical Epistle* of the *African Council* to *Pope Celestine*, which is in the *Book of Canons* of the *Roman Church*, and in the *Greek collection* of the *Canons* of the *African Church*, we finde these words, ἐκτελούμεν, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν πρὸς τὰς ὑμῶν ἀκοάς, τὰς ἐκτελούμεν παρ' ἡμῶν οὐχ ἑσθ' ἡμῶν μὴ παρὰ τῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκοάς, ἐκτελούμεν εἰς κοινότητα τὸ λοιπὸν διήσασθαι δεόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ οὗτο καὶ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Συνόδῳ δευδὲν οὐχ ἑσθ' ἡμῶν, εὐρη ἢ σὺ σεβασμιότατος, We intreat you ( the style of one Church to another ) that for the future you will not easily admit those who have come to you from hence, and that you will not receive to your communion those who are excommunicate by us, seeing the *Council* of *Nice* hath thus defined, as you may easily discern.

8. By all which put together by the *African* out of the *Nicene*, and by the *Nicene* out of the *Apostolick Canon*, it is evident that the *Bishop* of *Rome* hath not power to absolve any person excommunicate by any *Bishop* of another *Province*, and that 'tis unlawfull for any such to make appeal to him, which certainly will conclude against every the most inferior branch of his pretended authority over the *Universal Church*.
9. If this be not enough, then adde the 34 *Apostolick Canon*, τὰς ἐθνικὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰδέναι χρὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον καὶ ἡγουμένῳ αὐτὸν αἰς κεφαλῇ. The *Bishops* of every nation must know him that is the first among them, i.e. their *Primate*, and account him as their head. Which sure inferres that the *Bishop* of *Rome* is not the one onely head of all *Bishops*. The same is afterward transcribed by the 9 *Canon* of *Antioch*.
10. But to return to their *Corpus Juris*, so again *Decret.* par. I. dist. 99. c. 4. Nec etiam Romanus Pontifex universalis est appellandus. The *Pope* of *Rome* is not to be called *Universal Bishop*, citing the *Epistle* of *Pope Pelagius II.* Nullus Patriarcharum Universalitatis vocabulo unquam utatur, quia si unus Patriarcha universalis dicatur, Patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur.

*derogatur.* No Patriarch must ever use the title of Universal, for if one be called universal Patriarch, the name of Patriarch is taken from all the rest, And more to the same purpose; the very thing that I was here to prove.

11. So again Ch. 5. out of the *Epistle of Pope Gregory to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria*, where refusing the title of Universalis Papa, Universal Pope, or Father, or Patriarch, and calling it *superba appellationis verbum*, a proud title, he adds, *si enim Universalem me Papam vestra Sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse, quod me fatetur Universalum*, If the Patriarch of Alexandria call the Pope universal Father, he doth thereby deny himself to be that which he affirms the Pope to be universally; The meaning is clear, If the Pope be universal Patriarch, then is he Patriarch of Egypt, for sure that is a part of the Universe; and then as there cannot be two supremes, so the Bishop of Alexandria cannot be Patriarch of Egypt, which yet from S. Mark's time was generally resolved to belong to him, and the words of the *Nicene Canon* are expresse to it, that according to the ἀρχαία ἔθνη original, *Primitive customs*, the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over all Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, adding ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ρωμῇ ἐπισκοπῆς ἔστι συνήθης ἔστιν, &c. seeing this is also customary with the Bishop of Rome, of Antioch, &c. τὰ πρεσβυτερὰ ὡς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, that the privileges should be preserved to the Churches.

12. All which arguing of that Pope, yea, and that great Council were perfectly unconcluding (*inconsequent*, as mine was said to be) if the Bishop of Rome, or any other, had power over Patriarchs, or authority over the universal Church, which here this Gentleman is pleased to affirm, and so sure must think Gregory more than fallible, when he thus protested, and disputed the contrary.

13. How much higher than this the same Gregory ascended in expressing his detestation of that title, is sufficiently known from his *Epistle to Mauritius the Emperor*, In regist. 1.4. Ep: 30. I shall not here trouble him with the recitation of it.

14. What is after these passages set down in their body of the *Lam*, shews indeed that the Popes continued not alwaies of

this minde, Neither was I of opinion that they did, the story being known to all how *Boniface III.* with much adoe obtained of *Phocas* the Emperour an *Edict* for the *Primacy* and *Universal jurisdiction* of the Church of Rome (see *Paul: Diac: de Gestis Romanorum*, l. 18.) which yet is an argument that till then it had no foundation.

15. Whether there were antiently any such, higher than *Patriarchs*, and whether now there ought to be, was the question before me, and both those I must think concluded by what I have here set down, as farre as relates to any true, i.e. original right, from any appointment of *Christ*, or title of succession to *S. Peter*.
16. Much more might be easily added to this head, if it were not evident that this is much more than was necessary to be replied to a bare suggestion, without any specifying what that power is, which may belong to the *Pope* over the *Universal Church*, though convoking of *Councels* did not belong to him, and without any offer of proof, that any such did really belong to him.





# CHAP. IV.

*An Answer to the Exception made to the fourth Chapter.*

## SECT. I.

*The Romanists pretensions founded in S. Peters universal Pastorship. Of Possession without debating of Right. What Power the Pope was possest of here.*

Num. 1. **I**N the fourth Chap: his objections begin to grow to some height, they are reducible to three heads, the first is by way of Preface, a charge of a very considerable default in the whole discourse that I remember not what matters I handle; the other two are refutations of the two evidences I use to disprove the Popes claim of universal Primacie from Christ's donation to S. Peter.

2. The first of the three is set down in these words :

*In the fourth Chapter he pretendeth to examine whether by Christ his donation S. Peter had a Primacie over the Church; where not to reflect upon his curious division, I cannot omit that he remembers not what matters he handles, when he thinketh the Catholick ought to prove that his Church or Pope hath an universal Primacie; for it being granted that in England, the Pope was in quiet possession of such a Primacie, the proof that it was just belongeth not to us, more than to any King, who received his Kingdome from his Ancestors, time out of minde, to prove his pretension to the Crown just: for quiet possession of it self is a proof, untill the contrary be convinced, as who should rebell against such a King were a Rebell, untill he shewed sufficient cause for quitting obedience; with this difference, that obedience to a King may by prescription or bargain be made unnecessary, but if Christ hath commanded obedience to his Church, no length of years, nor change of humane affairs can ever quit us from this duty of obedience, so that the charge of proving the Pope to have*

no such authority from Christ, lieth upon the Protestants now as freshly, as the first day of the breach, and will doe so untill the very last.

3. My method in the beginning of Chap: 4. is visibly this; The Church of England being by the Romanist charged of schism in departing from the obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and this upon pretense that he, as successor of S. Peter hath a supremacy over all the Churches in the world, I undertake to examine the truth of two branches of this suggestion, one whether Saint Peter had this universal Supremacy given him by Christ; the second, whether this power, if supposed to be instituted on Saint Peter, devolved on the Bishops of Rome. The former of these I examined in that Chapter. And I must now discern, if I can, how I have failed in any particle of my undertaking.
4. First, saith he, he will not reflect on my curious division. And I that know there was no curiosity in any division of mine, but on the other side, such perspicuity as was agreeable to a desire and indeavour to set down the whole matter of debate between us as distinctly and intelligibly as I could, that the Reader might be sure to judge whether I answered their charge, or no, I have no reason in the least to suspect the fitnessse and usefulnessse of my division, nor consequently to be impertinently sollicitous in reflecting on it.
5. That which he saith he cannot omit, I shall make haste to consider with him, viz: my great mistake, in thinking the Catholick ought to prove his Church or Pope hath an universal Primacie.
6. To this I answer, 1. that there is no manner of foundation or pretense for this exception here. For I no where say the least word toward this purpose of requiring the Romanist to prove his pretensions, or to prove them by this medium, One-ly I take it for granted, that he doth actually produce arguments to inferre the Pope's universal Primacie, and that Christ's donation to S. Peter is one of those arguments. And that I was not herein mistaken, I shall, instead of a larger deduction of evidences from all sorts of Romish writers, make my appeal to the objecter himself, in several places of this little tract,

tract, particularly p.20. where he hath these words, *we relie on the first, as the foundation, and corner-stone of the whole building.* And what that *first* is, appears by the words immediately precedent, that the *pretensions for the Pope's supremacy in England must be founded as successor to S. Peter in the universal Pastorship of the Church*, so including *England as a member thereof.* From whence in stead of *recriminating and retorting* on him the charge of the *ill memory*, I shall onely make this undeniable inference, that I was not mistaken in thinking that the *Romanist* doth actually found his *pretensions* in the *universal Pastorship of Saint Peter*, and consequently, if I prove that to fail, I have removed that which in his own style is the *foundation and corner stone of his whole building.*

7. But then 2. because he here pretends that it belongs not to a *Romanist* to prove his *pretension just*, but that it sufficeth that he hath the *possession*, I desire to propose these three things to his consideration, 1. By demanding whether at *this time*, or for these 100 years the *Pope* hath had the *possession of the obedience of this nation*; I suppose he will say he hath *not*; And if so, then by the force of his own argument, that *possession*, and all the *arguments* deducible from thence, are now lost to him, the *prescription* being now on *our* side, as before on *theirs*, and there is nothing left him to plead, but the *original right* on his side, against the *violence of the succeeding possession*: And if he come to the *pleading of the right*, then that is the very method that I proposed, and so did not offend or forget my self in so doing.

8. Secondly, Concerning their *possession* before Henry VIII. his daies, I shall demand how long they had it, and how they acquired it; If he will not at all think fit to answer this question in either part, then I confesse he hath made an end of the dispute, and by refusing to give account of the *right* he had to his *possession*, he will leave every man to catch and hold what he can, and then to imitate him, and give no account to any how he came by it, which as it is an *unchristian* method, every man being obliged to clear his *actions* from manifest charges of *injustice and violence*, so again 'tis an *evil lesson* against

against himself, and unlesse we will confesse our selves *Schismatics* in casting off their obedience, 'tis impossible for him ever to prove us such, this kinde of *schism*, which now we speak of, being by all acknowledged to be a separation from our lawfull superiors, and no way being imaginable to prove the Pope to be such to this nation, without offering some proof to the point of right, as well as adhering to his possession.

9. To which purpose it is farther observable, 1. That even in secular things it is not every possession that gives a right, but 1. either the *bonæ fidei possessio*, a possession honestly come by, or the unjustnesse of whose original is not contested or made to appear. And 2. whatsoever privilege by humane laws belongs to prescription, yet in divine or Ecclesiasticall matters prescription can be of no force against truth of right, and so this Gentleman seems to acknowledge here, extending the force of possession no farther than till sufficient cause be shewed to the contrary. 3. That though whilst I am in possession I need not be bound to prove my right, yet when I am out of possession, there is not, beside absolute force, any way possible to recover a possession, but this of contesting and evidencing the right of it, and that, 'tis evident, is the present case.

10. But if he shall think fit to answer the question in either part of it, then by the answer to the first part of it, he must be forced to set down the original of it; and by answer to the second, the right of that original (and so he hath been fain to doe, as elsewhere, so in this very paragraph, where he speaks of Christ's commanding obedience to his Church, I suppose he must mean the Church of Rome) and that is again the very method in which I proposed to debate, and consider this matter.

11. Thirdly, For the power, of which the Pope was possess in this Kingdome, either it was no more than an Ecclesiastical Primacie, such as by the ancient Canons belongs to a Primate or Patriarch over Metropolitans and Bishops, or else it was a supreme power over the King himself, whether in Spiritual, or also in Temporal affairs.

12. If it pretend onely to be the former of these, then the power of Kings to erect or translate Primacies or Patriarchates, which

which is insisted on and evidenced in the *Traët of Schisme*, c 6. §. 9. was sufficient then to justifie what here was done, no possession being pleadable against the King, to restrain or exclude this exercise of his power, and so now to free us from *schisme*, ( by this Gentleman's rule ) this act of the Kings in translating the Primacie being sufficient cause for quitting our obedience, supposing the Bishop of Rome formerly to have been our Primate.

13. But if the pretensions be higher, even for the *Supremacie* it self, either in whole, or in part, then 1. I may surely say they were never *bona fidei possessores* of that, And 2. that the King, who by being so, is *supreme* in his own Kingdom, and cannot admit of another *supreme* either in or out of it, hath all the advantages of possession, which are here spoken of by this Gentleman, and must not be divested of his right, nay must not, cannot (remaining a King) divest himself of it, nor might any without the guilt of rebellion quit his obedience to him.
14. Lastly, to remove all appearance of reason from this whole exception, 1. It is manifest that at the time of casting out the power of the Pope out of this Kingdom, there were ( I must have leave to suppose, convincing ) reasons given for the doing of it, A breviatè of which the Reader may finde in that one Treatise (mentioned in the *Traët of Schisme*, p. 135.) *De verà differentiâ Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ potestatis*, then composed and published by the Bishops, and since reprinted by Melchior Goldastus in *Monarchia*, tom: 3. p. 22. under the title of *opus eximium*, a very notable excellent work. 2. That how meanly so ever it hath been performed, yet this was one special design of the *Traët of Schisme* ( which this Gentleman faith will alwaies lie upon Protestants ) to prove the Pope to have no such authority from Christ, as the Romanist pretendeth him to have. And this I hope may suffice to be said to his *σκιμαχία*, his prelusory skirmish against this fourth Chapter.



## Sect. II.

*The condition of S. Peter's Province. The Apostles distribution of their great Province, the World, into several portions. Κληρὸς. Κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς. Ὁ τὸν ὁ ἰδίῳ, Að. I. the interpretation thereof vindicated.*

Num. 1.

I Proceed now to his refutations of the first evidence I make use of to disprove the Pope's claim to universal Primacy from Christ's donation to S. Peter.

2. My evidence is taken from the condition of S. Peter's Province, as by agreement betwixt him and his fellow Apostle S. Paul, it was assigned him, Gal. 2. 7, 9. that he should be the Apostle of the circumcision or Jewes (which certainly was not the whole world) exclusively to the Gentile part, or the uncircumcision, which was remitted to S. Paul both there and Rom. 11. 13. and this, as is \* there specified, in every city where they met together. And because the universal extensive commission of Christ to all and every Apostle, giving them authority to go and preach to the whole world, might seem to be contrary to this special assignation, I took care to prevent this objection, by premising that this commission given by Christ indefinitely, and unlimitedly, and extending equally to the whole world, was restrained by some subsequent act or acts of the Apostles themselves, who distributed their universal Province into several portions and assignations, called κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς, portions of Apostolacy, and the several Provinces where they were thus to labour, stiled each of them ὁ τὸν ὁ ἰδίῳ, to each an assigned peculiar place, Að. 1. 25.

\* Of Schism,  
p. 74.

3. Now to this groundwork of my ensuing probation, he makes his first exception in these words :

*As for his Proofs, which he calls Evidences, he telleth us first that S. Peter was the Apostle of the circumcision exclusively to the uncircumcision or Gentiles ; To prove this, he saith the Apostles distributed their universal Province into several κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς, that is, by his interpretation, lesser Provinces, and citeth Að. 1. v. 25. where S. Peter with the other Apostles prayeth God to shew which of the two proposed he was pleased to have promoted*

Sect. 5.

moted to the dignity of being an Apostle, this they call *ἀποστόλος*, and this rigorous interpreter saith, it signifies the special Province S. Matthias was to have, though the Scripture it self expresseth the contrary, saying the effect was that afterward he was counted amongst the Apostles: Could any man not blinded with error make so wretched an interpretation? but he goes on presently adding that S. Peter in the same place calleth these particular Provinces *τότον ἰδιον*, and will you know what this *τότον ἰδιον* or proper place is, read the Text, and you shall finde that S. Peter speaketh of Judas's going to Hell to receive his eternall damnation: Methinks you shoud wonder I can go on without astonishment at such blasphemous explications, for sure it can be no lesse so to abuse the Word of God, and after this what doe you expect?

4. Here are two great charges, the first introduced by styling me a rigorous interpreter, and prosecuted, by affirming me blinded with error, my interpretation wretched and contrary to what the Scripture expresseth. But the second is of no lesse than blasphemy, and abusing the Word of God, and his friend is to wonder that he is not astonished, and after I have been guilty of such crimes as these, 'tis in vain forsooth to expect any thing from me, the whole insuing discourse is utterly defamed and blasted, like \* Philopemen's good counsel in the Senate of Lacedemon, by being delivered by so ill a man, so infamous a person, as a blasphemer is justly deemed by him. \* A. Gellius, 1.18. c. 3.
5. But I am not to be disquieted with this, or to prepare any reply to the Rhetorical passionate part of it, if the interpretations shall be found agreeable to Scripture, the astonishment and the outcrie will be soon at an end, And therefore that is the onely care that I shall here assume on me.
6. And 1. I shall suppose it evident from the story, and from the very end to which this commissionating so great a number of twelve Apostles was designed, that all the Apostles were not to go together, in consort, to preach unto all the world, It would have been long ere the Faith would have been propagated to all the world, if this slower method had been taken.
7. To this it is consequent, that our Saviour having left the world in common before them, the distribution of that one

wider into severall lesser *Provinces* must be an act of the *Apostles* themselves, as when God had given the land of *Canaan* to the 12 tribes of *Israel*, *Eleazar*, and *Josua*, and the heads of the *Fathers* of the tribes distribute to every tribe their κληρῶν or portion (which because it was to continue to their posterity, we ordinarily style their inheritance) *Jos.* 14. 1.

8. And as there is no doubt of the truth of this fact, so if this one thing be granted me, there is no more incumbent on me to prove in this matter; and though neither of those phrases, *Act.* 1. 25. should be for my turn, yet my conclusion remains good to me, as farre as it pretendeth to be deducible from those phrases, viz: that the *Apostles* distributed their great Province, the whole world, into severall lesser Provinces, one, or possibly more than one to go one way, the other another.
9. It was therefore *ex abundanti*, more than was necessary, that I annexed the use of those phrases to that purpose, not undertaking to prove this (as this Gentleman saith) by those texts, much lesse *Peter's* being *Apostle* of the *circumcision* (which was a *consecratory* and had its severall probation afterwards) but onely accommodating those phrases to the matter in hand, and by the way assigning what I thought the most probable notion of them.
10. And although it be still as unnecessary to impose my explanations on this Gentleman, the conclusion having as yet no use of them, yet being obliged to give him such an account of my actions, as may free me from blasphemy, and abuse of the Word of God, I shall here adventure to make my apologie, by premising 1. not out of *Grammarians* onely, but out of the *Scripture* it self, the notion of the word κληρῶν, which signifying originally a lot or way of division (into severals) of that, which belongs to all in common (one means of settling propriety among men) it comes next by an easie figure to signifie that which is thus divided, or which in the division falls to every man as his portion.
11. So saith *Phavorinus* κληρῶται διαρῶνται, and κληρῶσαι, μείλει, the verb signifies distribution both active and passive: and accordingly in the son of *Syrach* we have διαρῶσις κληρῶν division.

division of, or, by lot, *Ecclus. 14 15.* and by that we may understand a lesse obvious expression, c. 37.8. beware of a con-  
seller, &c. μή ποτε βάλη ἐπὶ σοὶ κληρὸν, lest he cast the lot upon  
thee, i. e. lest he help another to cheat thee, and then go sharer  
with him, divide thee betwixt them.

12. So in like manner saith *Phavorinus* of the substantive κλη-  
ρὸς, μέρος, καὶ μέρος and μέρος, it signifies a part, that which  
falls to one's lot, a portion, As *Act. 8.21.* μέρος and κληρὸς por-  
tion and lot are all one. And he that hath a possession thus set-  
tled on him, and dominion by that means, or he that under-  
takes to dresse or till so much land, ἀσπότης and γεωργός, the  
Lord and the husbandman, are both the interpretation of κλη-  
ρῶν, he that hath such a lot or portion assigned him.
13. Proportionably those that any Governour of the Church is  
set over, are called his κληρὸς or lot, and *1 Pet. 5.3.* such Go-  
vernours are commanded μὴ κατακυριεύειν τοῦ κλήρου, not to  
behave themselves as the Roman Pretors were wont to doe  
over their several Provinces, oppressing and tyrannizing over  
them.
14. To this it is agreeable, that κληρὸς διακονίας, *Act. 1. 17.*  
should denote such a portion of ministerial office, as belonged  
to one that was sent or commissioned by Christ πρὸς ἔργον to  
a task or work, exprest v. 20. by ἐπισκοπὴ αὐτοῦ his Episcopal of-  
fice (for that though it be a rule, yet is also διακονία a mini-  
sterie, *Mat. 23. 11.*) in the Church.
15. Hence again that portion of employment in preaching the  
Faith, testifying the resurrection of Christ, which belonged to  
one single Apostle, such as Judas was, and ἐξ ἧς παρέβη from  
which he departed by his sin, and to which another succeed by  
way of surrogation, is as fitly styled κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς a por-  
tion of Apostolacy, a μέρος or division of that grand employ-  
ment.
16. And what either one single error or act of blindness was  
committed in thus interpreting, much more occæcation or be-  
ing blinded with error, which I suppose the compound accu-  
mulation (whether onely sin or punishment also) of many er-  
rors, what rigor or wretchednesse of interpretation, I am still  
so blinde as not to discern, and this Gentleman is: or so cha-  
ritable,

ritable, as to give me his least directions to recover to my way, or my eyes again.

17. For as to the *Scriptures* expressing the contrary, in saying he was counted among the *Apostles*, that sure is no evidence against my interpretation, for *Matthias* may become one of the twelve, succeed to *Judas's* office and lot, that which did, or should, if he had lived, have belonged to him, and yet neither he, if he had lived, nor now *Matthias* in his stead, have more than a particular Province, this or that region, (not the whole world in common) assigned for his appartment.
18. So that as yet I cannot discern that I have done the least injury to the text in thinking *καθεὶν ἀποστόλης* the lot or division of Apostolacy, to be the several task that belonged to any of the twelve Apostles, or that portion of labour, that by consent at their parting one from another should be assigned to each of them.
19. And then the analogie will still hold perfectly, that as this distribution of tasks consisted in going to severall quarters for the preaching of the faith of Christ, one, one way; another, another; so he that had received his *καθεὶν ἀποστόλης* portion of Apostolacy, should be said to have *ἴδιον ἢ τόπον* a peculiar or proper place, and having so, should (not immediately, but soon after the Holy Ghost's descent) *πρὸς ἐλθῶμαι εἰς αὐτόν*, go, or, betake himself to it.
20. This therefore, and upon these grounds of fitnessse, both in respect of the words, and the context, I take to be the meaning of that phrase *πρὸς ἐλθῶμαι εἰς ἢ τόπον ἢ ἴδιον*, to go to his proper place, his peculiar assignation, And I cannot imagine the least inconvenience that can lie against this rendring.
21. For 1. in case it should not be the true, yet it can be any thing as soon as blasphemy, thus to interpret it. 'Tis certainly nothing to the dishonour of God, to say that *Matthias* went and preacht the Gospel in such a region peculiarly, and so there is no blasphemie in that, viz: the matter of the interpretation; and for the abusing of the Word of God, it is hard to divine how that can be deemed such, which affixeth nothing to the Word of God, but that which is notoriously true (for so it is that *Matthias* went one way to preach the Gospel, and

S. John



S. John and S. Bartholomew each of them another) and would be acknowledged to doe so, if this *text* were not applied to it.

22. As for the other interpretation of the words ( which this Gentleman is pleased to preferre, and might have enjoyed his own judgment, without censuring them as blasphemers, that differed from him in expounding one difficult phrase ) by affixing it to Judas, and not to Matthias, i. there is no indication in the context that favours that, it was sufficient to say of Judas that which had been said v. 16, 17, 18, 19. to set out the horror of his fact, which soon attended it in his own breast, and the bloody death which it brought upon him, but he needed not proceed to revealing of secrets, the sadder consequents, which remained in arrear after death, and 'tis Chrysostome's observation on v. 16. behold, saith he, τὸ φιλόσοφον τῶ ἀνδρὶ, the wise Christian carriage of S. Peter, πῶς οὐκ ὑβρίζει, ἐδὲ ἐνέλλεται, how he doth not reprove, and insult on him, calling him μισαὲν ἢ παμμισαὲν, villain, or detestable villain, ἀλλ' ἀπαῶς τὸ γινώσκον ἀπλοῖ, but sets down the fact simply, and on v. 16. καὶ τῆς παρῆς δίκης διαλύεται, he sets down, saith he, his present vengeance, that sure is it which befell him in this world, which, by the way, cannot well consist with the interpreting it of hell.
23. 2. The use of Parentheses in scripture is very ordinary, and if that be here admitted ( which it well may, without any more formal expression of it, than by putting a comma after 'Judas', as it is already in the printed copies ) then the interpretation is clear and unavoidable, to receive the lot or portion of his Ministerie and Apostleship (from which Judas by transgression fell) to go, or, that he may go to his proper place.
24. 3. Hell being the κοινὸς τόπος the common place or lot of all wicked men, it cannot fitly be exprest with such a double emphasis, ἢ τόπον ἢ ἴδιον, the place, the proper place, i. e. the place peculiar to him, which yet may very fitly be affirmed of Matthias his Province, so his, as it was not any mans else.
25. Lastly, It is not near so proper to say that he sinned πορευθῶναι to go to hell, as that the other was chosen and surrogated into Judas's place πορευθῶναι to go to preach to such a quarter of

of the world, or that the Apostles desired God to signify his pleasure whom he had chosen, that so he might take his portion of labour and go; His going was visibly the end intended in all this, but damnation or punishment, going to hell, was never intended by Judas in his transgression, though it be supposed the deserved reward and consequent of it.

26. All this amassed together, may, I hope, vindicate an innocent, and, I hope, obvious (farre from wrested) interpretation from such an accumulation of charge, as is laid upon it, without any tender of reason against it, but the ἡ καὶ ἀγία, O wretched (blasphemous &c.) in Lucian. And so much in answer to that Paragraph.

### Sect. III.

S. Peter the Apostle of the Circumcision; The agreement betwixt the Apostles. Peter's preaching to Cornelius.

Num. I. **H**IS second exception is to the position it self of Peter's being the Apostle of the Jewes exclusively to the Gentiles, and it is in these words:

2. His position is as directly against Scripture, as if he had done it on purpose, the Scripture telling us how by a special vision S. Peter was commanded to preach to Cornelius a Gentile first of all the Apostles, and himself in the Council of Jerusalem protesting the same; and yet this Doctor can teach he was made Apostle to the Jewes, exclusively to the Gentiles, though all story say the contrary.

3. The position, which is here said to be so directly against the Scripture, was to my understanding the expresse affirmation of Scripture it self, I am sure from thence it was that I learnt it, and I must fail very much in my expectation, if this Gentleman himself doe not acknowledge the testimony produced, Gal. 2. 7. to be sufficient ground to inferre it. There Peter is said to be πεπιστευμένῳ τῷ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς πίστεως, intrusted with the Gospel of the circumcision, That the circumcision there signifies the Jewes, and the εὐαγγέλιον, which we render Gospel, the office of preaching or revealing the faith to them, πιστοῦν  
πίστεως

ἡ ἀποστολή the Apostolacy of the circumcision, ver. 8. if it be not of it self plain enough, 'tis made so by ver. 9. where it is added that Peter &c. were by agreement to go εἰς ἡλιουλὴν to the circumcision, where circumcision, being the object or term of his motion, must needs be the *Jewes*, not *circumcision* it self, and so Saint Chrysostome at large expounds it, ἐπὶ τὸ πρέγμα ἀλλὰ τὰς Ἰουδαίους, not to signifie the thing, *circumcision*, but the persons, the *Jewes*, in opposition to τὰ ἔθνη the Gentiles, in the former words, and then going to them must needs be *preaching* to them, going to them as to a Province, the care of which was intrusted to him; and the right hands of fellowship, the agreement that was made betwixt them, James the Bishop of Jerusalem, and Peter, and the beloved disciple on one side, and Paul and Barnabas on the other side, is sure the interpretation of the πεπιστευμαι the being intrusted or having that, as a Province, committed to them.

4. And this is the special importance, saith S. Chrysostome, of the ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν, but contrariwise (the beginning of ver. 7.) as that is opposed to the προπαράδειξο their adding to him v. 6. James, saith he, and Peter and John, were so farre from opposing any thing that he had done, from advising any thing more, from telling him any circumstance more than before he knew, that they not onely approved, but commended what he had done, and to set the things the more unquestionably for the future, made this agreement with him and Barnabas, that whensoever they should come to the same city, mixt of Jewes and Gentiles, Peter and John should betake themselves to the Jewish, and Paul and Barnabas to the Gentile part of it. For, as was said, it was not by any particular assignation of Christ's, but by agreement among themselves that this assignation of Provinces was made.
5. And therefore as in point of propriety, when that which is supposed to lie by nature in common to all, is, to avoid contentions and confusions, and the state of perpetual hostility, so distributed by agreement among the fellow-communers, as that one portion shall be assigned as the propriety and appartment of one, the other of another, then and from thenceforth that

H

which

which is the *proportion* of one, is so his, that it belongs to no other, and again so his, that he hath no right to any other part (which I should expresse by saying that that part is his *exclusively* to any other part, for sure his standing to any such division cuts him out, and so excludes him from any farther right) so here after this agreement between those Apostles jointly made, concerning the two parts of mankind, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, to which they were to preach, and among whom to preside, the *Jewes* are become S. Peter's peculiar, or *parson*, or *Province*, and that so his, as the *Gentiles* were not his, they being left to S. Paul (and Barnabas) who is both there affirmed to have them committed to him, and Rom. 11. 13. to be the Apostle of the *Gentiles*; And that I exprest by that phrase, *Peter was the Apostle of the Jewes* (so it is said of him expressly Gal. 2.8.) *exclusively to the uncircumcision*] and truly I knew not (nor yet doe) how to expresse it more *significatively*, and more to the rendring of the full importance of those plain texts, and this Gentleman hath not pleased to direct me how to doe it better.

6. And having the *Scripture* thus clear and irrefragable for my position, if now I should not be able to salve the *Antinomies*, to answer his objections from *scripture* to it, this were certainly but my *dulness* (another that hath a greater *ἀσχινοια* might be able to doe it) and therefore ought not to be any prejudice to the truth of the affirmation. But unlesse the difficulties be greater than as yet appear, I shall not much doubt of undertaking the task, of reconciling all the *ἀντινομίας* that can be phansied.

7. For what if Peter by special vision was once commanded to preach to Cornelius a Gentile? Sure this is very compatible with my position, For not to mention that this is acknowledged to have been a peculiar commission by special vision determined to that particular person and his family, which, till he had this vision, he thought it utterly *unlawfull* to preach to, Act. 10. 28. (And it is certain that one special case were no prejudice to the general position) and again that Cornelius though a Gentile, was yet a *Profelyte* of the *Jews*, such as they called a *Profelyte* of the gates, though not of justice, a *οὐκ ὁσίου*

or devout man, though not *circumcised*; To omit these, I say, the answer is obvious, 1. That this agreement, of which I speak, was at the time of *Paul's* going up to *Jerusalem*, *Act. 15.* i.e. some years after this of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, as may appear *Gal. 2. 1.* which defines it to be about 14 years after *S. Paul's* conversion, whereas that of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, *Act. 10.* placed in the next chapter to that which described the conversion of *Paul*, must needs be some considerable space before this time of his going up to the Council at *Jerusalem*. And so that of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, and his protesting the same in the Council of *Jerusalem*, hath nothing of opposition to this agreement (made for the future, not for the time past) what should be done in their after-preaching, I suppose I need adde no more to that which is thus evident.

8. Secondly, I have already sufficiently \* exprest, how farre this \* Tract of agreement extended, and how farre exclusive it was, not that Schism, c. 4. it should be unlawful for *Peter* to preach to a *Gentile*, or for §. 7. *Paul* to preach to a *Jew*, but that when they met in the same city (as at *Antioch* certainly they did, and at *Rome* also I make no question) then the one should constantly apply himself to the *Jewes*, receive disciples, form them into a Church, leave them to be governed by a *Bishop* of his assignation, and the other should doe in like manner to the *Gentiles*.
9. And that this was so in the consequents of the story, is largely shewed in that Tract. What could have been said c. 4. §. 8. &c. more punctually to prevent this exception taken from *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, I cannot yet discern. I wish this Gentleman had pleased to take notice of it; As it is, I hope he will now be more sure to doe so.



## Sect. IV.

Paul's first preaching to the Jewes in every city. To what the agreement between him and Peter belonged.

- Num. 1. **A** Nother argument he adds much to the same purpose, which will make his third Exception.
2. Again, if he were made the Apostle of the Jewes, exclusively to the Gentiles, by the same reason S. Paul was made Apostle of the Gentiles exclusively to the Jewes, for the words are like; and yet the scripture teacheth us that whereever he came, he preached first to the Jewes: Is not this to make scripture ridiculous?
  3. Here is great severity again, a charge of making scripture ridiculous, But I hope I have been farre from any guilt of it. That S. Paul, whensoever he came to a city, where the faith had not been preached; and where there was any synagoge of the Jewes, went into that synagoge in time of their publick assembling, I never made any question, were this before, or were it after the story of Act. 15. when I suppose this agreement to be made betwixt him and S. Peter, &c.
  4. Great reason, and no small obligation there was for that; For 1. Christ had commanded that the preaching should begin at Jerusalem, the Metropolis of the Jewes, and as to the Jewes first (ὑμῖν πρῶτον) God had raised up his Son Iesum, Act. 3. 26. so the Gospel of the resurrection was to be revealed (ἐκείνου πρῶτον) to the Jew first, Rom. 1. 16.
  5. And although in Paul's commission from Christ it were peculiarly exprest that he should preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, Act. 9. 15. & 22. 21. yet according to this great fundamental oeconomie he counted it necessary, first to make tender of his service, and of the glad tidings of the Gospel, to the Jewes, and so he tells them Act. 13. 46. It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you, and till the Jewes refuse it and reject it, he doth not betake himself so peculiarly to the Gentiles.
  6. Again, this was in some measure necessary to his publishing the Faith, For that was most advantageously to be done in the publick Assemblies, that it might be known to all that were

were in the city : And the *synagogues* of the *Jewes* being such, were in all reason by him, that was a *Jew*, to be preferred before the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *heathens* : And according to these obligations, and inducements, so generally he did ; But then as this no way *prejudiceth* his title of *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, to which he was at the first assigned by *Christ*, so neither is it any way contrary to, or unreconcilable with the agreement which I suppose to be made between him and *Peter* and *John*, which concerned onely those cities and regions, where they met, and came to plant Churches ; There, and there onely it is, that I affirm this distribution of Provinces to have been made, and consequently the affirmation is no farther in any justice to be extended, than thus, that when they so met, *Paul* betook himself to the *Gentile* part, compacted the *Gentile* *profelytes* or *believers* into a Church, put them into the hands of a *Bishop* of his own assignation, *Ignatius* at *Antioch*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, whereas *Euodius* was in the former, *Bishop* of the *Jewish* part, and in the latter, and in all *Asia*, *John* was the *Apostle* of the *circumcision*, and constituted *Bishops* there. And this I suppose, without farther enlarging, may satisfy the importunity of his second Argument.

## SECT. V.

Of the Gentiles being S. Paul's Province peculiarly.

- Num. 1. **H**is fourth exception is to my producing the words of scripture, Gal. 2. 7, 9. to the proof of my position. Thus
2. But he goes on telling us, that the *Gentiles* exclusively to the *circumcision* were the lot of S. Paul by S. Peter's own confession, his words are, for the *uncircumcision* or *Gentiles* they were not S. Peter's Province, but peculiarly S. Paul's &c. but look on the place and you shall finde no word of exclusion as [*peculiarly*] is, and whereon lieth the whole question, so that the Doctors evidence is his own word against the main torrent of scripture on the other side.
  3. How truly it is suggested, that the torrent of the scripture is against me, hath already been made manifest in the foregoing.

going *sections*, where the *contrary* appearances, by this *Gentileman* produced, as they are farre enough from a *main torrent*, or from the *common* force of such, (or but even of an *ordinary stream*) carrying the whole *businessse* before them, so they are severally examined, and allowed, as farre as they have any force in them, and found perfectly reconcileable with our pretensions.

4. And so likewise it hath already been cleared in what sense this *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, so styled by himself, and so, by agreement betwixt the *Apostles*, acknowledged by *S. Peter*, was so, *peculiarly* or *exclusively* to the *Iewes*.
5. As for his argument drawn onely from hence, that in the text to the *Galatians* there is no word of *exclusion*, that sure is of little force; If there were any agreement, and division, and several assignation of *Provinces*, it must follow that what was said to be *one mans Province*, is his, so as it is not the *others*, and so *peculiarly*, and so as farre as that agreement holds, *exclusively* his, As in the *estate* first held in *common*, and then after by agreement divided, it hath appeared so evidently, that I need adde no more to that matter.

#### Sect. VI.

*Of S. Peter's withdrawing from the Gentile-communion. Of the Gentile diet. The prudence of S. Peter's action.*

Num. 1. **H**is first Exception concerns an incidental passage about *St Peter*, and is an *actio injuriarum*.

2. Again (saith he) see how he wrongs *S. Peter* and his *Iewish Profelytes*, where he saies he withdrew from all communion with the *Gentile Christians*. Whereas the text expresseth no more, than that he withdrew from eating with them, that is keeping the *Gentile diet*.

3. What wrong I have done *S. Peter* and his *Gentile Profelytes*, I am yet to learn, nor am I sure that I know wherein this *Gentleman* placeth the supposed injury, But I think it most probable to consist in this, that I say he withdrew from all communion with the *Gentile Christians*, whereas he conceives that

that he withdrew onely from keeping the *Gentile diet*.

4. But 1. let me demand of this *Gentleman*, what he means by *Gentile diet*? I suppose using those sorts of *meats*, which were by the *Jewish law* forbidden; And if that be acknowledged of *S. Peter*, that he would not thus eat with the *Gentiles*, lest he should seem to offend against the *Jewish law*, then by the same reason he must certainly be supposed to abstain from other communion with them, because it was equally against the *Jewish law*, that a *Jew* should converse with a *Gentile*, as the woman of *Samaria* tells *Christ*, when he spake to her, but to draw him some water. *Ioh. 4. 9.* How, said she, dost thou being a *Jew* ask me to drink (and it was but water, none of the interdicted *Gentile diet*) being a woman of *Samaria*? and either she or the *Evangelist* renders the reason, in as comprehensve termes as mine were, ἐγὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἡμεῖς Σαμαεῖταις, for the *Jews* have no dealings with the *Samaritanes*, and accordingly v. 27. the disciples marvelled that he talked with the woman. And therefore certainly *Peter* did abstain from all those other waies of converse and communion with the *Gentiles*, which the *Jews* thought as unlawfull, as eating of the *Gentile diet*, or else he failed of the end of his action, which is evident what it was, a fear of scandalizing his countrymen, and from thence a shew of compliance with them, lest he should be thought by those that came from *Ierusalem* to forsake the *Iudaical law*.

5. That the very preaching to a *Gentile* (which was the loosest degree of communion) was, according to the *Jewish principles* as unlawfull as eating any unclean meat; using the *Gentile diet*, is plain by *Peter's* provision, *Act. 10. 12.* where the one is represented by the other, and had he not received that vision, which made it lawful to him to eat all kinde of meats, he acknowledged that he durst not have adventured to come to one of another nation, v. 28. affirming in as plain words as could be, that it was an unlawful thing for a man that was a *Jew* to keep company or come to one of another nation, κολλᾶσθαι ἢ πεισιχέσθαι, which certainly includes all communion, and not onely that of the *Gentile diet*. Thus unhappy is this *Gentleman* continually in his objections.

6. It were here obvious, and easie to shew the *opinion* of the *Antients* of the *prudence* and no kinde of *uncharitableness* of S. *Peters* action, which would farther evidence how farre I am from *wronging* S. *Peter* or his *Profelytes*, in affirming what I affirm of them. But the present objection doth not make that necessary, I referre the Reader for it to the (*Ἐγερσις*) interpretation, or *Comments* of \* S. *Chrysostome*, who sets it down exactly † not as a *quarrel*, but as an *οἰκονομία*, an act of prudent *managery*, a wise ordering, designed by him and S. *Paul*, † ὡς μάχης τὰ πρῶτα ἀλλ' οἰκονομίας. as most likely to reduce the *Jewes* from their errors, when he that did thus much to comply with them (not for fear of persecution from them, but for fear of averting them from Christianity) and was herein seemingly opposed by S. *Paul* (the *καλέγνυστο* ὡς ἡ β' v. 11. being not to be rendred, he was to be blamed, in Paul's opinion, but he was blamed by the Gentile Christians) made no manner of reply in defense of that compliance with the *Jewes*, and so yeilded that S. *Paul* was in the right, and not the *Judaizers*. This interpretation of *Chrysostome* is followed by the *Greek Commentators*, and taken up by *Jerome*, but disliked by *Augustine* in his *Epistles* to *Jerome*, and therefore I lay not weight upon it, nor have my pretensions any need of it.

#### SECT. VII.

The two plantations of Gentile and Jewish Christians at Antioch. Euodius and Ignatius. The differences of the Antients about them reconciled. The two Bishops at Rome. Jewes in England. Simon Zelotes. Gentium Ecclesia the Church of Jewes as well as Gentiles.

Num. I. **H**AVING gained so little by the several steps of his exceptions, and the position remaining still firm against all, I have lesse reason to suspect what is built upon this foundation in the ensuing sections: Yet against them altogether he casts one stone, before he will part, in these words,

2. Upon this wisely laid ground, he would persuade us, followed the division of the Bishopricks both in Antioch and Rome, but bringing



bringing not one word of *Antiquity* proving this to have been the cause, yet is he so certain of it, that he will finde a colonie of *Iewes* even in England, for fear *S. Peter* should have touched a *Gentile*, and yet he cites *S. Prosper*, that both *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* founded the Church of *Gentiles* in Rome.

3. What force there is in any part of this suggestion, I shall not here need to set down at large. There be three branches of it, 1. That I bring not a word of antiquity to prove (what I say) that this is the cause of the divisions of the Bishopricks both in Antioch and Rome. 2. That I will finde a Colonie of *Iewes* in England. 3. That I cite *Prosper*, that both *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* founded the Church of *Gentiles* in Rome.
4. For the first, I desire the Reader to review what is already said in the *Traict of Schism* c.4. from §.8. to §.20. and I shall much wonder if he return of this Gentleman's minde, that there is not one word there brought out of *Antiquity* to confirm what I say. The short is, It is there manifested from *Antiquity*, that the Church of *Antioch* was founded by *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, that there were two Churches there, one of *Iewish*, the other of *Gentile Christians*, that in those Churches at the same time fate two distinct Bishops, *Euodius* and *Ignatius*; by which means some appearing difficulties in antient writers are explained.
5. To what is there said, I shall, instead of repeating, adde thus much more. Of *Euodius*, *Suidas*'s words will be easily turned to, in *Χειριστοι*, 'Επι Κλαυδίου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, Πίστρε τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ χειροτονήσαντι Ὁ Εὐόδιον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ &c. In the reign of *Claudius Caesar*, Peter the Apostle ordained *Euodius* Bishop at *Antioch*. Of *Ignatius* the \* Author of the *Constitutions* is expressed, Ἰγνάτιος ὁ κατὰ Παύλου, *Ignatius* was ordained Bishop there by *S. Paul*. Now seeing in those *Aëts* of *Ignatius* which are put together by *Simeon Metaphrastes*, *Ignatius* is said to succeed *Euodius*, as *Euodius* succeeded *Peter* (Πίστρεν ὡς ἡ μάγαν Εὐόδιος διαδέχεται. Εὐόδιον ὁ Ἰγνάτιος) and the Anonymous antient writer of the *Aëts* of *Ignatius*, which remains unprinted, hath the same, Εὐόδιον γὰρ Ἰγνάτιος διαδέχεται <sup>† in Ἀλβέρτῳ</sup> *Ignatius* succeeded *Euodius*, and seeing this ordination of \* *Epist. ad Zenon*: *Ignatius* is also said by † *Theodore*, and by \* *Felix III. Bishop*

\* in Chron:  
(MS. Oxon:  
l. 10.

of Rome to have been done by the band of Saint Peter, This seeming difference is removed by \* *Ioannes Malela Antiochenus*, who thus sets down the whole matter, ἐν τῇ ἀνέναν αὐτῶν (Πατρὶν) ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ, διερχομένου αὐτῶν δι' Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Μοϋδανης, συνέβη τελευτῆσαι Εὐόδιον ἑπίσκοπον, ἃ Πατριάρχῳ Ἀντιοχείας, ἃ ἔλαβε τὸ ἡμῶν τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Ἰγνατίου, τῷ αὐτῷ Πέτρῳ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ χειροτονήσαντι, ὃ μὲν ἃ ἐκθρονίσαντι, ὃν *Peter went to Rome, passing by Antioch the great, Euodius Bishop and Patriarch of Antioch happened to die, and Ignatius (who was, as was said, first constituted by S. Paul over the Gentiles there) received the Bishoprick (that I suppose must now be, of the Jewish Province also, over which Euodius had been in his life time) S. Peter ordaining and enthroning him. And so that is become most clear which \* S. Chrysostome said of this Ignatius, that αἱ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες &c. the hands of the blessed Apostles, (in the plural, first of Paul, then of Peter) had been laid on Ignatius.*

\* Encom:  
Ignat:

6. The other part which concerned Rome, \* was so cleared by Sect. 9. the words of Epiphanius, who saith of Peter and Paul both, that they were ἐν Ρώμῃ Ἀπόστολοι ἃ Ἐπίσκοποι, Apostles and Bishops at Rome, and so many other evidences produced to the same purpose, from the inscription on their tombs, by Gains contemporary to Pope Zephyrinus, by Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, by Prosper, by the seals of the Popes, and so again Sect. 12. by the Ecclesiastick story, that makes Clement S. Peters Deacon and successor in the Bishoprick, and Linus S. Paul's, that sure there can be no need of farther proofs or testimonies from Antiquity in this matter.

7. Whilst in the mean, other Churches are \* instanced in, particularly the Churches of Asia, wherein S. Paul and S. John had all the command, and S. Peter had nothing to doe, whether in planting or governing them, which alone is sufficient to carry the whole matter against S. Peter's universal Pastorship, and no word is by this Gentleman replied to that so considerable a part of my probation, Onely instead of it, a farre more compendious way, that of the scornfull or fastidious scoffing at my wisely laid ground, as he pleaseth to call it, and adding that I bring not one word of Antiquity &c.

8. As to the second branch of his suggestion, that I will finde a *colonie of Jewes in England*, that is no where said by me, Onely thus, that upon supposition, if the saying of *Simeon Metaphrastes* (speaking of S. Peter's preaching and ordaining Bishops in England, *Neronis* 12.) should be thought to have truth in it, it must be extended no farther than the *Jewes*, which might at that time be dispersed there.
9. Where, as my conclusion from that supposition is founded in the *analogie*, that as, where S. Paul and S. Peter met in any plantation, they divided their Province &c. so in reason it ought to be, where S. Peter and *Simon Zelotes*, or *Ioseph of Arimathea* met in like manner, so all that of the *Jewes* in England I there affirm, is onely this, that it was possible they that were dispersed in so many regions, might be, some of them, dispersed in *Britannie*, which how improbable soever it may appear at that time, is sure as probable, as that S. Peter preached and ordained Bishops in *Britannie*, and in consequence to that onely it was, that I made the supposition of the possibility of it, knowing it the affirmation of our *Antiquaries*, that *Ioseph of Arimathea*, or *Simon Zelotes* (tis possible also that *Simeon Metaphrastes* might mistake *Simon Peter* for him, and then that matter is at an end) planted the faith in this Island.
10. As for his last suggestion, that I cite *Saint Prosper*, that both S. Peter and S. Paul founded the Church of Gentiles in Rome, I desire the truth of it may be considered by the words which I cite from him, *In ipsa Hierusalem Jacobus & Joannes apud Ephesum. Andreas & ceteri per totam Asiam, Petrus & Paulus Apostoli in urbe Roma Gentium Ecclesiam pacatam unanque postera tradentes: ex dominica passione sacrarunt.* James at Jerusalem, John at Ephesus, Andrew and the rest through all Asia, Peter and Paul at Rome, consecrated the Church of the Nations. What Nations were these, sure of Jewes, as well as Gentiles, else Jerusalem could not be any part of them, no nor John's converts at Ephesus, for they were Jewes, and therefore this Gentleman did not doe well to substitute the word *Gentiles* for *Nations*, and yet could not, without doing so, have made this exception to my words.

11. And so much for *exceptions* to my first evidence against the *Universal Pastorship* of Saint Peter.

SECT. VIII.

*No promise of Keyes to S. Peter, which was not made and performed to all the Apostles, Joh. 20. 21. the completion of the promise, Mat. 16. 19. Pasce oves. Joh. 21. an exhortation, not commission.*

- Num. 1. **T**He second sort of *Exceptions* follows, those against my evidence drawn from the power of the *Keyes*, which I say, and prove both from *Scripture*, and expresse testimonies of the *Fathers*, that it was given equally to all the *Apostles*; And his *exceptions* begin thus:
2. A second evidence he bringeth from the donation of the *Keyes*, which he saith were given equally to the *Apostles*, Mat. 28. yet confesseth the *Keyes* were especially promised to S. Peter, Mat. 16. but performed only in common, Mat. 28. which though they may be both true, yet is absurdly said, for who acknowledgeth a special promise, should have found out a special performance, which is done, Joh. 21.
  3. This exception being not to the matter of what I say, but to the absurdnesse of the expression (to which censure I must suppose every thing liable, which is contrary to his pretensions, and yet proved so manifestly that it cannot be denied by him) I shall briefly evidence how commodious, and proper the expression was.
  4. And 1. whereas he sets it down as my confession, that the *Keyes* were especially promised to S. Peter, this is not with truth suggested; My words are, *This power Mat. 16. 19. is promised to S. Peter*] But the [especially] is an interpolation of this Gentleman's, to prepare my words for his exceptions, for which otherwise they were no way qualified.
  5. All that can be fetcht from any words of mine toward this sense, is, that in the next Section, I foresaw, and so mentioned an objection from Christ's making this promise to him peculiarly (and yet even that is not, to him especially, but to him particularly.

cularly, or singly, *I will give unto thee &c.*) To this, as to an objection, I presently made reply, that the repetition of that promise *Mat. 18. 18.* to all the *Apostles indefinitely*, and without any peculiarity of restriction (*I say to you*, in the plural, and, *Whatsoever ye shall binde &c.*) will take away all appearance from this objection.

6. And so it will from this Gentleman's exception also, For if what was at one time promised to S. Peter singly, was so soon after promised to all the *Apostles indefinitely*, what absurdity is there in seeking no other performance of this promise, than that which was at once afforded to all the *Apostles together*, in the descent of the Holy Ghost, when the fire, that represented that Spirit, divided and sat upon every one of them, and they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and no shew of peculiarity, or mark of especiall eminence to S. Peter in all this.
7. As suppose a Generall should promise a Commission this day to one, and to morrow should make the like promise to eleven more, that one being in their company, and then, upon a set day, some weeks after, should send 12 Commissions sealed to those 12, one for each of them, I wonder who would doubt of the exact performance of this promise to that first, or seek for any more special performance of it.
8. But this Gentleman having phansied a special promise (as that is with him somewhat more than a particular promise, for otherwise a common performance might have served the turn, it being certain that an Universal contains every particular under it) must needs have a special performance, and that *Ioh. 21.* I suppose in those words of Christ to S. Peter, *Feed my sheep*, and, *Feed my lambs*, thrice repeated.
9. But for this, 1. I cannot acknowledge that it hath any particular reference to the words of the promise, *Mat. 16. 19.* The promise was, *I will give thee the Keyes*— and, *Whatsoever thou shalt binde*— And sure the direct completion of this, as farre as could be expected from Christ personally, whilst he was here on earth, is that of *Ioh. 20. 21.* where, as the sending or commissionating is answerable to giving the Keyes, the insigne of the Oeconomus, so remitting and retaining of sins is all one with the binding and loosing.



10. As for that which is after this Chap. 21. It is 1. by that very position of it; but 2. more by the occasion; and yet more 3. by the matter of the words, prejudged from being any more than an exhortation to discharge that duty, for which in the former Chap. he, with the rest of the twelve, had received his commission, and so is still as farre from being a speciall performance, as that of *Marth. 16.* had been from a special promise.
11. The *Pasce oves, Feed my sheep and lambs*, thrice repeated, was certainly a direction to him how he might approve his love to that Master and Saviour, whom he had thrice remounced, testifie it now to be a sincere constant love (such as would cast out all fear of danger, through which formerly he had fallen) by an eminent diligence in discharge of that Pastoral office, which was intrusted to him, but 'twas not so much as an intimation, that his diligence would be actually greater than all others (for sure *S. Paul* said truth, that he laboured more abundantly than they all, of whom *S. Peter* was one) but rather that he, that after such professions had fallen so foully, had the more need now of having this proof of his love inculcated and prest, lest he should fail again (much lesse is it a sealing any power or authority to him, above that which before had been conferred on him, and with him on those others also).
12. And nothing being here offered to prove that there was any more of energie, or special commission in these words, but onely the thing crudely affirmed, by naming *Ioh. 21.* there is no need of making any farther answer, a bare deniall is a proportionable return to an unproved affirmation.
13. Onely this I shall adde, that 'tis certain that *S. Peter* thus understood the reiteration of *Christ's* question, as a reproach of his three denialls; The Text saith, *Peter was grieved, because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me?* Which sure he would not have been, if he had looked on it, as an introduction to so great a preferment, as it must be, if the supremacy and Universal Pastorship of the Church were by those words conferred on him.

## Sect. IX.

Of the peculiarity of the power given to S. Peter.

Num. 1. **T**O this head of discourse about the power of the *Keyes* follows a second *Exception* in these words,

2. *Again he would perswade the world that the Catholick Church holdeth, none had the Keyes but S. Peter, calling it a peculiarity and inclosure of S. Peter, as if the other Apostles had them not, which is a calumnie.*

Sect. 2.

3. How far I have been in this matter from *calumniating* the whole *Catholick Church*, or any one member of it, will appear by this brief review of what is there said. It is this, The power of the *Keyes* is promised S. Peter, *Mat. 16.* but to him that from hence, i. e. from the *promising* it to him singly in that place, pretends this *donative* and consequent power as a *peculiarity* and *inclosure* of Peter's, two considerations are there offered, and thought sufficient to supersede any such conclusion.

4. Here certainly a bare *supposition* will not be the *accusing* or consequently *accusing* falsely, i. e. *calumniating* of any. If no man say this, besides my losing my pains in *superfeding* such a (but possible) conclusion, there is no other harm done. Onely I shall demand, Is that *promise* of the *Keyes* to Saint Peter, *Mat. 16.* made use of by a *Romanist* to prove *Christ's* promise of some special power to S. Peter, which was not promised to the other *Apostles*? If this Gentleman answer, No; then 1. I must inferre, that this Gentleman is no *Romanist*, because in this very page he mentions the first words of this text, *Tues Petrus*, as one of the two most considerable texts of *Scripture*, fit to be alledged for S. Peter's *supremacy*. 2. I shall conclude from this his present supposed *negation*, together with his own words in the last *Paragraph*, that the words of *Christ*, *Ioh. 21. Feed my sheep &c.* were not the *instating* of any power on S. Peter, which was not common also to the rest of the *Apostles*, for those words *Ioh. 21.* were, saith he, a special performance, answerable to that *promise* of the *Keyes* to Peter, *Mat. 16.* as a special promise, and consequently if there were nothing

nothing in that *promise* peculiar to *S. Peter*, there was nothing in that *performance* peculiar to him. And so neither he nor any *Romanist* must henceforth conclude any thing for *S. Peter* from either of those particular *addresses* of *Christ* to him, *Mat.* 16. or *Ioh.* 21. which they will not equally yeild from thence to all the other *Apostles*; And then that will more *compendiously* perform what I by a greater *circuit* of considerations indeavour'd to doe, i.e. *superfede* all the *Romanists* conclusions from one or both these places; for certainly if they pretend not to *inferre* somewhat for *S. Peter*, which is not by them equally granted to all the rest of the *Apostles*, all that those *texts* will be able to doe, is to confute the *Presbyterie*, not to establish the *Papacie*, no more being from hence deducible for the *Bishop* of *Rome* the *successor* of one *Apostle*, than for the severall other *Bishops*, *successors* of the other *Apostles*.

5. But if upon the sight of these consequences, he shall now say, that in this of *Mat.* 16. 19. there is any thing, be it never so little (so as to be capable of the phrase a *special promise*) ensured upon *S. Peter*, which was not elsewhere promised also to the other *Apostles*, I shall then conclude, that it seems I have not calumniated him, or the *Church* which he defends, in saying that they make this power a peculiarity and inclosure of Saint *Peter*, for so it must be, if it belong to him and not to others.

6. And 'tis not sufficient to say that the power of the *Keyes* was common to him with the other *Apostles*, but yet some other *special power* was there reserved to *S. Peter*, For of that *specialty*, whatsoever it is, my present *Dilemma* proceeds, and desires to be informed, whether any *Romanist* conclude it from that text of *Mat.* 16. and if he doe not, then the inconveniences will presse him, which I have here mentioned. If he doe then I shall now conclude anew (not that the *Catholick Church*, but) that this *Catholick Gentleman* holds that which he will not be able to prove, because there is not the least minute portion of power promised to him in that 16 Chap: which is not elsewhere promised to all the *Apostles*; *Peter* is called a *stone*, on which the *Church* shall be built, and to

*Peter*

*Peter the Keyes are promised; and the twelve Apostles are in like manner, and all equally twelve foundation-stones of the same building, and the Keyes are equally promised to all them. And this being there proved at large §.21. and the probations extended, not onely to the power of the Keyes, but (after) to the compellation of Tu es Petrus (and they will be extensibile to all the most diminutive imaginary fractions of either of those powers) I shall farther conclude, that whatsoever he shall now return to this Dilemma, will equally secure me from having calumniated either him, or the Church maintained by him.*

## Sect. X.

*Sitting on twelve Thrones, Mat. 19.*

Num. 1. **H**is third Exception to this Chap: is to another interpretation of mine, which it seems hath not the luck to approve it self to him, Thus,

2. *I cannot passe without noting another odde interpretation of Scripture, in his 20 Sect. out of Mat. 19. speaking of the twelve Thrones at the day of Judgment, he explicates, to rule or preside in the Church.*

3. *I doe acknowledge to understand the twelve Thrones, Mat. 19. of the Apostles ruling and presiding in the Church, and S. Augustine long before so understood it, and if Christ's sitting on the throne of his glory may be the interpretation of ἐκατονταρχία, whether it be rendred in the regeneration, or in the resurrection, meaning thereby Christ's resurrection and ascension to the throne of his glory, there will then be no difficulty so to understand it, that when Christ was gone to heaven, these should succeed him in the government of his Church on earth, and so (as the Phylarchæ ruled and judged the severall tribes of Israel) exercise judicature, binde and loose, excommunicate and absolve in the Church, no one having the πνεῦμα, any more than of order, among them.*

4. *But this Gentleman gives no reason for preferring any other interpretation, onely calls mine an odde one, And when I*

K.

have:

have replied *first*, that this place comes in *ex abundanti*, onely as it is ( being thus interpreted ) in *concord* with that other of *Mat. 16. & 18.* and therefore *secondly*, it is not an *odde* one, and *thirdly*, the cause in hand will stand as *firm*, though this interpretation should be found to have no truth in it : *fourthly*, that my interpretation is *reconcilable* with his, and therefore his, if granted, will not be *exclusive* of mine, they that shall judge the world hereafter may for some time have *presided* in the Church, and so also judged here ; *fifthly*, that this

\* Annot: on place, and the grounds of this interpretation are \* elsewhere *Mat. 19. d.* insisted on at large, I shall need adde no more to this *single* and Power of dislike of his, in this place.

Keyes, c. 5.

S. 13.

#### Se&t. XI.

*The equivalence of Πιλεῖς and Πιλεῖς. Twelve foundation-stones.*

*Num. 1.* HE concludes with some shew of dislike of what I had said to the vulgar place of *Tues Petrus*, Thus,

2. His quibbling about the word is so light a thing, as it is not worth consideration, the sense being plain, that upon Peter the Church was built specially, though not with exclusion of others.

3. What I said of the equivalence and perfect identity of the words, Πιλεῖς and Πιλεῖς for a stone, seemed to me particularly usefull to the understanding of the meaning of Christ's speech, when he said, he would build his Church on this Πιλεῖς or Πιλεῖς, i. e. this stone. For not to mention what hath by divers of the Antients been said of that text, applying it not to the person of S. Peter, but to the faith, whereof he then had newly made confession, I was here willing to grant the Romanist the utmost that he could pretend to, viz: that the person of Peter was that *Petra* or stone, on which Christ promised to build his Church : And why this Gentleman should be so unwilling to be gratified, or why the setting down the bare notation of the Greek word, should deserve his reproach, and be called quibbling or levity, I professe I can render no reason but



but his *haste*, which permitted him not to consider either the *undeniable truth*, or his own *advantages* from what was said.

4. The force of my answer lay in another branch of that *fourth Section*, viz: that this *stone*, from whence *Peter* had his name, peculiarly relating to a *building*, and so being to be considered as a *foundation stone*, not onely he, but *all* the rest of the *Apostles* were herein made *equall* with *Peter*, being all partakers of this *common* appellation, *δεσμίαις ὁδοῦ* twelve foundations, *Apoc. 21. 14.* and those by circumstances in that text manifested to have an *equal* proportion of *power* and *Province* assigned to *each* of them. And to this there is nothing here answered by this *Gentleman*, and his unprovoked quarrel at that, which was said concerning the *nature* of the word, is an *indication* that he had nothing more to object to it.
5. When therefore he saith, that on *Peter* the *Church* was built especially, I demand what he means by *specially*? If no more than that he was one *special* person, on whom the *Church* was built, then I grant it, and reply, that so was *John*, and so was *Andrew*, and so was every other of the *twelve*, a *special foundation-stone* of the *Church*. But if by [*specially*] he mean in an *extraordinary*, or more *eminent* manner, than any of the other *Apostles*, Then I answer, 1. that *Christ's* telling him he was a *stone*, on which he would build his *Church*, implies no such matter, the other *Apostles* each of them are by *Christ*, in vision to *S. John*, affirmed to be *foundations* of this building, as well as he; 2. That among *foundation-stones* there is but one, that hath any *eminence* above others, and that is the ἀκρογωνιαίον, the *chief* or *head-corner-stone*, and that title belongs not to *S. Peter* (as neither to any other *Apostle*) but onely to *Christ* himself, *Ephes. 2. 20.* And so still nothing belongs to *Peter* in this matter of being a *stone* or *foundation*, which doth not *equally* appear to belong to those others, as well as him. And so much for the *vindicating* of the *Evidences* set down in the *fourth Chapter*.



## CHAP. V.

## An Answer to the Exceptions made to the first Chapter.

## SECT. I.

*Of slight passing over Pasce oves, and Tu es Petrus.*

Num. 1. **T**He first thing he here *excepts* against, is my too slight passing over two, which he thinks the most considerable texts, to support the supremacy of S. Peter, In these words,

2. *In the first Chapter he lightly passeth over the two most considerable Texts of Scripture fit to be alledged for S. Peter's supremacy: viz: Feed my sheep, and, Thou art Peter: because they have no appearance, and have been often answered: Why no appearance? because he and his fellows say so, and as if being so often repeated was not as likely to shew the answer was naught, as the answering to impeach the objecter: but who understands the principles of Catholick Faith, knows, that as well for other points of our Faith, as for this of S. Peter's supremacy we rely not onely upon such places of Scripture.*

3. *For this of the light passing over those two places of Scripture, I think I can give a very reasonable account, 1. From his own words p. 10. where he tells me that I am mistaken in thinking that the Catholick ought to prove that the Pope hath an universal Primacy. For if he be not obliged to prove it, if the right pretended depend wholly upon possession, why should not I make haste, through those proofs, which some have ex abundanti (as to him it seems) made use of.*

4. *Secondly, I did in the simplicity of my heart verily believe (what here is recited from me) that those two texts had so very little appearance of strength in them, and this so often manifested by the variety of answers made to them by our writers, that no Romanist would in earnest have laid such weight*

weight on them, as to require of me a more *punctual* answer to them, than I had before given in the former Chapter. There I had evidenced that the whole world was not S. Peter's province, but onely one portion of one part of the world, the Jewish believers in Antioch and Rome &c. the Gentile Christians in those very cities being under S. Paul, and the Jewish of other countreys under other Apostles, those of Asia under John &c.

5. This to my understanding made it evident, that in case Christ's Pasce oves &c. *Feed my sheep* and *my lambs*, were granted to be a form of commission, infating of power on him, it must yet be restrained to his particular Province, so as to leave other his fellow Apostles their Provinces also, and not extended to an Universal Pastorship.
6. But then when this farther consideration was behinde, that indeed this of *Pasce oves* ] was not the form of commission to S. Peter, but that in the former Chapter, Joh. 20. 21. *as my Father sent me, so send I you* &c. and that to S. Peter in common with the rest of the Apostles, and not the least indication of any branch of power appropriated to him (on which I have already insisted in this Reply, though in that *Traet* of *Schisme* I did not think it necessary) I hope I may have pardon for not returning to a *strickt* survey of it in that *fift* Chapter.
7. As for that of *Tues Petrus*, that was the very text wherein the donation of the *Keyes* was promised to S. Peter, Mat. 16. 18. and that had particularly been examined in both parts of it, both as to the *Keyes*, and the *compellation*, in the fourth Chap: and the *Keyes* promised him, manifested by other texts to belong equally to all the other Apostles, and so the compellation of *stone*, or (which is all one, as was there shewed) *foundation*, or *foundation-stone* in the building of the Church, bestowed equally upon the rest of the twelve Apostles also. And so considering what I had already done my self, and what others had done much more largely, there remained little appearance of force in those texts, which might suggest to me a more diligent survey of them. And all these together, if not two of them alone, were a competent reason of passing lightly over them in that *fift* Chapter, where I was engaged in a new stage, i. e. of not returning *afresh*, and

*laco non suo*, to a yet larger consideration of them.

8. I should now from this notice of his displeasure indeavour to pacifie him by reforming my former omission, and enter upon a yet more solemn survey of these two texts, but that I see him already resolved not to trust his cause to the support which those texts can afford him, telling me in the close, that he *relies not onely on such places of Scripture*, and if I should dwell longer upon them, I should be thought *impertinent*, and again reprehended, as *forgetting what matter I handle*, And therefore till he please to tell me *how farre he relies on them*, and shew me that I have not yet removed them from being a *foundation so farre to be relied on*, I shall spare mine own and the Readers pains, and flatter my self, that I have said much more to *invalidate any conclusion*, which he shall inferre to his advantage from these two places, than he hath yet said in my hearing, to confirm his *pretensions* from both or either of them.

#### Sect. II.

*The Bishop of Antioch's title from succession to S. Peter equal to the Bishops of Rome. Peter formed a Church there. His dying at Rome no argument.*

- Num. 1. **A**fter his *velitation* he now proceeds to the weightier impression, excepting first to an argument taken from the *Primogeniture of Antioch*, Thus,
2. Next he *urgeth* that if the succession to S. Peter were the base
- Sect. 3. of the Popes supremacy, Antioch should be the chief See, because S. Peter sat there, wherein to omit his first and second question, whereof the first is untrue, I answer to the third negatively, that the constituting a Church and Bishop at Antioch, before at Rome, did conferre no privilege extraordinary on that Church, and the reason is clearly deduced out of his second *Quare*, because it was before Rome, for he could not give any such authority, but by divesting himself, since there cannot be two heads to one body, and therefore this authority and privilege of S. Peter can rest and be no where but where he died.

3. In this matter I must first premise what I had warned the Reader of in that 5 Chap. §. 2. that what I there produced against the power of the Bishop of Rome, under the notion of successor to S. Peter, was perfectly *ex abundanti*, more than needed, the whole matter being sufficiently concluded in the former Chapter, which concerned S. Peter's person, and had shewed that S. Peter himself had no *Universal Pastorskip* belonging to him, or *supremacy* over any other *Apostle*, from whence it was evidently consequent, that to his successor, as such, no such power pertained.
4. This being premised, I did not pretend, that what should then follow, should proceed with that evidence as to demonstrate again what was so sufficiently cleared already, Onely to those, whose curiosity was not satisfied, when their reason was, I proposed some considerations, which pretended to no more than this, that beside that Peter had no supremacy, there were also other defects in the Bishop of Rome's tenure, particularly this, that he did no more succeed S. Peter, than the Bishop of Antioch did, nay, that S. Peter having left a successor Bishop at Antioch, before he did at Rome, the Bishop of Antioch had in a manner the *Primogeniture*, and by that, as good (if not a better) title to *predominence*, as any the Bishop of Rome had, upon that tenure of succession from S. Peter.
5. Now to this part of discourse which pretended but to probability, there can lie no exception, unlesse it appear either to be untrue in any part, or in the whole lesse probable than what is offered by the *Romanist* for the other side; And this is now to be examined.
6. And 1. saith he, the first question is untrue; But he is so reserved as not to expresse his reason for so saying. I shall therefore give my reasons to the contrary, 1. because a question cannot be untrue, all truth and falsehood being in affirmations and negations (and asking a question, or proposing a thing to consideration whether it be so or no, is neither of those) in answering, not in asking of questions.
7. Secondly, Because this question being resolved into an affirmation, viz: that Peter as truly planted a Church at Antioch, and left a successor Bishop there, as he is or can be supposed to



to have done at *Rome*, it relies on the *uncontradicted Testification* of *antient* writers.

8. By planting a *Church* I mean not that he was the first that preached the Gospel at *Antioch* (though *Leo the Great* seems to affirm it, (in *Antiochenâ Ecclesiâ primum prædicante beato Apostolo Petro, Christianum nomen exortum est, Ep: 53.*) and from thence pleads the right of precedence to belong to that *Church*, (in *paterna constitutionis ordine perseveret*) against *Anatholius Bishop of Constantinople*) for that seems by *S. Luke* to be attributed to those that were scattered abroad upon the persecution that rose about *S. Stephen, Act. 11. 19.* but his forming them into a *Church* or regular assembly. And that so he did, and left *Enodius Bishop* there, and after his death *Ignatius the Martyr*, is elsewhere manifested at large, and I shall not repeat it, but onely adde one *Testimony* (which I suppose will be authentick with him) of *Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, Ep: 62.* to *Maximus Bishop of Antioch*, bidding him be mindfull of that doctrine, *quam præcipuus Apostolorum omnium, beatissimus Petrus per totum mundum quidem uniformi prædicatione, sed speciali Magisterio in Antiochenâ & Romanâ urbe fundavit.* Where it is the clear affirmation of that *Pope*, that *S. Peter* founded the doctrine of *Christ* first in *Antioch*, then in *Rome* by a special authority, or power, or magisterie, which he had in those two cities, more than in the rest of the world. And so I cannot guesse what untruth there could be in that affirmation, if it had been such, which was but a consideration, or question, as he calls it.
9. Next, he saith, that *S. Peter's* constituting a *Church* and *Bishop* at *Antioch*, before he did the like at *Rome*, is a proof that he conferred no extraordinary privilege on *Antioch*, and renders the reason for it, because he could not doe it without divesting himself, and consequently this privilege must rest no where but where he died, and consequently at *Rome* onely, because he died there.
10. That he left any extraordinary privilege at *Antioch* I doe not believe, any more than he did so at *Rome*, and therefore I cannot be required to prove any more than this, that it is as reasonable for me to affirm it of *Antioch* upon the title of

of succession, as for him to assume it of Rome, upon the same title.

11. From Christ there is nothing that will fix it at Rome, rather than at Antioch, and in the Law of Nations concerning inheritances, nothing is or can be applied to this purpose. It must needs be then from the free act of S. Peter's will, whatsoever is pretended to. And in respect of that 'tis sure as reasonable to believe, that he which planted a Church, and placed a Bishop first in one, after in another city, should delegate the *διπλασιον* double portion, the greater dignity and privileges to the former as to the latter. If the right of Primogeniture be no right in this matter, yet sure the younger sister hath neither law, nor custom, that the inheritance should belong to her.
12. And for his own reason here offered, that it cannot belong to the Elder, that is no reason; For S. Peter might doe, as Christ did, make an assignation of power in his life time, fix it by promise, yet not divest himself of it till his death. And if S. Peter had done so, if at his planting a Bishop at Antioch, on consideration that in that city they were first called Christians, he had decreed that after his own death that Bishop should succeed to all that authority, which he had received from Christ, with power to communicate it to any, I shall ask this Gentleman whether he might not have done it without either divesting himself whilst he lived, or making two heads to one body, or whether his bare dying at Rome, would have invalidated any such former act of his, in case he had done so. If it would, there must then be more owing to his death than to his life, to his martyrdom than to his preaching or ordaining of Bishops, that this privilege belongs to Rome. And then again Jerusalem, where Christ himself died, will by that title of his blood shed there, have a more unquestionable right, than that city where Peter did but faintly transcribe that copie, which had in a more eminent manner been set him by Christ.
13. Lastly, If by this argument of Rome's being the place where Peter died, the supremacy had belonged to that See, precisely or peculiarly, how could it be transferred to Avenion, as we know it was, and there continued for some time? But I shall no longer insist on such fiction of case, as this, if that had been

which never was, what then would certainly have followed, whether if S. Peter had been Universal Pastor, it must eo ipso be concluded that his successor of Rome, and not at Antioch was such after him, when it hath been rendred evident in the former Chapter, that S. Peter had no such supremacy.

### SECT. III.

*The Act of the Councell of Chalcedon; of the ground of Rome's precedence. The safety of the Church reconcileable with removing the chief See. Of the Bishop of Constantinople being ashamed of that act. No tumult in the Councell. The story of it.*

NUM. 1. **T**HE next dislike is to my deriving the original of that precedence which belongs to Rome, as the Councel of Chalcedon had derived it, Thus,

2. *Then he tells you that the dignity or precedence of the Bishop of Rome is surely much more fitly deduced by the Councel of Chalcedon from this, what Rome was then the Imperial city, or ordinary residence of the Emperour: a very wise judgment, that the quality upon which the unity, that is the safety of the Church Universal relies, should be planted upon a bottom so fallible and subject to fail, but the resolution was so shamefull, that the very Patriarch was ashamed, and imputed it to his ambitious clergie, who how tumultuary and unruly they were, is to be seen in the Acts of the Councel.*

SECT. 5. 3. *Here two objections are made to the wisdom of that Act or judgment of that Councel, and I that foresaw it would be thus rejected by him, and from thence observed how little Councels are considered by them, when they define not as they would have them, and therefore laid no more weight on that Canon, than the Romanists very rejecting it allowed me, might now spare the pains of defending the judgment of that Councel. Yet it is so easie to return answer in few words to his two objections, that I shall not decline doing it.*

4. *To the first, that the precedence of Rome, which there I speak of, being a Primary onely of dignity and order, and not*

of Power, is no such quality, on which the unity and safety of the Church relies. For how can that be concerned what Bishop sits uppermost, gives the first or last suffrage in a Council? This Gentleman thinks of a supremacy of power, when he thus speaks, but that he cannot but know is denied by us to be placed in any one Bishop, and therefore must not imagine me to assigne the original of that, to which I deny a being. And it matters not though he say I am injurious in denying it, for besides that that is *petitio principii* on his side, to say so, 'tis also certain that the question now betwixt us in this Paragraph, is not whether I am just in denying that supremacy, but whether it be more than a Primacy of order, which I divolve to this original.

5. Nay if I had spoken of the supremacy it self, and fixed it on a bottom so farre fallible, as that it might be removed by the change of Empires from one city to another, if it were but resolved that the supreme Ecclesiastical power, and so the fountain of unity should follow the Imperial seat, I see not why the safety of the Church might not by this means be provided for.
6. Let it but be judged of in little first, as it is easily supposeable. Suppose the Church of England *αὐτοκράτωρ*, nay for argument's sake, suppose there were no other Church but that of England, and suppose there were a supremacy in one Bishop, in him, whosoever were the Bishop of that city, where the royal throne were placed, and suppose that that were for the present removed to Yorke, and so that the Bishop of Yorke were the supreme Bishop, and by that means the unity and safety of the Church competently provided for, I shall then demand, in case the royall seat should be removed to Winchester, could there be any question, but the supreme Episcopal See would be removed so too? and might not all appeals be made from thenceforth to Winchester, and the safety of the Church be as well provided for by this way, as by it's being fixt unmoveably at Yorke?
7. The Primacy we know hath oft thus been removed, and never more inconvenience come of it, than by S. Peter's See being removed to Avenion. And if any supremacy belonged

to any succession of Bishops over the whole world, and that were never mutable, but by the removal of the Imperial seat, a certain, illustriously visible thing, it is not easily discernible, how this should more prejudice the safety of the Church, than the change of that power from one Bishop that dies, to his successor in the same See. But this is still much more than needed to have been said.

8. As for the Patriarch's (I suppose he must mean of Constantinople,) being ashamed of that resolution of that Council, and imputing it to his ambitious Clergie, i. he gives us not any testimony for this, onely saith, that in the Acts of that Council may be seen how tumultuary and unruly they were. And to that affirmation, and that not very pertinent proof of it, I have two things to say, which indeed the Acts of that Council, and the Epistles both of Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople, and Leo Bishop of Rome, may assure us to have truth in them. 1. That if by being ashamed be meant retracting or renouncing this resolution of the Council, It then hath no truth in it, that the Patriarch was ashamed.

9. For 1. it is so evident that of all Leo's reprehensions in this matter of the Primacy adjudged him by that Council, Anatolius chose to take no notice, and to return no answer, that Leo tells the Emperor of it, Ep: 59. *maluit prædicti Antistes meam gratulationem tacere, quam suam ambitum publicare,* and chargeth it upon Anatolius himself, that he made no reply to what he had said to him; *Ad quas cum non rescriberes ipse te à colloqui nostri consortio separasti,* by not making any return to my admonitory letters, thou hast thy self separated thy self from the communion of our discourse. Ep: 71.

10. 'Tis true indeed when Leo charged it upon him, as an act of ambition and pride, that he had procured that Canon to be made (as he doth at large, \* Ep: 53. making it an invasion of the Bishop of Alexandria and Antioch his right settled by the Council of Nice, and so in his \* Epistle to Martian the Emperor, and \* another to the Empreſse Pulcheria) Anatolius writing to him upon occasion, tells him that the Clergie of the Church of Constantinople, and \* not he, brought this mat-

\* Colon: Edit: fol. 118.

\* Ep: 54 fol. 119.

† Ep: 55. fol. 120.

\* Culpam, quam de augenda potestate, alieni (ut asserit) adhortatione contraxerat, eisi non ad sola Clericorum consilia transfuisset. Leo. Ep: 71.



ter before the *Council*, and therefore *Leo* needed not be so angry with him, and complain so sharply against his ambition.

11. And this I suppose is it which this *Gentleman* must referre to, if there be the least colour of truth in his suggestion; But sure this disclaiming of pride or ambition in what was done, regularly, according to a long continued custom, and the Canon of the Council of Constantinople is much more the justifying his innocence, than the acknowledgment of any fault, an act of confidence and assurance, no indication either of guilt or shame, no disowning the dignity confirmed to him by the Council.
12. Many evidences there are in the story of those times that the Bishop of Constantinople did no way reject this power and dignity, which that Council had confirmed to him; 'Tis annexed to the Acts of that Council, how he exercised it in an eminent manner on the Patriarch of Alexandria, *Leo* the Emperour having put wholly into his hands the judging of a great affair, and quieting a disturbance in that Church, see the \* third part \* Edit: Paris: of that Council of Chalcedon. In which matter may be observed that in the Epistle of the Egyptian Bishops, and Clergy &c. of Alexandria, in a recitation of the Bishops of the whole world, the first place being reserved to *Leo* the Bishop of Rome, the second is given \* Regia Constantinopolis Anatolio, to Anatolius of Constantinople the Royal seat, and then follow Basil of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem. \* Ibid p. 506. B.
13. And indeed if it be but remembered, 1. That what was done here at Chalcedon was for the main but the reciting and confirming what was done formerly at the Council of Constantinople (a judgment, saith \* *Euagrius*, that this matter was well-ordered already, ἐδικαίωθη \* Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως θεῶν ἐκδύς μὲν \* Ῥώμης τελευτᾶσαι, and what the Bishop of Constantinople held by Custom before that Council also, \* τὸ ἐκ πολλῆς καλῆς \* Epist: Concil: σάν ἐθῶς, a custom that had been long in force, and \* ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς λαβύσης σωθείας by a precedaneous custom &c. Secondly, that this was done by this Council (if their professions may be believed) ὁ πᾶντων τῶν θεῶν Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως τὸ παρέχοντες, leutherii Chalcedon \* μητροπόλεως τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν περιανέχοντες, not so much to ced: Ep: Ibid: adde. P. 46. R.

adde any thing to the See of Constantinople, as to provide for the quiet of other Metropoles in Asia, Pontus and Thracia. Thirdly, that the Council attested all this, and sent a relation of it to the Bishop of Rome, *πιστοποιῶν τὴν ἀποφασιν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλικῶν ἐνδεχόμεν τὰ ταῦτα καὶ βεβαιῶν*, being persuaded that he being rightly informed would receive and confirm it, though his Legates had obstinately opposed it. Fourthly, That all the objections, which the Pope or his Legates had to it, were proposed and clearly answered in the \* Council; that of the contrariety of the Canon to the decree of the Council of Nice, by reading that Decree, and shewing that it was perfectly reconcileable to it; That of invading the rights of the Metropoles of Asia, Pontus and Thracia, by the severall Bishops of those regions being examined by the Emperours proxies, whether they consented to it *οὐκ ἐκ γούρου, ἢ ἀνάγκης τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένης*, by their own will, or by any necessity imposed on them, and their severall cheerful answers, *καὶ γούρου καὶ ὑποφύλακας ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ*, I subscribed willingly as in the presence of God, and the like; To which if we adde the deprecation of the Bishop of Antioch, which \* Leo objects, it is likewise answered by Maximus the Bishop of Antioch his subscription to this Canon. Lastly, that as this was enacted, by \* Baronius's own confession, by 600 Bishops, i. e. by the whole Council, not onely by a party of it, So the Bishop of Constantinople Anatolius \* subscribed it in the first place, and next after him the Bishop of Antioch, there will be no possibility of finding any truth in this Gentleman's affirmation, that the Patriarch was ashamed of this judgment of the Council.

14. It is much more reasonable to affirm on the other side, that the Pope, though not Leo, was ashamed of his opposing it, for within 30 years after, we finde Felix III. of his own accord consenting to his Primacy, and acknowledging Acacius Bishop of Constantinople to have power over the Bishops that were under him, Ep: 1. and Innocent III. confirms it with a solemn constitution cap: *Antiqua: de Privileg:* that I adde not the establishment of it again by the Council of Florence, *scilicet: ut: in lit: Unionis.*

15. As for the reason which is here offered to confirm the truth of

\* Concil: t. 3.  
p. 460.

p. 461. D.

\* ad Maxim:  
Antioch: Ep: 62.  
fol 124.  
\* Tom: 6. An:  
454. N. 13. & c.

\* p. 453:

of his affirmation, it hath it self no truth in it, and so cannot be a reason of the affirmation. It is not true; for there was no tumult nor unruliness in the Council, onely the Pope's Legates opposed the Canon, and made their complaint to the Judges, and were heard most regularly in all they could pretend, and at length the Canon was defined by the chearfull consent of all but them. See the story of it in *Bisim*, περὶ ἐκκαίναν:

16. After the passing of the Canon, the Legates, Paschasius and Lucentius make their addresse to the Judges, the ἑρσολόγοι ἀρχοῦντες, that supplied the Emperours place, who had them speak what they would have; They say, that yesterday, after the Judges and they were risen, some things were done against the Canons, and desire they may be read. That was appointed to be done; but first *Aetius* Archdeacon of Constantinople makes a relation, how after matters of faith agreed on, they proceeded according to the manner to some constitutions, in these they desired the Legates to joyn with them, they refused saying, they had received commands from Rome to do so, which being remonstrated to the Judges they had bid the Council proceed, and hereupon the Council had unanimously decreed; Appealing to them all, whether it were not true, nothing being done ἐν παρβύσῳ ἢ κλόπῃς τείνω, clancularly or by stealth, but περὶ ἐκεί, ἀκορίθῳ καὶ κανονικῶ, of course, regularly and canonically. Then the Canon was read, being a plain recitation of what was before done in the Council of Constantinople, and then all the subscriptions follow. Then the Legates desire it may be inquired, whether none have subscribed by force, suggesting that the Constantinopolitan Canon was contrary to the Nicene; Thereupon the Canons were both read, and upon the Judges appointment, they that were most concerned, the Bishops of Asia, Pontus, and Thracia, who were now brought under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, being supposed formerly to be free, were called out severally and asked whether they had acted under any force, and they severally professe the contrary. Whereupon the Judges summe up the business and conclude, that they had weighed all, and found that none had in jury, the priviledges of the Bishop of Rome were preserved intire

intire according to the *Canons*, and that the *Bishop* of new *Rome*, *Constantinople*, was to have equal *priviledges* with him, &c. And this being their *sense*, they desire the whole *Council* to deliver *theirs*, and they all cried out. αὐτὴ δικάια ἦν, ταῦτα πάντες λέγουσιν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, αὐτὴ δικάια κείσεται, τὰ τυπωθέντα κελεύω. *This is a just sentence. This we all say, let this be confirmed and confirmed*, desiring they may now be *dismiss'd* every man to his *home*, and so the *Judges* pronounce, Πάσις ἡ συνέδος ἐκύρωσε, *The Synod hath confirmed all.*

17. No dissent of any but of the *Legates*, and that, it seems, went for *nothing* when the *rest* so *universally* consented; so farre is this *suggestion* from all *show* of *truth*, that the *Clergy* of *Constantinople* were *tumultuary* and *unruly*.

18. If any the least *unruliness* there were, it was on the *Legate's* part, who would thus *stand out* and *complain* without the *least* reason to doe so, not on the *Councils*, which proceeded according to the *precedent* custome and *Canon*, and such grounds to which neither the *Pope* nor his *Legate* did then so much as *object* any thing, *viz.* the same title by which *Rome* it self ascended to her *greatness*, \* by being the *Imperial city*.

\* διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τῷ πόλει ἐκείνῳ.

#### SECT. IV.

*The Popes judging in his own cause. His Legates suffrages in Councils, Of what necessity. Antioch's equality to Rome. Constantinople preferred to no more but a Patriarchy. The dignity of the Bishop of Rome meerly from Rome's being the Imperial city.*

NUM. I. **I**N this matter of that *Council* of *Chalcedon* two exceptions more he offers (which are not so *weighty* but they may be put together) in these words,

2. Secondly, he cavilleth at the *privilege* of *Supreme Magistracy*, calling it a *method* of *security* beyond all *amulets*: then he tells us of *Antioch's* being equal to *Rome*, and that *Constantinople* desired but the same *privileges*, against the very nature of the *story*; for *Constantinople* being then a *Patriarchy*, if that

that made it equal to Rome, as this Doctor feigneth, what did it pretend *ἵνα προσβῇ* for? seeing the Doctor assumes before that all Patriarchs were equall, neither Rome it self, and lesse Antioch had cause to complain.

3. For the former of these, which he calls my cavilling at the privilege of *supreme Magistracy*, that sure is but *gratis dictum*, and a begging of that, which in the whole controversy he knows to be most denied him.
4. That he, that assumes a *supreme Magistracy* to himself, should by no means be concluded to be an assumer, till he make his own confession of it, and give his suffrage to his condemnation, I mentioned, and cannot but look upon still, as a method of perfect security, beyond all amulets and defensatives; For how can it be imagined, that he, that contests a right, should at the same time acknowledge it not to belong to him, when he knows that nothing but this confession is sufficient to deprive him of it? As for any such privilege belonging to *supreme Magistracy* in generall, or any way applicable to the Bishop of Rome, in relation to a General Council, it may be worth considering a while.
5. And first for *supreme Magistracy* in general, This privilege doth not extend to all matters. In a contest of particular right between a *supreme Magistrate* and a subject, brought before any legal judicature, 'tis certain the *supreme Magistrate* may be concluded without his own suffrage or consent, and agreeable to that it was, when the question was brought in this Council before the Judges by the complaint of the Pope's Legates, whether the Canon were the day before, after the Legate's departure, duly passed or no, For if it were not so, what needed this complaint to the Judges, the bare absence, and so not consenting of the Legates had been sufficient to cassate and annull the Acts: Whatsoever *Magistracy* therefore was then pretended to by the Bishop of Rome, this Privilege doth not then seem to have belonged to it, that his, or his Legate's suffrages should be necessary to the passing every Canon.
6. That they might have liberty to come to the Councell, that nothing were done *clancularly* or by stealth, at a time when



they knew not of it, that no force were used on those that were present, nor the like to hinder the presence of any, this was necessary to the freedom, and so to the very being of a Council, and consequently to the validity of every act thereof, and accordingly on these heads it was that the Legates in their complaint to the Judges insisted (and so doth \* Baronius, styling that last Action of that Council, *spurious & clandestine*, & *ab Anatolio furtim adjectam*, a *spurious clandestine action stolen in by Anatolius*) as also, on the authority of the Nicene Canons, which they pretended to be infringed by that latter of Constantinople, on which this of Chalcedon was founded, and this they thought sufficient to cassate this Act, but for this of the want of the Pope's or his Legate's suffrage, that it should invalidate that decree, it is not so much as pretended by the Legates, in the relations of the passages of that Council.

7. And therefore according to that saying of S. Hierome, put into their Canon Law, *si auctoritas quaritur, orbis major est urbe*, if authority be looked for, the whole world is more than the one city of Rome, it is the resolution of \* Almain, *merito Concilium Chalcedonense Leonis resistentis prevails*, that the Council of Chalcedon did well in standing out against Pope Leo, and did justly prevail against him.

8. This amulet it seems had not virtue to stand him in so much stead, as \* Baronius is pleased to phansie, setting out the power and greatness of Pope Leo by this, that he did alone cassate what this Council had decreed by the suffrages of 600 Bishops. Which how well it consists with his former affirmation, that this Canon was *spurious and clandestine*, and *stolen in by Anatolius*, I shall not here examine. 'Tis sure, if the Popes authority were so sovereign, the act needed not have been made *spurious* first, to qualifie it for the cassation. But this of the power or superiority of a Pope over an OEcumenical Council, is a question not so necessary here to be debated, unless what this Gentleman was pleased to mention of the privilege of supreme Magistracy, had been indeavoured some way to be proved by him.

9. Next he quarrels my saying that Antioch was equal to Rome,

\* Tom. 6. Ann:  
451. Num: 143.

Decret: par: 1.  
dist: 193. c. Legimus.  
\* de auctor:  
Eccl: 7:

\* Ann: 454.  
Num: 13. & c.

Rome, and that *Constantinople* desired but the same privileges, and this he saith is against the very nature of the story.

10. That *Antioch* had the *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, so farre as to the dignity of a Patriarchate &c. (allowing to Rome the Primacy of order and dignity) I thought was competently concluded from the Pope's pretensions against that Canon of Chalcedon, making it an invasion of the rights of *Antioch*, and as derogatory to that as to Rome; And so still it seems to me, For if *Antioch* had not *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, how could *Constantinople's* aspiring to equal privileges with Rome, be as derogatory to *Antioch* as to Rome? But I need not this help from Pope Leo's argument, the thing asserted by me, is not denied, that I know of, by any Romanist, viz: that *Antioch* had the dignity of a Patriarchate, for that is all that I expresse my self to mean by *Antioch's* having *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, and I that maintain (as this Gentleman truly saith I doe) that all Patriarchs are equal (in respect of Power, differing onely in order or precedence) cannot be imagined to mean any thing else by it.
11. So again that *Constantinople* desired no more but the privileges of a Patriarch, and that that is the meaning of the *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges, is by me said in opposition to acquiring any ordinary jurisdiction over other Churches, and this instead of being contrary to the nature of the story, is directly agreeable to the whole course of it, and to the expresse words of the Canon, which defines, that as the city of *Constantinople* was honoured with the Empire and Senate, and enjoyed equal privileges with old Imperial Rome, so the Church of *Constantinople* (*ὡς ἐνεὶναι μασσαλινῶν*) should be exalted to the same height with that, *δουλοῦν μὲν ἐνεὶναι ῥωμῆος*, having the next place after it, adding that the Metropolitans (and none else of Asia, Pontus and Thracia, &c. should be ordained by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Bishops of each of those Provinces being left to be ordained by their respective Metropolitans; This is so plain that there can be no need of farther proof of it.
12. And for this Gentleman's objection, by way of Question, that

that *Constantinople* being then a *Patriarchy*, if that made it equal with *Rome*, for what did it pretend *ἰσαπεσθεῖα*, I answer 1. that *Constantinople* being by *custome*, and by *Act* of the *Council* held in that city, a *Patriarchate* already, it sought not to acquire any new advantage or increase by this *Canon* of *Chalcedon*, but onely to continue what already it had.

13. This again appears by the story, where that *Canon* of *Constantinople* was produced and read, as the foundation on which this new *Canon* was built, and so by the expresse words in the beginning of the *Canon*, Παλαχὺ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀγίοις πατέσιν ὅπως ἐπρόβουτο &c. following constantly the definitions of the Holy Fathers, and knowing the *Canon* newly read of the 150 Bishops assembled in the reign of the Emperour *Theodosius* at the Imperial city *Constantinople* or new *Rome*. And agreeably *Enagrios* sets down the story, that in this *Council* of *Chalcedon* ἐδινάωσθι it was thought just or determined that the *Constantinopolitan* See εὐθὺς μὲ τῆς Πάπης ἐτέλειχθαι was rightly and duly placed next after *Rome*.

14. And when this Gentleman assumes, that if this were so, the neither *Rome* it self, and lesse *Antioch* had cause to complain, I shall most willingly joyn with him in it, being no way obliged by my pretensions to iustifie the *Pope* or his Legates dislike to that *Canon*. And for *Antioch* I am sure enough that the *Bishop* thereof, *Maximus*, though he had received an *Epistle* from the *Pope* to exasperate and perswade him to stand upon his right, did very readily subscribe it, setting his name and consent next after the *Bishop* of *Constantinople*, as hath formerly been set down out of the story.

15. And if *Antioch* did so, who was the loser by it, if precedence signifie any thing, I confesse I can render no cause (unlesse it be the *Pompeius*ve parem, impatience of any equal) why the *Bishop* of *Rome*, who lost not so much as precedence by this advancement or confirmation of dignity to the *Bishop* of *Constantinople*, should be so obstinately and implacably offended at it.

16. Thus have I answered every attempt and riddle of exception offered by this Gentleman in this matter, and have now leisure to complain, that the one thing that I desired to be taken notice

notice of from this *Canon*, is not so much as considered, or at all replied to by him, *viz.* that the *Dignity* that old Rome had by *antient Canons* inoyed was given it upon this account, *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην* because Rome was the *Imperial seat*; which as it is the proof of my whole *pretension*, that the Pope was not *Universal Pastor*, upon title of his *succession* from *S. Peter*, (for if whatsoever he had, the *Councils* gave it him, *οἱ πατέρες ἐποβέβωκασι*, saith the *Canon*, and gave it him as *Bishop* of the *Imperial See*, then sure 'twas no inheritance from *S. Peter*) so it was truly observed out of the *story* of the *Council* of *Chalcedon*, and may be seen both in the *Legate's* complaint to the *Judges*, and in the *Epistles* of *Leo* to the *Emperour Marrianus*, the *Empresse Pulcheria*, *Anatolius Bishop* of *Constantinople* and *Maximus* of *Antioch*, and his instructions to his *Legates*, that he never made any exception to that branch of the *Canon* that thus derived the original of his greatness from the *Imperial dignity* of the city, never thought himself injured by this way of setting down his title.

## Sect. V.

*Of the Canon of Ephesus. The power of Metropolitans, of Primates. The case of the Archbishop of Cyprus no peculiar case. The deduction thence against the Popes Universal Pastorship. Of the Popes tenure by the institution of Christ.*

Nm. 1. THE next exception concerns the *Canon* of the *Council* of *Ephesus*, thus,

2. As for the *Canon* of *Ephesus* touching the *Archbishop* of *Cyprus*, it plainly sheweth that the *Metropolitans* were subordinate to the *Patriarchs*, seeing this case of *Cyprus* was a peculiar excepted case, the reason given doth shew that the superiority of *Patriarchs* was by custome received from their *Ancestors*, contrary to that which the *Doctor* before affirmed, however it is still nothing to the purpose, because the authority, which we say belongs to the *Pope*, is neither *Patriarchal*, nor derived from any institution or custome of the *Church*, but from the institution of *Christ*.

Sect. 6.

3. This Canon of Ephesus, saith he, plainly shews that Metropolitans were subordinate to Patriarchs, seeing this of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case. To this I see not how any pretensions of ours oblige me to make any return, yet because it may be subject to some mistake for want of explicating, I shall clear that whole matter by these three Propositions.
4. First, that the controversy, which occasioned that Canon, was this, Whether the Bishop of Constance, Metropolitan of the Province of Cyprus, was to be ordained by the Patriarch of Antioch, or (without seeking abroad) by his own Synod, the Bishops of Cyprus. Thus is the state of the question set down in the Councils, Tom. 2. p. 670. at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> Action. *Discussa est controversia inter Rheginum Episcopum Constantia Cypri, & Johannem Antiochenum, qui sibi Cyprias Ecclesias subdere moliebatur. The controversy was discussed between Rheginus Bishop of Constance of Cyprus, and John of Antioch, who endeavoured to bring the Cypriotes Churches into subjection to himself.*
5. Secondly, that the ancient custome had been favourable to Rheginus his pretension, and so the claim of Antioch is defined *περὶ τὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν δεξιὴν—καυνομένην, a thing innovated against the Ecclesiastical Lawes, and so τῆς πᾶσιν ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ πάντων, that which, by the example, or president, would concern the liberty of all Churches. Cod: Can: Eccl: Un: gon.*
6. Thirdly, that the Council defined on the Cypriots side, that according to the Canons, and ancient custome, the Bishops of Cyprus should retain their privilege inviolable, *ὡς ἰαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόπων ποιῶντες, ordaining their Bishops within, and by themselves, and consequently that it was an act of assuming, and invasion in the Bishop of Antioch, to claim τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιῶντας χειροτονίας to make any Ordinations within Cyprus. And what was thus adjudged in the case of the Cypriots, was by that Council in the same Canon thought fit to be extended in like manner to all other Provinces (τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ἀναρχῆς παρὰ φυλαχθῆναι, the same shall be observed also through all Dioceses and Provinces every where) ὡς μὲν πάντα &c. that no Bishop shall*



shall meddle with another Province, which hath not from the beginning been under him, i. e. under his predecessors power. And so there is no truth in what is here suggested, that this of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case; It certainly, by the expresse words of the Canon, belonged to all other Metropolitans and their Provinces over all the world, that neither Bishop of Antioch nor of Rome was to meddle with any ordinations except in their own particular Provinces, but the Synod of the Bishops of each Province, δι' αὐτῶν τὰς ἑσθλορίας ἐπισκοπῶν ποιῶντες, to make the ordinations of their Bishops by themselves.

7. What he adds of the superiority of Patriarchs by custome received from their Ancestors, First, that the reason given in that Ephesine Canon doth shew it; Secondly, that it is contrary to that which the Doctor before affirmed; Thirdly, that it is still nothing to the purpose in hand, of the authority of the Pope; hath not, that I can discern, any truth in any part of it. For as to the first, whatsoever superiority Patriarchs be acknowledged to have, there is no word of mention concerning it in that Canon, neither was there any occasion to define any thing of it; It was the Synod, and Bishops of Cyprus their right, that was invaded, and of that only that Canon speaks, devolving it to original custome, and Canons, and so for all other Metropolitans. But that is not the superiority of Patriarchs. Secondly, for my affirmation, certainly it was never such as could be deemed contrary either to that Ephesine Canon about ordination of their Metropolitans, or that due superiority, which by Canons or customes doth belong to Primates or Patriarchs; what this is I have often set down, and need not again repeat it.

8. Lastly, for the application of this Canon to the present affair of the Universal Pastorship of the Bishop of Rome, thus much is evident, First, that all Provinces every where, αἱ ἀπὸλαχὲ ἐπαρχίαι were concluded by this Canon, that they should ordain their Bishops within themselves, and then I pray how can the ἑσθλορία power of ordaining all belong to the Bishop of Rome, and ordination and jurisdiction going together, how can he have the Universal Jurisdiction, or which is all one the Universal Pastorship?

Secondly,

9. Secondly, if the Pope his authority be not Patriarchal, as this Gentleman here saith, then till he hath proved that it is more than Patriarchal, and answered all that is said to the contrary in that *Traſt* of *Schiſme*, that which is by the *Ephesine Canon* judged in order to the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, will also conclude him.
10. And thirdly, that which is held by the institution of Christ being certainly derived ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the beginning, must needs be included in the words of this Canon, which requires that all should remain, as by custom (immemorial) from the beginning it had been, to which therefore we appeal, and inquire, whether Cyprus was not as Independent from Rome at that time, as from Antioch; if not, how any such dependance at that time appears, or how is it imaginable there should be any such, when all Provinces every where were to be ruled and ordered δι' ἐαυτῶν by their own Synod and Bishops.
11. As for the tenure, by which the Pope is now, in the close of this Paragraph, clearly said to stand, not from any institution or custom of the Church, but from the institution of Christ. First, this is more than ever this Gentleman would acknowledge before, telling us p. 14. that who understands the Principles of the Catholick faith, knows they rely not onely upon such places of Scripture, as, Thou art Peter, and Feed my Sheep, From whence I thought my self obliged to conclude they relied not onely on Christ his institution, for that I suppose must be set down in some, and if in any, sure in those Scriptures, And in another place, that I forget my self when I think a Catholick ought to prove that the Pope hath an Universal Primacie (referring all to his Possession) whereas in case he pretend to hold by the institution of Christ (as here he saith) certainly he is obliged to produce that institution, and that is to prove his pretension.
- p. 10. 12. But then secondly, that there is indeed any such thing, that the Pope holds by Institution of Christ, is still the thing denied by us, and the contrary, I think, demonstrated in the former chapter, and all the places producible for it, answered, and so it must not be here begged or assumed, without any word added for the proof of it.

## Sect. VI.

*The exemption of Justiniana prima, The several exceptions against this instance answered.*

*Num. 1.* HIS next Paragraph pretends to be answer to the evidence brought from the example of *Justiniana prima*, which was by the Emperour made independent from any other Ecclesiastical power. His answer is this,

2. Then he goes on with two examples, in which he would persuade us that *Justiniana prima*, and *Carthage* were made exempt cities by the Emperour, and seeth not that his own instance giveth the answer, for as in the temporal donation, he doth not exempt them from his own subjection, so neither from the Popes in spiritual, nor as much as giveth them the style of Patriarchs; though the Bishop of Constantinople in his own city ordinarily had it.
3. That *Justiniana prima* was by *Justinian* exempted from all others (and so from the Bishop of Rome his) *Jurisdiction* (and so *Carthage* also, being invested with the same privileges) I thought sufficiently proved by the plain words of the constitution, that for any differences that should befall in that Province, the Archbishop of that new erection from time to time, should decide them finally, *nec ad alium quendam eatur*, and they should go to no other for decision, or by way of appeal. and so in the Novell, *ἔχρησεν τῶν ἱδίων δικαιοδοσιῶν τὰς ἐπαρχίας* &c. he shall have under his own jurisdiction the Bishops of *Dacia*, &c. which what is it, but a perfect exemption and independency?
4. The same appears also by the other part of the constitution, that concerning ordination of that Archbishop, It was, as was said, to be done by his own Synod of Metropolitans. To which agrees that of the Novell 131. *αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐχίας οὐδεὶς χρεώσεται* He must be ordained by his own Synod.
5. To this the answer given here, and given, saith he, by my own instance, is no more than this, that as in the temporal donation he doth not exempt them from his own subjection, so neither from the Popes in spiritual. But sure there is no force

in this comparison; For the not exempting him in temporal things from his own power, doth no way conclude a non-exemption from the Pope; When Henry VIII. removed the Papal power out of this nation, no man thinks he divested himself of the regal; the Archbishop of Canterbury was made Independent, and exempt from the Bishop of Rome, but remained still subordinate to the King: So in like manner, Justinian might doe, make Justiniana a Primacy, and yet leave the Bishop and his whole Province in the same subjection to the Emperour, that before it had been; And as this is very possible, so if it were not the plain truth of the fact, that must be made appear by the story, or by the investiture.

6. In that there is no sound of any word for the exempting that Bishop from the Imperial subjection, and so we cannot imagine, without any ground, that there was any such thing, but for Ecclesiastical judicature and ordination, they are both distinctly specified, that he and his Metropolitans should have them within themselves, without fetching them abroad from any other; and so by that the Bishop of Rome is explicitly excluded from having anything to doe there.

7. This farther appears, not onely by the matter of fact, for after the first Archbishop was ordained by Pope Vigilius, his successors were constantly ordained by their own Metropolitans, and not by the Bishop of Rome, but also by farther expresse words in the \*Novell, *ἐν ταῖς ἀποκριταῖς αὐτοῦ πατριάρχης τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποστολικῇ πόλει δεῖν*, In the Provinces subject to him he shall hold the place of the Apostolical seat of Rome; i. e. doe all within those Provinces that the Bishop of Rome was wont to doe, before this Primacy was erected; and this, it seems, by direct consent of Vigilius then Pope; as there it follows, *καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Πατρῶν Βυζαντίου*, according to what was defined by the Holy Father Vigilius.

8. Which words if they be conceived to denote no more than a deputation from the Pope by which this power was held, and so be made use of as an argument to inferre his continued dependence on the See of Rome, that will be found to be a mistake, the whole investiture giving the Archbishop there an *ἐκκλησιαστικῆς* a perfect freedom, and *αὐτοκράτορος* to be heard within.

\*-Nov. gra.

within this Province, independent from all others. And should it by any other way appear that *Vigilius*, who ordained the fifth *Bishop* there (as 'tis sure he must be ordained by somebody; and none fitter for it than the *Bishop* of old *Rome*) did farther give him a *deputation*; as I see it affirmed (but not by this *Gentleman*) both of *Vigilius*; and after him of *Gregory*; yet certainly this was but a *formality*, without any farther effect or influence on the investiture, the privileges of that *See* came to it merely by the Act of the *Emperour* (and that Act was entred a part of the *Imperial Law*) to which the supposed addition of the *Pope's* *deputation* can be no prejudice; And secondly, the *Bishop* of *Carthage*, which by that *Constitution* is invested with the very same privileges by the *Emperour*, is not pretended to have received any such *deputation* from the *Pope*; and yet by virtue of the *Emperours* act was freed from all former dependence, and enjoyed the *πρεσβυτιον* and *δικαιον* *μυστηριου* under the privilege of a *Metropolitan*, in the same manner; as *Justiniana* did.

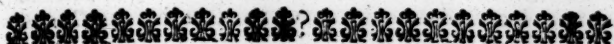
9. What this *Gentleman* adds; that the *Emperour* gave not so much as the style of *Patriarch* to the *Bishop* of *Justiniana*, though the *Bishop* of *Constantinople* in his own city ordinarily had it, will soon appear to signify nothing; For first, the power, not the title is that we speak of, and that may be had in plenty; without the name; the *Archbishop* of *Cyprus* was by the *Connoet* of *Ephesus* adjudged to have all power within himself; so as to go neither to *Antioch* nor to *Rome* for it; and yet was not raised to any higher title, than that of *Archbishop*.
10. Secondly, I suppose *Primate* and *Patriarch* to be perfectly alone; as to matter of power and dignity; that the *Archbishops* of *Constantinople* and *Hierusalem*, so styled in the ancient *Canons*, were yet ordinarily called *Patriarchs*, was no injury to the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, saith *Theod. Balsamon*, himself *Patriarch* of *Antioch* in his *μυστηριον ἐπὶ Πάτριαρχ;* *περὶ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ταυτοτητα τῆς τιμῆς*, because of the identity of the honour. And accordingly in the *Conncels* the *Archbishop* of *Constantinople*, under that title is placed before the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, yea and of *Alexandria*, who yet by the



ἑταῖς ἁγίαις γράφαις divine and holy writings (i. e. the *Canons*) by the πατέρας παράδοις traditions of the *Fathers*, was styled *Pope*, saith *Balsamon*. And therefore for *Justiniana* also this was sufficient; It was made a *Primacy*, and then it matters not, though it were not styled a *Patriarchy*; The exemption from *Rome* and all other forreign power is all I pretend this city had, and of that there can be no question, whatsoever title belonged to it.

- II. Thirdly, this Gentleman's saying that the *Bishop* of *Constantinople* had the title of *Patriarch* in his own city, would make one believe that he had it not elsewhere, which yet it is notorious that he had, Πατριάρχας ἀνακηρύττει, he and the *Archbishop* of *Jerusalem* were publicly called *Patriarchs*, saith *Balsamon*, and he renders the reason, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν πέντε πατριάρχας τοπὸν τῆς μιᾶς κεφαλῆς εἶναι σώματι ὁμοιωμένον διὰ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκκλησιῶν εἶναι θεῷ, because the five *Patriarchs* (of which number they were two) held the place of the head of the body, to wit, of the holy Churches of God. But whatsoever the title were, it is still sure enough it had the power and dignity of a *Patriarchate*, first by custome, then by *Canons* of two General *Councils*, *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* (for I suppose the setting it next and equal to *Rome*, and before *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, will amount to this) also by that very *Novell* of *Justinian*, where the privileges are conferred on *Justiniana*, Τὴν μακαριώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῆς νίκης Ῥώμης διυψέειν τὰξιν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγίον ὑποστατικὸν θρόνον τῆς πρεσβυτέρης Ῥώμης, καὶ ἄλλων πάντων περιμενέειν, the *Archbishop* of new *Rome*, *Constantinople*, hath the next place after the *Apostolical See* of old *Rome*, and the precedence of honour before all others, And so much for the *Exceptions* to the fifth Chapter.

Neap. 926.



## CHAP. VI.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the sixth Chapter.*

## Sect. I.

*The plea for the Popes power from the conversion of England.  
Of acquiring of right by two titles.*

nm. 1. **T**HE plea from plantation, which was considered in the sixth Chapter, he now proceeds to, in these words,

2. In his sixth Chapter he examineth another title peculiar to England, viz: that our Nation was converted by mission from Rome, and this is totally beside the question, for no man is so stupid as to pretend S. Peter or the Church of Rome to have power over the Universal Church, because his successors converted England: But some pretend a special title of gratitude, the violation of which aggravateth the sin of schismatizing from the Church of Rome in our nation, yet no man, as farre as I can understand, thinks this latter obligation of so high a nature, as that for no occasion or never so great cause, it may not be dispensed with, but onely presse it then when the benefit is slighted, or by colourable arguments to the contrary unworthily avoided: And yet this Doctor quite mistaking the Question frameth an argument, as full of words as empty of matter, affirming there cannot be two successive titles to possession of the same thing, telling us, that he who claimeth a reward as of his own labour and travel must disclaim a donation, &c. if any passed before, and that if a King have right by descent, he cannot claim any thing by conquest, by which you may see his understanding the Law is not much more than his understanding of our principles.

3. What this Gentleman here premiseth, that this plea from the Conversion of this nation by mission from Rome is not used

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Sect. 2.

by the *Romanist* to prove us *schismaticks*, I have no reason to confute, but shall from thence suppose that that *sixt Chapter* might have been spared out of that little *Treatise*; and our *Church* competently justified by the *precedent Chapters*; And then all that I shall need adde, is, *First*, that I hope what was by me added *superfluously*, above the necessities of our cause, will not destroy what was before said *pertinently*, and then as I shall onely have lost my *pains*, and there is no farther *hure* done, so it must needs be very *unnecessary* for this *Gentleman* to adapt any farther *answers* to that *sixt Chapter*, when he hath once adjudged all that is there said to be totally beside the *Question*.

4. *Secondly*, That if others had been as *prudent*, as this *Gentleman*, I had certainly spared that *Chapter*, It being no interest of mine to invent *pleas* for the *Romanist*, and although, as this *Gentleman* hath pleased to set it, it be a competent stupidity, and that which I never thought any *Romanist* guilty of, to make the *conversion* of *England* a *plea* to *power* over the *Universal Church*, yet *England*, and not the *Universal Church*, being the subject of our *Question*, there is not quite so much *stupidity* in it, to plead the *Popes* power over *England* from the *supposed Conversion* of *England*, And certainly I did not dream that some *Romanists* have thus *pleaded*, but, as I said before, if this *Gentleman* will not insist on it, neither shall I farther *importune* him about it.
5. For that of *gratitude* which he now mentions onely as an *aggravation* of the sin of *schismatizing*, w<sup>ch</sup> that we are guilty of, he acknowledges must be proved by some other means, I yeild to the force of it, that it might justly adde a *weight* to the obligation, which formerly lay upon us, supposing any such there were, but cannot lay an *obligation* to *obedience* where before it was not due, much lesse were it due unto *another*. All the benefits that can be heaped on me by any man that gives me not my being, cannot *oblige* or *engage* my *subjection* to him, without the *intervention* of my own *consent*, if I am perfectly free to choose my *Sovereign*, and without the consent of my former *Sovereign*, if I have any.
6. So that the whole *Question* must be, whether by any *original*

ginal right the Bishop of Rome had power over this Kingdom, and so whether by that, our obedience was due to him, for if it were, then this gratitude was not the tenure, but that other; and if it were not, then neither of the titles are in force against us; not the first, which hath no being; nor the second, which whatsoever it be, obligeth not to obedience.

7. This I thought was apparent by the instance of the several claims to a Kingdom, by descent, and by conquest, the one of which, if it stood, as the title, superseded the other, he that holds by inheritance, cannot be properly said to hold by conquest, even when it is true that he hath conquered also. For in that case, when the right heir being forced to make use of his sword to give him possession, is successful and victorious in it, all that his sword doth, is to give him possession, not to give him right, for that he had before by inheritance.

8. That the same right cannot be held by two tenures appears by this; because if it might, it being evidently possible that those two tenures might be separated and placed in several subjects, the inheritance in one, the conquest in another, it must follow from thence, that each of those persons shall have the right, which as it is unimaginable, speaking of the whole right or propriety in integrum to the whole power, for if one have it all, the other can have no part of it, so if it be applied to a partial right (which more than one may have, either severally, or socially, and jointly, to the same thing) then that is the changing of the Question which spake of the whole right, and not onely of some one or more parts or branches of it.

9. And therefore as this Gentleman agrees with me in the conclusion, that Rome hath no title to our obedience, from that of converting us, or if it had, it could not plead the same from S. Peter's universal Pastorship, so I cannot discern, why my way of inferring it was disliked, or my ignorance in the Lawes censured, for saying that the title of descent is exclusive to that of conquest, meaning it not of several parts, of which one comes by descent, the other by conquest, but of the same whole thing, of which he that hath the right by descent, may by the sword and conquest vindicate his right, and acquire quiet.

quiet possession, but cannot be said to acquire his right by those means, being supposed to have had it, before he made use of them.

## SECT. II.

*The British Church not converted from Rome.*

- Num. 1. **H**AVING granted me my conclusion, that our obedience to Rome is not due from the Nation's conversion by mission from thence, he is yet resolved to examine my arguments, by which I prove what he grants. And there be three things, that here he takes notice of. The first in these words,
2. *But to come to some matter, His first argument is that this Island was converted before S. Augustine's time, surely he means by the name of Island, the Land and Mountains and trees, for if he speak of the men, what hath the conversion of the former Islanders to doe with the subjection and duty which the Saxons owe.*
  3. I answer, by this *Island*, I mean not the mountains, nor trees, on one side, any more than the present individual persons on the other side, but the inhabitants of it indefinitely, who have succeeded one another, whether British or Saxon by extraction. For, first, of the British it is certain that they were not converted by mission from Rome, but were Christians long before S. Augustine's coming hither, And Secondly, of the Saxons it may be remembered, that Augustine did not absolutely introduce Christianity among them here, but Luidhardus, that came out of France with Bertha, Ethelred's Wife, and was a Bishop here, had prepared the way for Augustine. See Bede Hist: Eccl: lib. 1. c. 5, 26. And Thirdly, if Augustine were the first converter of the Saxons, and so that be, without farther question, granted of him, yet that cannot belong to the whole Island, the Dominion of Wales being neither of Saxon extraction, nor converted from Rome to Christianity. And this is the designe of that argument of mine, In case there were a duty owing to that See, from whence the converter came, and in case that were acknowledged



knowledge to pertain to the Saxons, yet still the *British* part would not be concluded by either of these, it being certain that their *Ancestors* were not comprehended in this number.

4. But because this *Gentleman* waves this title from *conversion*, neither shall I farther insist to disprove it; But rather ask, why no answer was made to those *testimonies*, which in that place were occasionally vouched to shew that at the time of *Augustine's* coming into this *Island*, the *Christian Church* here acknowledged no subjection to *Rome*, or to any other *Church*, to be due from them, which certainly is some prejudice to the claim drawn from the *Universal Pastorship* of *S. Peter* and his *successor* at *Rome*.

5. To that which is there said for the evidencing this out of the *Annals* of *Gisburne*, It will not be amiss here to add what our *stories* tell us, that when the *Pelagian heresie*, which first sprang from *Morgan* a *Britain*, was by *Agricola* brought into this *Island*, the *Britains* \* unwilling to receive their *insults*, and yet unable to resist them without assistance from some other *Church*, in this time of need, applied not themselves to *Rome*, as in their \* *secular* distresses they had accustomed, but to their neighbours of *France*, who calling a *Council* sent *Germanus Altisiodorensis* and *Lupus* to their aid, by which means the *Catholic Faith* was much revived and increased and propagated among them.

\* Neq; suscipe  
dogma perversū  
vellens, neque  
versutiam ne-  
faria persuasione  
refutare verbis  
certando suffice-  
ret: Bed l. i.  
c. 17.  
\* Bed. l. i.  
c. 12, 13.

### SECT. III.

*S. Paul's plantations an argument against the Universal Pastorship of S. Peter. S. Paul's being Bishop of Rome, no answer to it.*

am. I. THE argument which he next speaks to, is that wherein from *Paul's* having planted some *Churches*, which yet are not subjected to the *Chair*, where *S. Paul* sat (whether *Antioch* or *Rome*) I conclude against this claim of power from the title of *conversion*; To this he thus speaks,

2. His next Argument demandeth, whether all that *S. Paul* converted, were obliged to be under him; truly if it were to pur-

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pose, I believe there might be proof that S. Paul expected it; but he doth not remember that he told us S. Paul was Bishop of Rome, and so it cometh to the same question, but indeed he quite misseeth the matter, for no body stateth this for the Popes title, but aggravation of the schisme.

3. 3. To what purpose it is to say there might be proof, and yet to produce none, I know not; This onely I desire to note, that if any such proof were produced, and, without that, by the bare pretending that it might be proved, S. Peter's universal Pastorship must be disclaimed, and consequently all right which derives its original from thence.
4. For S. Paul's labours being more abundant than all the Apostles, 'tis certain great numbers were converted by him, and if all they were to be under S. Paul, how can S. Peter be Pastor and Ruler of all, it being certain, that S. Paul was not subordinate to S. Peter.
5. And it is of little force what I am reminded of (though sure I never forgot it) that S. Paul was Bishop of Rome, and so it cometh to the same question: For 1. S. Paul being Bishop of the Gentile part of the Roman Christians, as S. Peter of the Jewish, and those then disparate congregations, S. Paul cannot be thought in his converting the Gentiles of other nations, to bring in subjects to S. Peter; And 2. it is evident that S. Paul was not Bishop of Rome when he placed Timothy over Asia, and Titus over Crete, and consequently the conversion and establishment of those Churches was not in any reason to acquire any Dominion to Rome, which S. Paul had never seen at that time, and which was it self converted after those, and that was it which I was proving.
6. But he bethinketh himself at last, and confesseth that this of conversion is not the Pope's title to England, And having done so before, why might he not have permitted me to bring undeniable evidences for the proof of it?

## SECT. IV.

*The concernments of Rome in the Princes power to remove Patriarchates. The examples of it. Justiniana, the Canon of Chalcedon, and the 6<sup>th</sup> Council. Valentinian making Ravenna a Patriarchate. 'Αναβιβ δολύρα.*

N<sup>um.</sup> 1. **T**O put this whole matter out of controversy, viz: that the Church of England is not bound to be subject to that Church, from which it first received the Faith, one head of argument I pitch on, the power of Kings to remove or erect Primacies and Patriarchates, which if it have truth in it, evidently proves, that in case we were once under the See of Rome, as our Patriarchate or Prime See (supposing that of Universal Pastorship disproved before, and not reconcilable with this title to England by having converted) yet it was in the power of our Kings to remove that from Rome to Canterbury. For the proof of this, evidences were brought both from the Council (and that OEcumenical) of Chalcedon, and from the practice of Princes, particularly Justinian in an eminent instance, and Valentinian and others before the Council of Chalcedon, and many the like examples in the Records of this Kingdome, and of others, as is shewed at large, and the ground of all insisted on, the supreme power of Kings in Ecclesiastical affairs, and this is done in 16 sections, from the 9th to the end of that Chapter. Against all which (that we may see how true the title of this Gentleman's Book is, *An Answer to the most material parts &c.*) that which is confronted, is contained in these words,

2. Thirdly, He saith it was in the Emperors power to constitute Patriarchs: whether that be so or not, it will not be much to our purpose to dispute here, onely this I say, that he seems neither to understand the question, nor proves what he would; he understands not the question, which hath no dependency on the nature of Patriarchs, or terms of gratitude, but on the donation of Christ: he proves not what he would, for he produceth onely the act of an Emperour accounted Tyrannical towards the Church, without proof and discussion whether it was well or ill done, which

was requisite to make good his proof; neither doth he say whether the thing were done or no by the consent of Bishops, especially since the Pope was an Actor in the businesse, he addeth an Apocryphal decree of Valentinian the third, for giving of privileges purely Ecclesiastical to the Bishop of Ravenna, which out of his liberality he makes a Patriarch, but on the whole matter this is to be observed, that generally the Bishops consents were pradedemanded or præordered, as in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 17. it is ordered that the Church should translate their Bishopricks according to the Emperours changing of his City, and when the Emperours did it, it is said they did it according to the power given them, to wit, by the Church, so that a few examples to the contrary, produced in the reigns of headstrong and Tyrannical Princes, as the most of those are noted to be, under whom they are urged, prove nothing, and if they did, yet cannot they be taken as testimonies, when these matters of fact are onely so attributed to Princes, as no way to exclude the Church, but whatsoever it was, it doth not at all appertaine to the question, since the Popes authority, in the sense he calls him Pope, is not properly Patriarchal, nor hath any dependency upon, or from change of places made by the command of Princes.

3. The first thing here answered is, that it is not much to the Romanists purpose to dispute, whether or no the Emperour hath power to constitute Patriarchs. (He ought to have added, or to translate them from one City to another, for that is in that Tract also expressly proved, but this I suppose not without reason omitted, because the power to erect or constitute, supposes and implies the power to translate them.) And if this be not this Gentleman's interest to dispute, I shall then by his good leave, suppose it yeilded me, and observe what the consequences will be.
4. And 1. In case the power of the Pope be a Patriarchal power, and no more, and that appear to be all that the ancient Councils ever allowed it to be, then it immediately followes, that it is in the power of the Emperour to translate and remove it from that to any other See, and in that case what befell Constantinople by way of advancement, from the  
title.

title of an ordinary *Suffragan Bishops* See, it ascended to equal dignity and *privileges* with *Rome* it self, will in the reverse be the condition of *Rome*; from the first *Patriarchal* See in the whole world, nothing hinders but that it may become the See of the most ordinary *Bishop*. And sure 'twill be the *Romanists* concernment to dispute that principle, from which this may possibly be the undeniable conclusion.

5. But if, as here it seems to be interposed, the power of *Rome* be that of *Universal Pastorship*, no way dependant on the nature of *Patriarchs*, or on any other tenure, but the donation of *Christ* to *Saint Peter*, then 1. it must be remembered that after the refusing of any such right from *Christs* donation in the former Chapters, the removal also of this was in all reason to prove of some interest to the *Romanist*, and so it must, till the proofes of those Chapters be perfectly answered, which yet hath not been done in any degree, as this reply to the few answers applied to those Chapters hath shewed.

6. Secondly, This adhering thus wholly to this donation of *Christ*, and the *Universal Pastorship* deduced from thence, is the direct disclaiming of all the *Canonical Privileges* belonging to *Rome*, on the score of *Patriarchy*, and so in case that first tenure shall faile, it is the degrading of *Rome* from that dignity, which by *antient Canon* belong'd to it, that of the *Prime Patriarchy*, and so cuts the *Romanist* off from all the advantage he can reape either from the affirmation of *Fathers* or *Councils*, any farther than they are founded in, and referre to *Christs* donation of *Universal Pastorship* to *Saint Peter*, which whether it will prove to be the interest of this *Gentleman*, I must leave him to judge for himselfe, and onely adde in the last place, that against him that asserts the *Bishop* of *Romes* *Universal Pastorship* upon what title soever, this will necessarily be a shrewd prejudice, if it be not disputed but yeilded, that it is in the power of *Princes* to erect or translate *Patriarchies*, by *Patriarchies* understanding (as it is evident I doe in that discourse) chiefe *Independent* authorities over other *Churches*, such as was by *Justinian* conferred on *Justiniana Prima* and *Carthage*, by *Valentinian*.



on *Ravenna*, without any *subordination* to, or *dependance* on any other, particularly on the *See of Rome*.

7. Can any thing be more *prejudicial* to the *Universal Pastorship* of *Rome* than this? Can *Rome* be *Pastor* of those who have no *dependance* on her? or can that be *Universal*, from which some particulars are *exempt*?
8. This made it but *necessary* for this *Gentleman* to undertake two things in the following words, that I *neither understand the question, nor prove what I would*; for if I shall yet appear to *judge* aright of the *question*, even as it is by this *Gentleman* brought back to that which had been debated in the *former Chapters*, whether the *Bishop of Rome* be *Universal Pastor* by *Christs donation* to *Saint Peter*, and if I have really proved that it is in the *power of Emperours and Princes* to *constitute and remove Patriarchies*, It will certainly follow, that I have done all that I *undertook* to doe, evinced the matter of the *question*, and shewd that it is in the *power of Princes* to exempt some *Churches* from the *Popes* dominion, and so superseded the *Universality* of his *Pastorship*.
9. As for the *validity* of my *proofes*, that must be judged by the *view* of the *Answers* applyed to them, 1. that I *produce onely the act of an Emperour accounted Tyrannicall towards the Church*. To this I answer, 1. that the word [*onely*] excluding all others, the *proposition* can have no truth in it, it being evident that I produce many other *acts* of the same *Imperial power*, as the *Reader* may finde by casting his eye on the place, the latter part of that 6. *Chap:* and this *Gentleman* himselſe shall be my witnesſe, (who saith of me [*he addeth an Apocryphal decree of Valentinian*]) which though it be not a *recitation* of all that are by me added, yet is sufficient to *refute the contrary*, to what the [*onely*] had affirmed.
10. Secondly, The *character* that is given that *Emperour*, whose act I first produced, that he is *accounted Tyrannicall towards the Church*, will, I suppose, signifie but this, that he that did any thing *derogatory* to the *Universal Pastorship* of the *Bishop of Rome*, is by this prejudged from yeilding us any *competens* testimony in this dispute, which is in effect that this *Gentleman* is in the *right*, and all that is, or shall, or can be brought

brought against him must signifie nothing, which sure is not the way of answering arguments, but adhering to conclusions, without weighing what is or can be brought against them.

11. Thirdly, For that particular act, and the Emperor which is thus censured: It is Justinian, that great and famous Emperor, his making the Bishop of Justiniana Prima the head of all Dacia, &c. of which this Gentleman had past a very different judgement, when it came under his view in the former Chapter.
12. There his answer was, the Emperor exempted it not from the Popes subjection, pag 15. and yet now when the very same passage comes in his way againe, he hath forgotten himselfe, and the Emperor, that just now had as great care of the Popes spiritual power, as of his owne civill, is in a moment become Tyrannicall towards the Church. I desire one of these answers, being thus engaged, may make good the contest against the other.
13. But then 4. whatsoever can be said of that Emperor in other respects, 'tis certaine that this erecting of Justiniana was no act of tyranny against the Church, but the very thing that is authorized by the 17 Canon of the General Council of Chalcedon (which is one of those that the Pope at his consecration solemnly vows to observe, and all the Ordinances made in them) for that resolves that if any City be built or restored by the Kings power, the Ecclesiastical order must follow the Political, τῆς πολιτικῆς ἡ βασιλικῆς προτάγματος, saith the Scholiast, the Imperial decrees concerning that City \* ἔχειν ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξίωμα ἢ μητροπολιτικῆς, to have the dignity of \* Balsam. in an Episcopal or Metropolitane See. And the same againe in the same words was decreed by the 6. Council in Trullo, Can. 38. Can. 38. from whence certainly Balsamon's conclusion is irrefragable, \* ὅτι ἔχει τῷ βασιλεὶ προνόμια ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀφαιρῆσαι, that \* 1 Council. Chal. it is lawfull (and so sure not Tyrannical) for a Prince to take away (or remove) the privileges of the Church of any City, and \* ὁποῦντινὰ βουλῆται αὐτοῦ χάριν τῶν ἐπισκοπικῶν δικαίων, \* lb. pag. 342. to determine, as he shall please, concerning the Privileges of Bishops.

His

14. His second answer is, that I doe not say whether the thing were done or no by the consent of Bishops, especially since the Pope was an Actor in the businesse. To which I answer, that when I have made it appear to be the act of the Emperour, and that by the Canons of Councils it was acknowledged fully lawfull for the Emperour, and so for other Princes, to doe so, I need neither inquire whether the consent of Bishops, or of the Pope himself were added to it, such formalities of consent may be had or omitted without any disturbance to, or influence on the matter.
15. His third answer is applied to that Act of Valentinian, which made Ravenna a Patriarchate, and first he calls the Decree of that Emperour an Apocryphall decree; 2. He saith that it was giving to the Bishop privileges purely Ecclesiastical, reproving me for making him a Patriarch; For the first, I answer, that as I never thought it any piece of the Canon of Scripture, by which Valentinian did this or any more than a Rescript of an Emperour, which, if such, is certainly sufficient to expresse it an Imperial Act, so the authorities for this may rescue it from farther question, for though it were not Baroni's interest to believe it, and so it is by him suspected of forgery, An. 432. n. 93. yet even he acknowledgeth it to be very antient, and owned by several Writers, n. 92. and afterwards, when the same authorities which are produced for this, Hier. Ruben, and the Records of Ravenna, seem to favour his grand design, i. e. make for Rome, he can then very fairly make use of them, though it be but a narration of a vision, An. 433. n. 24. But I need not lay more weight on this, than the Apocryphal (as he calls it) Decree will be able to support, this is no singular president, many examples there are of the like which are there mentioned in the Tract of Schisme.
16. For the second, Patriarchal power Ravenna had without any dependance on the Bishop of Rome, and I pretend no more for the Bishop of Canterbury, and therein also shall bate him the title of Patriarch, What he adds (by way of observation on the whole matter) 1. that generally the Bishops consents were predemanded or praordered, as in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 17. Secondly, that what the Emperours did, they did

did by the power given them by the Church, will soon appear to bring him little advantage, For

17. 1. The Bishop's ( I suppose he means the Bishop of Rome his ) consent was not asked ; One part of the story is, that when the Bishop of Ravenna, being fain to flee to the Bishop of Rome for support against the Longobards, submitted himself to him, the people of Ravenna thought themselves injured thereby ; And 2. it is not truly said, that it was *preordered*, and the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon cannot be brought to that purpose, this act of Valentinians dated Anno 432. being 19 years before the Council of Chalcedon, which was assembled Anno 451. and so sure not *preordained* by that, which was subsequent ; And indeed the Canon of that Council mentioning Cities and Churches in the plural, which had been \* before their Session made Metropoles by several Kings, is a clear evidence that there were other such, beside that of Ravenna, and \* Balsamon expresseth them by the name of *Madya*, and *Abydu* &c.

\* ὅσαι ἦσαν πόλεις δια γεγραμμένων βασιλικῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, Can. 12.

\* Διαφορῇ βασιλεῶς ἐπισκοπῆς εἰς μητροπόλιν ἐτιμήσαν, Balsam: in Can: 12.

18. Thirdly, If this be acknowledged an act of Council confirming the lawfulness of what the Emperours had thus done, and decreeing ( as clearly the Council of Chalcedon and that other in Trullo did ) that generally it should be thus, that as the Prince made an ordinary City a Metropolis, the Church of that City should be a Metropolitan Church, then still this is the fuller evidence, that it was lawfull for Princes thus to doe, and that as oft as they did, such changes in the Churches followed, for sure a King was not obliged to ask the Churches leave to repair or build a city.

19. Lastly, What out of Balsamon was cited by me, that what the Emperors did in this matter they did according to the power that was given them ] was, it seems, either an occasion of stumbling to this Gentleman, or an excuse of it ; For from hence he concludes that this power was given them by the Church ; This, if it be true, is the thing that I would demand, and so farre from answering mine instance: for if the Church have given Princes this power, then they may freely and lawfully make use of it ; and Justinian's doing so could be no tyrannical act against the Church. But let us view \* Balsamon's

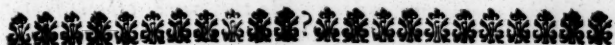
\* in Chalced: Can. 12.

words, They are these, τὰς τοιούτας γίνεσθαι ἀεισμούς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δοῦντων αὐτοῖς ἀνάδεν ἐξουσίαν. such definitions are made by Kings according to the power given them from above. That word ἀνάδεν from above, sometimes signifies in respect of time, sometimes also in respect of place; In the first respect it signifies from of old, and is oft joyned with ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning; and if it be so taken here, as *Gentianus Hervetus* interprets it *olim*, it must then signifie that this power was yeilded to Kings either by the *Apostles*, or by the *Primitive Canons* of the Church, and if it were thus given them by the Church, then sure they might justly challenge and exercise it freely. But in the second sense, it is as certain that ἀνάδεν signifies from above, i. e. from heaven, so *Joh. 19. 11.* Christ tells Pilate, thou couldst have no power over me, εἰ μὴ ᾧ σοι δοθῇ ἀνάδεν, unless it were given thee from above, i. e. sure from heaven, from God, by whom Kings reign and have their power, and so it very frequently signifies in the \* *Scripture*; And if that be the the meaning, then this *Gentleman* sees how well he hath inferred his conclusion from this passage.

\* *Jam. 1. 17.*  
3. 15, 17.  
&c.

20. By all this it already appears what truth there is in this suggestion, that the examples produced are but few, and those of tyrannical Princes, and no way excluding the Church] just as much, and no more, as was in the premises, which induced it, and those being discovered already, it is superfluous to make repetitions so soon in this place.

21. In the close he thinks fit to retire again to his old fortresse, that the Popes power is not Patriarchal, and so that he is still safe from all that hath been said on that head; But it hath now appeared, that if any other be made a Patriarch or Primate, or (whatever the style be) a Bishop without any dependence on the Pope, this is a prejudice sufficient to his Universal Pastorskip, and other disadvantages: he is rather in reason to expect by disclaiming the Patriarchal authority, which the Canons have allowed him, than hope to gain any thing by contemning his inheritance.



## CHAP. VII.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the seventh Chapter.*

## SECT. I.

*King Henry's desire of Reconciliation to Rome. The sacrifice, &c. no argument against Regal power to remove Patriarchies. Possession in the belief of the Popes supremacy. Prescribing for error. Napier's testimony. Possession, if granted from Augustine's coming into England, no argument of truth. Confessions of Popes. Augustine required it not. Pope Gregory's testimony. Many evidences that this belief was not received after Augustine's time.*

*Num. I.* **W**Hat in the next place is replied to that part of *Chapter 7.* which concerned *Henry VIII.* his act of ejecting the Power of the Pope, will be full matter for a first section of this Chapter. He begins thus,

2. *In his seventh Chapter he intends a justification of the breach Begun in whereof as he doth not teach the infamous occasion, and how to his Hen. 8. dying day the same King desired to be reconciled, as also that it was but the coming two daies short of a Post to Rome, which hindered that the reconciliation was not actually made, as may be seen in my Lord of Cherbery's Book fol. 368. and that the moderate Protestants curse the day wherein it was made, so the very naming of Hen. VIII. is enough to confute all his discourse, Sir Walter one of the darlings of his daughter having given him such a Raleigh in character, as hath stamped him for England's Nero to future Posterity, and as it was said of Nero in respect of Christian religion, so might it be of him respecting the unity of the Church, World. viz: it must be a great good that he began to persecute and abolish: and as for the Acts passed in the Universities, Convocation,*



tion or Parliament, let the blood shed by that Tyrant bear witness what voluntary and free Acts they were. especially those two upon his Seneca and Burrhus, Bishop Fisher, and the Chancellor More, that he might want nothing of being thoroughly para'd to Nero.

But methinks the Doctor differs not much in this, seeming tacitly to grant the Bishops were forced, awed by that noted sword in a slender thread, the pramunire which did hang over their heads, though in the conclusion of that Self: he saies we ought to judge charitably, viz: that they did not judge for fear nor temporal Interests, yet after waves the advantage of that charitable judgment; and saith, That if what was determined were falsly determined by the King and Bishops, then the voluntary and free doing it will not justifie, and if it were not, then was there truth in it, antecedent to, and abstracted from the determination, and it was their duty so to determine, and crime that they were unwilling: laying the whole weight of the argument upon this; that the pretensions for the Popes supremacy in England must be founded either as successor to S. Peter in the universal Pastorship of the Church, so including England as a member thereof; or upon paternal right respecting S. Augustine's conversion, or upon concession from some of our Kings &c. To which I answer, that we relie on the first as the foundation and corner-stone of the whole building, On the second as an attribute worthy the successor of S. Peter, which requires a grateful consideration from us; And on the third not as a concession, but as a just acknowlengment of what was necessary for the good of Christian Religion, taught our Kings by those who taught them Christian Religion; of which belief, I mean that the Pope as Successor to S. Peter is head and governour of the Universal Church, we have been in possession ever since the conversion of our English Ancestors, then Saxons, to the Christian religion, made by Austin the Monk sent hither by Pope Gregory for that purpose; untill that good King Henry the VIII. out of scrupulosity of conscience (no doubts) was pleased to cut the Gordian knot of those bonds, within which all his Ancestors limited themselves; neither shall all that the Doctor and his fellows have said, or can say, justifie themselves so, but that (such a possession, as I here speak

*ſpeak of, will convince them of ſchiſme, though all theſe replies, which by ours have been 40 times made to every one of theſe arguments the Doctör uſes, ſhould bear but equal weight in the ſcale, which we think hoſes it up into the aire, for the arguments muſt be demonſtrative and clear to men of common ſenſe, that muſt overthrow ſuch a poſſeſſion; and therefore it is that the Puritans, who are much leſſe friends to the Church of Rome than to the Church of England, wave all diſputing out of Anti-  
 quity, and confeſſe that the Church of Rome hath born a ſway without any debatable contradiction over the Chriſtian world  
 1267 years, a time that no King in the world can pretend to by ſucceſſion from his Anceſtors for poſſeſſion of his crown, and yet I believe the Doctör would conclude thoſe ſubjects guilty of rebellion, which ſhould goe about to deprive ſuch a King of his Crown, though he could not ſhew writings evidently concluding for him 12, 14, 15, or 1600 years agoe, how much more if he could ſhew them demonſtrating his right, in the interpretation of as wiſe and learned men as the world hath, and 20 times the numbers of their adverſaries.*

*Napier ſon  
 the Revela-  
 tion.*

3. The firſt thing here objected to my diſcourſe, is, as Orators are wont to doe for the raiſing of paſſions, a mention of ſome circumſtances, which though extrinſecal to the matter, may yet hope to have ſome influence on an unwary Reader, and infuſe no ſmall prejudices into him; ſuch are the infamous occaſion of the breach begun by that King, and ſuch is the odious character faſtned on him of England's Nero &c.

4. But it cannot be neceſſary for me to offer an Apologie on either of theſe two heads, If that which he did in this particular of ejection of the Papal power, be in it ſelf juſtifiable, both in reſpect of the matter of the action, and the competency of the power that did it, it matters not what moved him to doe it, or how inclinable he was to have reſcinded it. The farther he were from a truly pious man, the more likely it is, he might be brought by ſecular intereſts (and the leſſe likely that it was by any religious) to undoe all that upon the weightieſt grounds of reaſon, had been eſtabliſht by him. Without examining therefore the truth of that ſuggeſtion, that to his dying day he deſired to be reconciled, and without demanding

what is meant by that phrase, *desired to be reconciled*, whether any overture to receive the *Popes* on his *owne* termes, into full possession againe, or onely a desire to approve himselfe to the *Pope*, that he still maintained the *Catholike*, nay *Roman Faith* (as we know he put men to death for denying some *Doftrines* profest at *Rome*) that what he had done was no whit *injurious* to him, prejudiciall, or derogatory to any right, which could justly be chalenged by the *Pope* in this *Kingdome*; without either of these inquires, I say, If I shall take for granted the utmost that can be pretended, that for a long time together he desired to have rescinded what he had done, I see not what disadvantage this can be to our pretensions.

5. For 1. I shall demand, was he all this while, that he thus desired to be reconciled, a truly changed and Pious Prince, was that principle of wicked life so soone eradicated, which even now denominated him a *Nero*, and made it fit to esteeme that a great good, which he began to abolish, and did he thus continue a new, reformed penitent to his dying day? If so, then truly Sir *W. R.* was very unkinde and unchristian in recording his crimes, and omitting his repentance; and it is no excellent port of this Gentlemans character, that he thought fit to imitate and quote him in this; the same injustice in an *Historian* or *Observer*, that it had been in *Eusebius* to take so much of the life of *Constantine* out of *Zosimus* or *Julian's* *Casars*, as should render him justly odious, and to omit the whole latter part of his life, which was so eminently virtuous and Christian.
6. But if this Prince still continued to be like that image, which here is portrayed of him, then sure I shall with the same evidence of prooffe be allowed to object those vices, and those no excellent Christian motives that incited it, to his desire of being reconciled, or his willingnesse to re-admit the Papall power into this *Kingdome*, and conclude, that the ejection of it must be a great good, which he was so inclinable to abolish, and so the faith of the reformed, which he so more than began to persecute, and all this as regularly as his personall vices, and the infamous occasion, be it never so truly so, can

can be objected to that act of State, which pass in that Kings reign, for the disclaiming the Papal powers among us.

7. Nay, if that passage in his storie had acquired a yet farther degree of Truth, if the Post had come two dayes sooner to Rome, and so had actually composed the difference between that King and that Pope, so as had been most for the interest of Rome, yet it is evident, that my discourse had no way been concerned in this; This evidently had been no more, than what afterwards came to passe in Queen Marie's dayes, and it would still be in the power of King Henries immediate successor, to remove the power from Rome to Canterbury, as it had been in the power of Henry either to doe it, or undoe it againe.
8. And therefore the whole matter still divolves (as it did in the tract of Schisme) to that one question, whether the Bishop of Rome had at that time any real authority here, which the King might not lawfully remove from him to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and must be decided as there it is, by the view of Evidences, whether that pretended from Peters Universal Pastorship, or that from Augustines planting Christianity here, or that from the voluntary concession of some Kings, and each of them is so disproved there, that till some competent answer be rendered to those particulars, (which certainly is not yet done by this Gentleman, who onely here tells us the manner how he relies on each of these, and the possession they had of the belief that the Pope was head of the Universal Church) 'tis perfectly unnecessary farther to consider what is here added, onely to inflame passions, but not to satisfy Conscience, to exasperate, not to argue.
9. For what if moderate Protestants should truly curse the day, &c. or, in a more Christian dialect, expresse their dislike to the great Sacrilege, and some other enormities, which were committed in that Princes reigne, what prejudice will this be to any lawful exercise of that regal power? 'Tis certaine that all the Acts of a bad Prince are not invalid or null, and much more evident still, that he that hath not offended in assuming the power which really belongs to him, may by being denied that,

that, be *inraged*, and laid open, to importune *Temptations*, and if he be not a through *Christian*, constant and masterly, fall, and that soulely under those *temptations*. And if Henry VIII. did so, still this is very *extrinsecall* to the present inquiry, whether he as *King* had power to remove a *Patriarchy*, and by that to remove all forraigne jurisdiction or authority out of this *Church*,

10. All that remains in this *Section*, farther to be spoken to, is the *possession* that is here *pleaded*, not in the *power* it selfe, (if it were, that hath formerly been spoken to) but in the *believe*, that the *Pope* as *successor* to *S. Peter*, is *head* and *Governour* of the *Universal Church*, This *believe*, saith he, they have been in *possession* of, ever since the *Conversion* of our *English Ancestors*, till *King Henry*; and for this, beside his own bare affirmation, he brings no other *proofe*, than one *testimony* of *Nazier* on the *Revelation*, confessing that the *Church* of *Rome* hath borne a *sway* over the *Christian world* above 1200. yeares.

11. And 1. for this kinde of *Possession*, *possession* in the *believe* of any thing, any farther than that which is believed is *true*, and that appeare some other way, than by our having so long believed it, certainly this is no matter of any deep consideration to us; If it still appeare to be *true* upon grounds of *reason*, those grounds are the *considerable*, and not the *believe*; And if the grounds be discovered to be *fallacious*, and the contrary to be more *reasonable* to be believed, then sure this hath but the advantage of an *Antient error*, and the older it is, the fitter not to be longer continued in, it must be immediately *deposited*. And against this, or instead of doing thus, to talke of *possession* is *unnatural*, and *irrational*, the same plea that may serve for any *sinne* that hath had the *luck* to get the first hold in us, the same that would certainly have held for all the *Idolatry* of the *Heathens*, when *Christ* came into the world; And he that hath long lived in *obscurity* and *misery* (he, and his *Ancestors*) for many years together, and were now offered an *advancement* out of that *sad condition*, would he ever be so *unkinde* to himselfe as to refuse that *offer*, upon this one account, because it is the *turning* him out of a *possession*? This  
pre-

prescribing for Error, and prescribing for Sin, and prescribing for Misery, are in effect the same, equally unnatural and irrational, supposing it to be truly Error and Sinne, and Misery which we treat of.

13. But then secondly waving this, and applying our selves to the particular before us, how doth it appeare that the Romanist hath been in possession in this beliefe, so long as he pretends? He here brings but one Testimony to confirme it, that of Napier; But for this testimony the answer is easie, that the affirmations or confessions of such as Napier was (and is by this Gentleman acknowledged to be) in their arguing against the credit of Antiquity, or to make good other hypotheses of theirs, are of as little authority with us, as I suppose they will be with them, when they are contrary to their pretensions or interests; Secondly, that the Popes bearing a sway over the Christian world is not interpretable to signifie his Universal Pastorship; The Bishop of the Prime imperial See, may justly be very considerable, and so beare a sway, but it follows not thence that his ordinary jurisdiction hath been thus extended to the whole Christian world.
14. Nay thirdly, the contrary to this hath been sufficiently evidenced Chap: 4. and 5. both as concernes Saint Peter himselfe, and the Bishop of Rome as successor to Saint Peter, and till those evidences are refuted, the affirmation of Napier being so imperfect and infirme, both in respect of the testifier and the matter of the testimony, will be very unfit to bear sway with any rational man.
15. And so the whole weight of this argument prest with so much confidence is resolved into the bare authority of the Speaker, this Gentleman, who saith it, that ever since the conversion of the English Nation, the Romanists have had possession of this beliefe, that the Pope, as successor to Saint Peter is Governour of the Universal Church.
16. And that I may apply some answer yet more particularly to this, I shall premise one thing, that if indeed this were granted, which is suggested, it would not be of any great force toward the inducing of this conclusion, that the Pope really was and is Universal Pastor. For supposing the Pope



to have assumed that *authority*, at the time of *Augustine* the *Monke* his coming into *England* and making his plantation, and supposing him to have preached this to *King Ethelbert*, and the rest of his *Profelites*, with the same gravity and confidence, that he used in imparting all the *Doctrines of Christian Faith* (in the same manner as *Xaverius* the *Apostle* of the *Indies* imparted to them two *Gospels*, the one of *Christ*, the other of *Saint Peter*) I shall not doubt but upon these grounds it would be very consequent, that all, that willingly embraced the preaching of *Augustine*, and had no other *Doctrine* to compare it with, or examine it by, should probably receive this branch of *believe*, and so all others from and after them, that insisted firmly and punctually on *Augustine's* way; and thus 'tis possible the possession of that belief might be continued till the dayes of *Hen. VIII.*

17. But then this is no prooffe that what in this particular *Augustine* affirmed was true, or that the *believe* of it had possession in the whole *Church* before, Nay, the contrary will be most evident, that at that very time the *British Bishops* acknowledged not any such power over them in the *Pope* or any other, as is cited from the *Abbate of Bangor*, cap. 16. Sect. 5. and much more to the same purpose.
18. And 'tis no newes to remind him out of their owne *Canon Law*, that some of their *Popes* have disclaimed (and that not without great aversation and detestation of the arrogance of it) the title of *Universal Bishop* or *Pastor*, and acknowledged it is a very ominous Symptome in any that shall assume it, and considering the prejudices that lye against it, from the first *ecumenical Councils*, all the *Ordinances* whereof the *Popes* at their creations vow to maintaine inviolably, and against which to constitute or innovate any thing, *ne hujus quidem sedis potest autoritas*, it is not in the power of this *See*, saith *Pope Zosimus*, 25. qu. 1. c. *Contra*. I may justly conclude that all are obliged to doe the like.
19. But then secondly, what truth there is in it in these, that from *S. Augustine's* plantation to this time of *Henry VIII.* the *Romanists* have been in possession of this belief of the *Pope's universal Pastorship*, must be contested by evidences, And 1.

For

For *Augustine* himself it appears not by the story in *Bede*, that he did at all preach this doctrine to the nation, nay, as upon *Augustine's* demand concerning ceremonies, *Pope Gregory* binds him not to conform all to the *Canons* or practice of *Rome*, but bids him \*freely choose that which may most please \* *Eccl: Hist: God, wheresoever he findes it, sive in Gallia, sive in qualibet Ecclesia, whether in France, or in any other Church, & hac quasi in Fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere, make up a Book of such Canons to be observed in England* ( which clearly shews that the *Romish Canons* were not to be in power in *England*) so when the difference betwixt him and the *British Bishops* ( of whom it hath been shewed that they acknowledged not the *Pope* to have any power over them ) came to be composed, he required compliance and obedience from them but in three things, the \* observation of *Easter* according to the order of the Church \* *1b: l.2. c.2.* of *Rome* ( and the *Nicene Canon*) the *Ministration of Baptisme*, and joyning with him to preach to the *English*; Which is some prejudice to the founding of this belief in *Augustine's* preaching.

20. Nay when *Bede* comes to speak of *Gregory* then *Pope*, by way of *Encomium* at his death, the utmost he saith of him is, that cum primum in toto orbe gereret Pontificatum, & conversis jamdudum Ecclesiis praelatus esset &c. being *Bishop* of the *Prime Church* in the whole world, and set over those Churches which had been long since converted, and having now taken care to propagate that faith to *England*, he might justly be called our *Apostle*, and say as *S. Paul* did, that if to others he were not an *Apostle*, yet he was to us.

21. As for that of *Universal Pastorship* certainly we may take *Gregory's* own word, that no such thing was then thought to belong to him, in his *Epistle* to *Eulogius Bishop* of *Alexandria*, visible among his works, and inserted in the \* body of their *Canon Law*. Nam dixi &c. I told you that you were not to write to me or any other in that style, and behold in the Preface of that *Epistle* directed to me who thus prohibited, you have set this proud appellation, calling me universal *Pope* or *Father*, which I desire you will doe no more, for it is a derogating from you,

\* *B. Gre: Ep: ex regist: l.7. Indict: 1.*

c.30.

\* par: 1.

dist: 99.

Ecce

you, to bestow on another more than reason requires, I count it not my honour, wherein I know my brethren lose their honour, My honour is the honour of the universal Church, My honour is that my brethren should enjoy what fully belongs to them (so I render *fratrum meorum solidus vigor*) then am I truly honoured when the honour, which is due to all, is denied to none. For if you call me universal Pope, you deny that to your self which you attribute all to me; And farther tells him, with expressions of aversion, *Ab sit and recedant*—, that this honour had by a Council been offered to his Predecessors, the Council of Chalcedon (that gave it equally to him and the Bishop of Constantinople, which is in effect to give to neither the power or sense, but only the title of it) but no one of them would ever use this title. This sure is evidence enough, that if at that time any such belief of the Universal Pastorship of the Pope entered this Nation, it must needs be the belief of a known acknowledged falsity, and so farre from a *bonæ fidei sessio*.

22. After this, what possession this belief had among us, may be \* *l. de diff.* judged by some of those many \* instances put together by the *Reg: et Eccl:* Bishops in Henry VIII. his daies, as the premises whereon that *Potest:* King built his conclusion of ejecting that Power which was then usurped by the Pope.

23. First a statute, that for Ecclesiastical appeals they shall in the last resort lie from the Archbishop to the King, so as not to proceed any farther without the Kings assent.

24. Secondly, that *Turstan* Archbishop-elect of *Yorke*, asking leave of the King to go to a Council designed by *Calixtus*, had it granted with this reserve, that he should not receive *Episcopal benediction* from the Pope.

25. Thirdly, that the Kings of England from time to time, had and exercised authority of making lawes in Ecclesiastical matters; Eight such Lawes are there recited of *Canutus* his making, the like of King *Ethelred*, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Ethelstane*, *Ina* King of the West Saxons, and King *Alfred*.

26. Fourthly, that *William* the Conquerour instituting and in dowing the Abbey of *Battell*, gave the Abbat exemption from all jurisdiction of any Bishops, *aut quarumlibet personarum dominatione*.

minatione, from all dominion or rule of any persons whatsoever, sicut Ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis, in like manner as the Church of Canterbury; Which imports two things, 1. that the Church of Canterbury had no such Ruler over him (but the King) and 2. that the Abbat of Battell was by regal power invested with the same privileges.

27. But I suppose all these, and many the like instances, which might be brought, derogatory enough to the possession in this belief here pretended, will but adde one more to the number of such arguments, of which this Gentleman saith, that they have forty times had replies made to them; And truly this is a good easie compendious way, which as it secures him against all that can be produced, so it doth not incourage me to spend time in collecting and producing more, and therefore this shall suffice to have added now concerning this matter; being apt to flatter my self, that these arguments are demonstrative and clear enough to men of common sense, to disprove, and so to overthrow this Possession.

#### SECT. II.

*Queen Mary's retaining the Supremacy. Power of refusing Legates, unreconcilable with the Popes Supremacy.*

Num. 1. THE next Paragraph is an account of a passage cited by me from the story of Queen Mary, Thus,

2. Queen Mary's titular retaining of the Supremacy untill she could dispose the disordered hearts of her subjects to get it peaceably revoked, is no authority for the Doctor, she never pretending it to be lawfully done, but that she could not doe otherwise, no more is her refusing of a Legate, which in all Catholick times and countries hath been practised and thought lawfull.
3. What civil or secular motives they were, which kept that Queen so long from rejecting the title of supreme in her own Kingdom, I shall not need to inquire; If it were no unpardonable sin in her to continue the title, and exercise of that power, which was incompatible with the Pope's universal Pastorship, then why should it be so hainous in her Father to

assume it? Her never pretending that it was lawfully done, signifies very little, as long as she pretends not the contrary, that it was unlawfull; The truth may well lie in the middle, that she thought it lawful to retain it, yet lawful also to bestow it on the Bishop of Rome, and upon the strength of the former persuasion, my charity obligeth me to think, that she did the former, and in force of the latter it is possible also, that she did the latter, though possible too, that she did it upon reason of state, the validity of her mother's marriage, and consequently her legitimation depending upon the acknowledgment of the Pope's absolute power in this Nation.

4. But the truth is, her opinion or practice is of no more force one way, than the other, and therefore was taken in as a supernumerary observation, and not such as on that alone to found any grand argument.
5. As for the power of refusing a Legate from the Pope, I cannot discern how that is reconcileable with the Popes pretensions to supreme power in this Kingdome; Can it be lawfull for any Province to refuse a Procurator, or Prator, or Proconsul, sent solemnly commissioned by the Lawfull Prince? Was it lawfull for the tenants or dressers of the vineyard to deny entrance to the King's son or but servant? Is not this a derogation to supreme power and domination? If this be practiced and counted lawful in all Catholick times and Countreys, this is to me an indication, that in no time or countrey there hath been possession of this belief that the Pope is the supreme Pastor of all, for sure if he were, his Legate which is his image, might in power of the original require admission, and he that is *πεμπόμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* thus sent and commissioned by him, must by S. Peter's precept be allowed obedience from all his subjects, and so from that Queen, if such she were, and such she must be, so farre as he had the supremacy.
6. So again when Cardinal Petou was sent to be Bishop of Sarisbury, the denying him that Bishoprick was a check to the Pope's absolute supremacy, but of that this Gentleman was in prudence to take no notice.

## Sect. III.

*King Edward his Reformation. The Duke of Somerset. The Duke of Northumberland, his Treason no prejudice to the Reformation under that King.*

- NUM. I. **H**IS next exception is to the passages concerning King Edward VI. King Henry's immediate successor, Thus,
2. King Edward a child of nine years old fell into the hands of wicked and ambitious traytors, who knowing the Kingdome affected for religion-sake to Queen Mary, to cut off her succession, and introduce their own, thought fit to strengthen their faction, which beside what they might hope from abroad, consisted of many Lutherans and Calvinists at home: those two sects having by opportunity of that rupture in Henry VIII. his time, spread and nestled themselves in many parts of England.
  3. What is here said hath little of truth in it, and as little of argument, if it were truth. That the youth of the Prince can be no foundation of argument against the Legality of what was done by the Duke of Somerset his uncle, the Protector, in his *nomage*, was sufficiently shewed before, and might be exemplified through all times and places. That this Protector should at this time, when the young King legally fell into his hands, be styled a wicked ambitious Traytor, hath not any degree of truth in it, the crime, for which he afterward lost his life, being farre from any disloyalty to his Sovereign.
  4. As for the Duke of Northumberland, who obtained the King's consent to settle the inheritance on Jane Grey, and accordingly, after the King's death, proclaimed her Queen, and suffered as a traytor for so doing, all that I shall need to say is this, 1. that this act of his, how trayterous soever, cannot justifie what is here said, that the King at nine years old fell into the hands of traytors, for that one Duke cannot truly be called traytors in the plural, and the King at that age did not fall into his hands, but into the hands of Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset, under whom the six Articles and other acts of severity against the Protestants were called in, and the Acts against the Papal authority confirmed, the Romish Masse



*Masse* abrogated, the *Bible* translated, and published in the *English* tongue, the *Liturgie* reformed, and the publick offices performed in *English*, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administred in both *kindes* &c. And so whatsoever was afterward done (were it never so *trayterously*) by the *Duke* of *Northumberland*, could have no influence on this change, and is therefore very *impertinently* here inserted, after the manner of the *Orator*, not the *historian*, to raise *passions*, inflame *distikes* and *aversions* in the *Reader*, and not to give him any exact view of the *truth* of the *story*.

5. Secondly, that the designe of the *Duke* of *Northumberland* not succeeding, but costing him so dear, the losse of his own life and hers, whom he set up to be *Queen*, and the *succession* regularly descending on *Queen Mary*, there can be no reasonable account given, why this *treason* of that *Duke* should here be proposed as the one *considerable*, it being evident in the *story*, that all things were composed to the full *satisfaction* of *Queen Mary*, and just as they should have been, in case that *trayterous* attempt had never been made by that *Duke*.
6. To which I might adde, that this *treason* of his was founded on that very *act*, which in the next paragraph this *Gentleman* thinks fit to vouch as *authentick*, and if it were so, that could be no *treason* in that *Duke*, viz: the *act* whereby *Mary* as well as *Elizabeth* were adjudged *illegitimate*, and so *uncapable* of the *succession*. But these are *considerations* very *extrinsecal* and *remote* from the matter, as it lies here in the *contest* between us.
7. I shall onely, for conclusion, observe, that if, as he saith, the *Kingdome* were for *Religion's* sake affected to *Queen Mary*, it could not certainly be skilfull, or *popular*, or any way *Politick* in them that thus desired to strengthen themselves, to introduce this *change* in *Religion*. For whatsoever *aid* they might hope for, either from *Lutherans* or *Calvinists* at home or abroad, sure they might have hoped for more by the other way, if it be true what he affirms of the *Kingdome* indefinitely, that it was affected to *Queen Mary's* *Religion*. For that other *Kingdomes* of *Europe* generally were so at that time, there is small *question*. Sect.

## Sect. III.

*Queen Elizabeth's illegitimacy answered. The unpolitickness of her Connells of Reforming.*

Um. I. **N**OW follows his exceptions to that part of the story which concern *Queen Elizabeth*; The first by the by, Thus,

2. *Queen Elizabeth being by Act of Parliament recorded a Bastard, and so pronounced by two Popes, and therefore mistrusting all her Catholick subjects, who she feared did adhere to the Queen of Scots title, in which she was then likely to be supported by the King of France her husband, was by the advice of men partly infected with Calvinisme or Lutheranisme, partly ambitious of making their fortunes, cast upon that desperate counsel of changing religion; desperate I say, for see amongst what a number of rocks she was, in consequence of that Counsel forced to sail, witness her adhering to the rebels of all her neighbour Kings, so provoking them thereby, as if the French King had not been taken out of this world, and winde and weather fought against the Spanish Armado, in all likelihood she had been ruined, especially her Catholick subjects being so provoked as they were, by most cruell and bloody Laws: but this by the by: though from hence the Reader may judge of reason of changing religion in her time, and what a solid foundation the Church of England hath.*

3. That *Queen Elizabeth* was by Act of Parliament recorded a bastard; hath no farther truth in it, than is of force against *Queen Mary* also, The same Act of Parliament affirming the mariages with *Queen Katharine*, and *Anne of Bolen* void, and their children *Mary* and *Elizabeth* illegitimate, and so involving them equally under the same censure.

4. Nay, if there were any force in this (as this Gentleman by mentioning it is obliged to think there is) it must be much more to *Queen Maries* disadvantage, for 'tis certain that upon the birth of *Queen Elizabeth*, 'twas enacted by Parliament, that the marriage with *Katharine* was null, because incestuous, and so this with *Anne* lawfull (which certainly it

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was, if the former was incestuous and the resolution of the Universities and most learned men, not onely in England, but at Paris, and elsewhere was, that it was of such a nature, as it could not by the Pope's power be dispensed with, being so contrary to the law of God) and by the same act Elizabeth is declared heir of the Kingdome, in case the King should have no heir male, and Oath of Allegiance taken to the King and to his heirs by Anne the mother of Elizabeth. And to conclude, the subsequent act, that decreed the succession, and established it first in Edward, then in Mary, then in Elizabeth, by which it was that Mary did actually ascend to the throne, was equally favourable to both of them.

6. And so still if any thing were to be concluded from this Gentleman's proœmial consideration, it still lies more against Queen Mary, than against Queen Elizabeth, if not in respect of the merit of the cause (on which this Gentleman will give me leave to suppose it was, that our stories tell us, that the Pope had given Cardinal Campeius his Legate a private Bull, much in favour of the King's pretensions, but kept it under some restraint till he saw how the Emperour's affairs in Italy would succeed) yet in respect of the several declarations against the one, and but one onely against the other, and that how well founded, is easie to discern, if this were a place for such disputes.
7. But it is not so, much lesse for the other Politick considerations that here follow, whether the counsel of re-excluding the Papacy, and proceeding to a farther Reformation in her Kingdomes, were a desperate Counsel or no, For if to this Gentleman's arguments I shall grant it were so, the conclusion will be onely this, that her action was unskilful in secular considerations, from which it is no way consequent, that it was more than, as Prince, she had power to doe, or impious in the sight of God, or that that, which being built on so feeble a foundation, proved yet competently successfull, is by this means concludible to have been unlawful and null, for in that alone can be founded the truth of the suggestion here, that we that adhere to her Reformation, must be adjudged schismatics.

## Sect. IV.

*The Ordination of Bishops in Queen Elizabeths time. Mr. Masons Record. Introducing of Turcisme.*

Num. I. **W**Hat remains on this head of *Queen Elizabeth*, as the narration after this long *Proume*, the *Ægeu* after an acknowledged (yet at large) *παραγγορ*, will be soone dispatch't ; It is thus,

2. How far Master Mason can justify the ordination of *Queen Elizabeths Bishops*, I will not now examine ; but certaine it is, that the Record (if there be such an one) hath a great prejudice of being forged, since it lay some fifty years unknowne amongst the *Clamors* against the flagrant act, and no permission given to *Catholikes* to examine the ingenuity of it, but howsoever it is nothing to our purpose, for whatsoever material mission they had by an external consecration, those *Bishops*, who are said to have consecrated them, are not so much as pretended to have given them order to preach the *Doctrine*, or exercise the *Religion* they after did, which is the true meaning and effect of mission. I cannot end without noting in his 24. Parag: the foundation upon what he himselfe saies his whole designe relies ; which is, that because the recession from the *Roman Church* was done by those, by whom, and to whom onely the power of right belonged legally, viz the *King* and *Bishops* of this *Nation*, therefore it is no *Schisme*, that is, whatsoever the reason of dividing hath been, even to turne *Turkes*, or for violating never so fundamental points of *Religion*, yet it had not been *Schisme*.

3. What *Mr. Masons Records* are, and of how good and unquestionable authority, I leave to the view of his *Book*, which sets downe all so particul'arly, and irrefragably, that nothing can be more contrary to the *Gentlemans* interests, than the most strict examination of that whole matter, in order to the vindicating and justifying this truth, that the succession of *Bishops*, and order *Ecclesiastical* hath been regularly preserved in our *Church*, at that time, when alone the *Romanist* accuseth us for the interruption of it, i. e. in *Queen Elizabeths reformation*. (To which head of discourse it is not amisse to

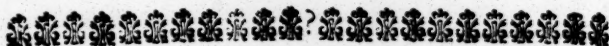
adde the resolution of Cudseminius the Jesuite, de desper: *Calvini causâ*, cap. 11. that the English Nation are not Hereticks, because they remain in a perpetual succession of Bishops.)

4. Which being the onely thing that in that Sect. 16. I purposed to conclude from Mr. *Masons* worke, and the *Records* by him produced, it lyes not on me to prove that they which ordained those *Queen-Eilizabeth-Bishops*, gave them order to preach the *Doctrin* they after did, or to examine the truth of his suggestion, that this is the true meaning and effect of *Mission*. It may suffice that they which consecrated them, gave them the same power which themselves derived by succession from the *Apostles*, and that was sufficient to authorize them to preach all *Apostolical* doctrine, and if they preacht any other, let it appeare, and I shall never justify their preaching. But that is not attempted here, and therefore I have herein no farther matter, that exacts reply from me.
5. For as to his parting blow, which he cannot omit, in reply to Sect. 20. certainly it hath little impression on my discourse in that place, which doth not inquire what is unlawful or criminous *Universally*, for then sure I should have acknowledged that the bringing in *Turcisme*, or violating fundamental points of Religion had been such, but peculiarly and precisely this, what is *Schisme*, in that one notion of *Schisme*, as that is a voluntary separation from our Ecclesiastical Superiours; of which that we are not, or cannot be guilty, when we act in perfect concord, compliance and subordination to all those to whom the right of superiority legally belonged, is I suppose, so manifest, that it can need no farther proof.
6. As for any such act of lawful Superiours in bringing in *Turcisme*, or violating fundamental points, I should not be apt to stile that *Schisme* (any more than I would call perjury, lying, or incest, simple fornication) it being in the first part of the instance, *Apostasie* and total defection from *Christ*, which I hope is a little more than denying the *Popes Universal Pastorskip*, or *Infalibility* of the Church (in which consists his grand species of *Schisme*) and in the second, *Hereisie*, and the grossest sort of *Schisme* together, that of departing from the

the *unity* of the *Faith*, which being by me *Chap. 8.* distinctly handled, as a second *species* of *schisme*, all that I need here say to this *Gentleman's* exception, is, that I indevoured to speak as *distinctly*, and not as *confusedly* as I could, and therefore did not mix things that were *distant*, and therefore did not speak of that second *kinde* of *schisme* at the same time when I proposed to speak of the *first* onely, and upon this account onely said nothing to it in that *Chapter*. And I hope this was but my duty to doe, agreeably to all rules of *method*, and so that he might very well have spared that *animadversion* which he saith he could *not end without noting*.

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## CHAP. VIII.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the eighth Chapter.*

## SECT. I.

*The Division of Schisme. An Answer to many Questions about Schism, A retortion.*

Num. I.

**I**N proceeding to the view of Chap. 8. this Gentleman without any cause is pleased to change the division of the second sort of schisme there handled, into another, which it seems was more suitable to his understanding, and then to make two light skirmishes against the discourse of that Chapter. He begins thus,

2. In his 8<sup>th</sup> Chapter, as farre as I understand, he divideth Schisme into formal, that is, breach of unity; and material, that is, breach of Doctrine or Customes, in which the Church was united: the former he brancheth into subordination to the Pope, of which enough hath been said; and breach of the way provided by Christ for maintaining the unity of faith, the which he puts in many subordinations without any effect, For let us ask, if inferior Clergie-men dissent from their own Bishops, but not from their Metropolitan, in matter of faith, is it Schisme? he will answer, No: If a Metropolitan dissent from his Primate, but agree with the rest of the Patriarchs, is it schisme? I think he must say, No: If a Patriarch dissent from the first, but agree with the rest, is it schisme? No: If a Nation or a Bishop dissent from the rest of the General Council, is it schism? still I believe he will answer, No: Where then is schisme provided against? or where truly is there any subordination in Faith? if none of these are subject, and bound to their Superiors or Universals in matters of faith?

SECT. 4.

SECT. 5.

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3. What my *division* there is, will be obvious enough to any man's *understanding*. In the third Chap: the *foundation* had been laid in the *opposition* betwixt *Schisme* and *Ecclesiastical Unity*, and as the *unity* was the *conserving* all due *relations*, whether of *subordination*, or *equality*, wherein each member of *Christ's Church* is concerned one toward another, so there were two *prime* branches of *schisme*, the one against the *subordination* which *Christ* settled in his *Church*, the second against the *mutual charity*, which he left as his *Legacy* among *Christians*. And the former of these being discussed at large in order to the *present* debate, in the 8. *Chapter*, the method led me to the latter of them, to consider *Schisme*, as it is an offence against the *mutual unity*, *Peace*, and *Charity*, which *Christ* left, and prescribed among *Christians*; And that I might be sure not to *streighten* the bounds of this sort of *Schism*, or omit any thing, that can, by any rule of *discourse*, be placed in the *borders* or *confines* of it, by the means either to lay *charge* on us, or render our *Vindication* the clearer, I distributed it into as many parts, as in my opinion the matter could by any be thought to beare, i. e. into three *species*,
1. A breach in the *Doctrines* or *Traditions* (together with the *institutions* of *Christ*, his *Apostles*, and the *Primitive Church*, whether in *government*, or *observances*.)
  2. An offence against *external peace* or *communion Ecclesiastical*.
  3. The want of that *Charity* which is due from every *Christian* to every *Christian*.

The first of these againe subdivided and considered, 1. in the *grosse*, as it is a departing from the *rules* appointed by *Christ* for the *founding* and *upholding* *unity* of *Doctrine*, &c. 2. in particular, the asserting of any particular doctrine, contrary to *Christ's* and the *Apostolical* pure *Churches* establishment.

4. The *Scheme* being thus laid as *regular*, and as *comprehensive*, as I could devise. 1. here is not one word said to expresse any cause of *dislike* or *exception* to it; and yet 2. it is quite laid aside, and another of *formal* and *material* *Schisme*, &c. substituted instead of it, upon what *temptation* or *designe*,  
save

save onely a *willingnesse* to gaine somewhat by the *shuffe* and *confusion*, more than the *distinctnesse* of *discourse* could yeild him, I cannot divine.

5. As it is, I yet discern not the *particular advantages* he had in his *inimition*, but suppose them *latent* and *reserved*; For to his special *discovery* that he means to make by *asking* (and supposing answers to) many *questions* proportionable to the several links in the *subordination*, the account will be easie enough, that as long as any *particular Bishop* remains in the due *subordination* to his *Canonical superiors*, so long the departure of any *clergie man* that is under his *jurisdiction*, from that *obedience* which *Canonically* he owes him, is in him that is thus guilty of it, an act of *schisme*.
6. But then 1, when instead of *departure* he puts *dissent* (which may belong to *light matters*, wherein liberty of *dissent* from *Superiors*, is yeilded to all men, or to *greater matters*, without departing from *obedience* or *Communion*) this is not fairly done, this difference having a visible influence on the matter.
7. Secondly, when of the *inferiour clergie-man's dissent* from his own *Bishop*, he makes me answer that it is not *schisme*, if it be not from his *Metropolitan*, I never gave him my letter of *Proxie* to doe so: But on the other side, if the *dissent* be supposed to be improved into a *departure* (which alone makes *schisme*) I shall not doubt to pronounce it *schisme*, unlesse he have first made his *appeal* from his *Bishop* to his *Metropolitan*, and by him and his *Conncel of Bishops* be adjudged to be in the *right*, and then if his *Bishop* by that *judgment* be reduced to order, he may not, he cannot again without *schisme* depart from him.
8. Thirdly, when from *Primates* he ascends to *Patriarchs*, as if that latter had a *power superiour* to the former, and again from the *Patriarchs* to the *first Patriarch*, i. e. the *Bishop of Rome*, this he knows hath no place with us, who acknowledge no power of any *Patriarch* above a *Primate*, no *supremacie* over all in the *Bishop of Rome*, but yet allow them and him (proportionably to the Πρωτὸς Σίμων, if that will content him) that *Primacie* of order, which by the *antient Canons*, is allowed them.

Fourthly,

9. *Fourthly*, whatsoever concerning these several steps from the lowest Clergie man to the first of Patriarchs, he phantasies to be answered by us ; and from thence concludes, that then *schism* is no way provided against, is visibly much more true of any Romanist ; For certainly if he dissent not from the Bishop of Rome, it must be no *schisme*, in him though he dissent from his own Bishop, his own Archbishop, Primate, and Patriarch, and if he doe dissent from him, 'tis not his consenting with all his inferior Governors, that will stand him in stead for his vindication.
10. And therefore if what he hath formed against me by his making answer himself to his own questions, be found really to conclude (as he saith it doth) against all *subordination*, 'tis now evident, who is most blameable for it, he doubtlesse, that hath divolved all into the *Monarchike supremacy* of the Pope, and permits us not to consider, what any other our immediate superiors require of us.
11. Lastly, what he puts into my mouth by way of answer, concerning *subordination* to a General Council, that if a nation or Bishop dissent from the rest of a General Council, still it is not *schisme*, unless, as I said, there be deceit in substituting the word Dissent, for *Departure* or *Recession*, I shall no way acknowledge the answer which he believes I will make ; For certainly I acknowledge, as much as he, or any man, the authority of a General Council against the dissents of a nation, much more of a particular Bishop. And these were misadventures enough to be noted in one Paragraph.

## Sect. II.

*The sufficiency of the few heads resolved on by the Apostles. The notion of Fundamentals. The Canon of Ephesus concerning it. The definition of the Council of Florence. Many Churches have not betrayed this trust. Christian practice to be super-added. The few things preserved by Tradition.*

um. I. **N**EXT he proceeds to another part of the discourse of that Chapter, concerning the heads resolved on by the Apostles,

postles, in order to planting Christian life, and to that he thus offers his exceptions.

2. But, saith the Doctor, the Apostles resolved upon some few heads of special force and efficacy to the planting of Christian life through the world, and preaching and depositing them in every Church of their plantation. Truly I do not know what a Catholick professeth more, so that by the word few, he meaneth enough to forme a Religion, and Christian life, and will shew us a Church which hath not betrayed the trust deposited; for if there be none, what availeth this depositing? if there be any, cleave it is that it preserved it by Tradition; if there be a question whether it hath or no, againe I demand to what purpose was the depositing, so that if the Doctor would speak aloud, I doubt he would be subject to as much jealousie, as he saith Grotius was.

3. That what I affirme, as he confesseth conformably, to the Catholikes profession, may be as full and explicite as he can desire, I doubt not to expresse my meaning to be, that the few heads, that the Apostles resolved on, were sufficient both for number and efficacy, or in \* Athanasius his language, ἀντὶ πάντων πρὸς ἀνατρέψαν τὴν αἰσθησίν, ὡς αὐτὸν δε εὐσεβείας ἐν Χριστῷ, sufficient for the averting all impiety, and establishment of all piety in Christ; And for his satisfaction therein, I referre him to the Treatise of Fundamentals, printed since that of Schisme, of which the onely designe was to insist on this, as the grand notion of Fundamentals, such as were by the Apostles and Christ himselfe, deemed most proper and effectual to plant Christian life in a world of Jewes, and Gentiles, and briefly to set downe and enumerate all those that the Apostles thought thus necessary.

\* Epist. ad  
Ephē.

4. To which I shall now adde one observation, that this sufficiency of the foundation by them laid and somewhat explained (on occasion of Heretical opposers) by the Council of Nice, &c. was such, that the Ephesine Council following that of Nice, 106. yeares, made a decree, ἐτέραν πῖσιν μὴ δεῖν ἐκτίνας προσέχειν ἢ γὰρ συντάξαι, ἢ συνιδέναι παρὰ τὴν ἰερωσύνην, &c. that it should not be lawfull for any man to produce, write, or compose any beliefe beside that which was establishd by the Fathers.

Fathers at Nice, and that they which should dare to compose or offer any such to any that would from Gentilisme, Judaisme, or whatever Heresie convert to the acknowledgment of the truth, if they were Bishops, should be deposed from their Bishopricks, if Laymen, anathematized, &c. Can. 7.

5. And this authority being prest by the Greeks to the Latines, in the Council of \* Florence, and that with this smart expression, ὅδεῖς ἐγκαλέσει ἀπέλυναι πίστεως, εἰ μὴ τις ἐν μαϊνόμενῳ, \* *Sess. 10.* No man will accuse the Faith (that which those Fathers had profest) or charge it of imperflection, unlesse he be mad, *Concil. l. 7. p. 642. A.* The Latines answer is but this, that that Canon did not forbid, ἐτέραν ἐκδέσιν σύμφωνον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐν τῇ πίστει, another explication agreeable to the truth contained in that Crede, acknowledging that it did forbid διαφοράν καὶ ἐναντιότητα, difference as well as contrariety (*pag. 644. b.*) and even for such a bare explication they counted not that lawfull for any but the Fathers convened in OEcumenical Synods, citing it from Aquinas, 2a. 2a. qu. 1: ar. 10. and adding that he spake, περὶ ἐτινωσῶν συμβόλου. ὅπως ᾧ κοινὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, of any Creed whatsoever which was common to the whole *Ib. p. 641. D.* Church.
6. And accordingly there followes out of the Epistle of Celestine to Nestorius, ἡ πίστις ἡ παραδοθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὅτε περὶ ἡκλύω ὅτε μίωσιν ἀπαλλῆ, *Ib. p. 644. D.* The believe delivered by the Apostles requires neither addition nor diminution.
7. In all which, how they are concerned, who impose so many new articles of believe upon their owne Churches, and upon all that desire Communion with them, I leave to each Romanist to consider, ann shall onely adde the words of the Catechism taken out of the workes of Costerus, Petrus de Soto, and others, and set out by command of the Archbishop of Triers, *resp. ad 2. qu. Neque ulla unquam ex titit haresis, quae non hoc symbolo damnari poterit,* There was never any Heresie which might not be condemned by the Apostles Creed. It were well we might be allowed the benefit of this tryal.
8. And now having given this pledge of my readinesse to answer his questions, though I discern not any obligation, arising from my former discourse, to lye upon me, yet I shall not be



so nice or sparing of my paines, as to deny him a clear account also of his subsequent demands, but shall speak as loud as he would wish, and tell him first to the first demand, that as to those few heads I spoke of, I can, blessed be God, shew him Churches enough, which have not betrayed the trust deposited; The Church of England, even now, under the saddest persecution, hath not been tempted to betray that trust, the Church of Rome, through all the Prosperity and Splendor, and Grandeur, which it hath long enjoyed, and which, the Historian tells us, *acrioribus stimulis animum explorant*, hath as yet held out thus farre: I meane hath retainnd those few heads, and in that respect is not accused by us to have betrayed that trust (I wish it were as blamelesse in all things else, particularly in that wherein our present debate is most concerned, in imposing new Articles of Faith on all Christians, and her own infallibility for the first of them.)

9. The same I can as freely affirm of all other National Churches, that I know of, confining my discourse still to the small (yet in the Apostles opinions sufficient) number of heads of special force to the planting of Christian life through the world.
10. And so as this Gentleman is much disappointed in his expectation, that I should not be able to name any Church that hath not betrayed the trust deposited, so I must professe to him, I think it as reasonable, that they that agree in believing and conserving those few precious heads of truth, designed to so glorious an end, as is the peopling a world with a peculiar colonie of inhabitants, all uniformly zealous of good workes, should all joyne hands and hearts, to adde that superstructure to the foundation, pure, immaculate, Elevated, Heroical, i.e. Christian practice, to the untainted believe of these few things.
11. And then how much blame (by force of that Canon of Ephesus) most justly belongs unto them that make it their great interest to quarrel, divide from, and anathematize, all others, who cannot believe all other things which they chance to believe, though they know they agree with them in all that the Apostles thus thought necessary to be agreed in; & indeed how contrary this is, and destructive to this superstructure, of which Charity in one principall ingredient, and so to the designe of lay-

laying the *foundation*, though not to the *foundation* it selfe, I shall leave this *Gentleman* and every sober *Christian* to consider, and if he judge not as I doe, yet I shall not ~~exceed~~ number it among the *prodigies* of the *age*, or indeed thinke *stranger* of it, than I have long done of the great *distance* betwixt *Reason* and *Passion* in the same sort of creatures, *Man*, and (*God* knows too oft) in the same *Individual* creature, the same *Man* and *Christian*.

12. Having gone thus farre in ready obedience to this *Gentlemans* lightest intimation of his pleasure, in *satisfaction* to his first demand, I shall in the same humour proceed without all reserve to the next, doubting as little as he, but that these few things (all *justice* must allow our discourse to be *coherent*, and so to adhere to the same *subject* with which we began) have been preserved in each *Church* by *Tradition*, and then to the third, that there is no place of doubt concerning the fact, and so of *question*, whether they have or no, and if by thus *speaking aloud* to every of his demands, I render my selfe *subject* to as much *jealousie* as I say *Grotius* was, I shall not accuse him as my *tempter*, but onely support and *comfort* my self, that I have retained as much innocence as I alwaies thought *Grotius* had done, and by declaring my meaning thus *clearly*, and *professing* that I mean no whit more than I say, I see no place for *jealousie* remaining to any.
13. If to *believe* the *Apostles Creed* to be conveyed down to us by *tradition* in every *national Church* from the *Apostles* time to this, be any *heresie*, I am visibly guilty of it, and need not have my words put upon the rack (as *Grotius's* have been) to *extort* a more *explicite confession* from them.

## SECT. III.

*Submission without opinion of infallibility. The appeal to the Fathers of the first 300 years, and the four General Councils, to what it belongs. The silence of the first times no advantage to the Romanist. Two Questions of Additaments to Faith; The way of debating each of them.*

N<sup>um.</sup> I.

**H**IS last exception to this Chapter is to our profession of *humility and temper*, which it seems those of our religion must not be permitted to assume to themselves (and which I was no farther so insolent to assume, than as it is observable in the peculiarity of the frame of the Church of England's Reformation) Thus,

2. I cannot but admire indeed the great temper he professeth men of his religion have, in choosing of Doctrines, to wit, their submission to the three first Ages, and the four first Councils, but I confesse it is a humility I understand not, first to professe, they know not whether their teachers say true or no (that is, that they are fallible) and then to hold under pain of damnation what they say. Another piece of their humility is in submitting to ages, where very few witnesses can be found, in regard of the rarity of the Authors and the little occasion they had to speak of present controversies. A third note of humility is, that whereas the fourth Council was held about the midst of the fifth Age, these lovers of truth will stand to it, but not to the fourth Age precedent, or that very Age in which it was held, so humble they are to submit to any authority, that toucheth not the questions in present controversie, but where doe they finde Christ's Church shall be judge in three Ages, and fail in the fourth, or that the Councils in the fifth Age shall be sound, but not the Fathers.
3. It is very hard, it seems, to please this Gentleman. Our humility is one while by him censured as really too great, another while the want of it is our crime, and we equally to be scoffed at on both accounts.
4. It is a criminous excess of humility forsooth, to submit to those, of whom we first professe not to know that they are

in-

*infallible*. But as long as we doe verily believe they doe actually affirm truth, why may we not submit to them, though we know not that they are *infallible*? For certainly I may submit to my *natural*, or *civil parent* in this manner, obey him in all his *commands* (supposing, as now I doe, that none of his *commands* are by me apprehended to be *unlawful*, as none of these *Councils definitions*, as by us believed to be, contrary to the Word and Will of God) though yet I neither account him *inerrable* nor *impeccable*. But of this I have spoken already *Chap: I. Sect. 3.*

5. What he adds of *holding under pain of damnation what they say*, is in this place an *insertion* of this *Gentleman's*, no word being said of it in that *section*, to which his words are confronted, and having elsewhere spoken to that, I abstain from adding more at this time.
6. In the next place it seems our *humility* is too *scanty*, for when I have submitted to be judged by the *Scriptures*, the consent of the first 300 years, or the four *General Councils*, whether we have departed from the *Apostolical doctrines* or *traditions*, this, saith he, is submitting to *Ages* where very few witnesses can be found &c. But I desire it may be remembered, what there I speak of, (for perhaps this *Gentleman's* haste hath not permitted him to advert to it) the *contesting* or *innocence* in this, that we of the *Church of England* have not departed from the *Apostolick doctrine* and *traditions*; And for this whether could the *appeal* more properly be directed, than to the *Scriptures*, the *Conservatorie* of the *Apostles written doctrine*, and the three first *Centuries*, the *conservatorie* of their *traditions*, It being unimaginable that any thing should be so *per saltum* conveyed to us from the *Apostles*, as to leap over those three *Centuries* next to them, without leaving any footstep *discernible* among them.
7. For let the *witnesses* of those times, the *authors* that remain to us be never so few, yet unlesse by some of their *hands* we be directed what the *Apostles* delivered to them, how can we know what was delivered? It being all one in this respect not to be, as not to appear, *Tradition*, even *Apostolical*, being no more than an *empty name*, unlesse we suppose our selves able

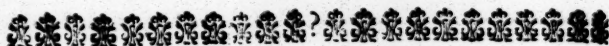
able to *vouch* some competent *testifiers* of the *Tradition*.

8. And if to these two, I have added the *four General Councils*, because they were held against the great *disturbers* of the *unity* of the *Faith*, and they maintained the *true faith* by these *two special weapons*, the *Scriptures* and *Tradition*, testified by the *first Writers*, and our *Church* hath taken in their *Creed*, into our *Liturgies*, and their *definitions* into our *Articles* of religion, and so I have by that *appeal* so farre testified our *non-departure* from the *Faith*, I hope there is no *offence* in this, no degree of *defect* in our *humility*.
9. As for the *little occasion* these *first* had to *speak* of the *present controversies*, that sure cannot be *objected* against our *procedure* (any more than the *paucity* of the *Authors* could) for if the *Romanist* doe but grant this one thing, it will be found a *real prejudice* to his *pretensions*, if which was the point in hand) the *question* be, whether the *Church of England* have departed from the *unity* of the *Apostolick Faith*, denied any *Apostolick Doctrine* or *Tradition*.
10. For in this *Controversie* how shall it be proved, that we have departed, unlesse that *Doctrine* or *Tradition* being specified what it is, it be evidenced also, that it was *delivered* by the *Apostles*, and how can that be evidenced, but by those which within some competent distance of their time, affirm that from them, and how can they be pretended to affirm that, if it be granted of them that they had no *occasion* to *speak* of it, and so are utterly *silent* in it.
11. To his last note of *humility* i. e. the next expression of his *scoptical humor*, there can be no need of applying any answer, it being no where intimated in that *Treatise* that we are not ready to stand to the *fourth Age*, or that wherein the *fourth Council* was held; All that was said, was, that the three *first Ages*, and the *four General Councils* were competent witnesses of the *Apostolical doctrines* and *traditions*, and I desire any man to name any other that were more competent to this purpose, i. e. to *testifie* what the *Apostles* taught, It being certain that whosoever doth (not by *inspiration*) tell us any thing of that kinde, must assume to tell it from them, and as *evident* that all those things (that even now  
were

were spoken of) which the *Apostles* resolved on, as *heads* of *special* force to form *religion* and *Christian* life, were by this means conveyed to us.

12. Mean while other *matters* there are, which we look on as *additaments* to the *doctrines* of *Faith*, and so are the *subject* of a *double question*, 1. whether they be parts of that *faith* which was *once*, or *at once* delivered to the *saints*, 2. whether not appearing to be so, there be any other just *reason* to believe, though but by an *humane* *Faith*, that they have any *truth* in them.
13. Now of these two *questions*, as the *resolution* of the former depends upon those *Ages*, which alone can convey *Tradition* to the *succeeding*, and so still for that we referre our selves to the former *Umpirage*, so of the *second*, I did not then, because I had not *occasion* to speak in that place.
14. And if my *answer* be required now, I shall readily give it, that in matters of this nature the *Opinions* of the *Fathers* of the *Church* in the most *flourishing* *Ages* of it, wherein their *writings* are most *voluminous*, and their *Learning* in *Theologie* most *venerable*, are with us of great *weight* and *consideration*; we doe (and shall upon all occasions demonstrate our selves to) allow them as full an *authority*, pay as great and true a *reverence* to their *judgments*, indeavour as uniformly to *conform* our selves to the *declarations* of their *sense*, as any sober *Romanists* are by us discerned to doe, or as it can be their interest to doe, in respect of the *controversies* that lie between us. And so still I discern not, wherein our *humility* can be judged to fail by those, with whom I now *dispute*, being content that it should by *others* be judged *excessive*.





## CHAP. IX.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the ninth Chapter.*

## SECT. I.

*The hinderances of Communion imputable to the Romanist, not to us. Siquis Ecclesiam non audierit, one of our grounds. What is meant by Ecclesia.*

*Num. 1.*

**T**HE Exceptions to this Chapter are not very great, whether we respect their weight or number, yet upon the same account that the former have been our exercise, these may for a while detain us also.

*2.*

In his 9<sup>th</sup> Chap: saith he, he pretendeth the Roman Catholic Church is cause of this division, because they desire communion, and cannot be admitted, but under the belief and practice of things contrary to their consciences, of which two propositions, if the second be not proved, the first is vain, and is as if a subject should plead he is unjustly outlawed, because he doth not desire it: Now to prove the latter, he assumeth that the Protestant is ready to contest his Negatives, by grounds that all good Christians ought to be concluded by, what he means by that, I know not, for that they will convince their Negatives by any ground, a good Christian ought to be concluded by, I see nothing lesse.

What then will they contest it by? all grounds a good orthodox Christian ought to be concluded by? If they answer in the Affirmative, we shall ask them whether *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* be one of their grounds, and if they say no, we shall clearly disprove their Major, but then their defence is, if any ground, or rule of it self firm and good, speaketh nothing clearly of a point in question, they will contest that point by those grounds, and is not this a goodly excuse?

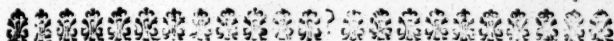
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3. The designe of Chap: 9. of the *Treatise of Schisme*, is to vindicate us from all guilt of *schisme*, as that signifies offence against *external peace and communion Ecclesiastical*, and it being certain that we exclude none from our *Communion*, that acknowledge the *foundation*, and that we desire to be admitted to the like *freedom of external communion*, with all members of all other *Christian Churches*, the result is visible, that the hinderances, that obstruct this *freedom*, are wholly imputable to the *Romanist*, such are their *excommunicating us*, and imposing *conditions* on their *communion*, such as we cannot admit of without *sin*, or *scandal*, acting contrary to *conscience*, or making an *unsound confession*.
4. To this all that is answered is, that unlesse this second be proved, *viz:* that such *conditions* are by them imposed on their *communion*, the *first*, that of our desire of *Communion*, is *vain*; And to this I make no doubt to yeild, for if we may with a *good conscience* be admitted to their *Communion*, and yet wilfully withdraw our selves from it, then I confesse there is no place for this plea of ours; But for the *contesting* of this, there was not then, neither will there now be any place, without *descending* to the *severals* in difference between us (which was beyond the designe either of those, or these *Papers*) and therefore for that all that can be said is, that we are ready to maintain our *Negatives*, by grounds that all *good Christians* ought to be concluded by; And because it is here askt, whether *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* be one of those grounds, I answer without question it is, and so is every other affirmation of *Christ*, or the *Apostles*, however made known to us to be such. And I cannot sufficiently admire, why, when it is known to all *Romanists*, that we are ready to be judged by *Scripture*, and when it is certain that *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* are the words of *scripture*, he should suppose (as here he doth) that we will say, *No*: i. e. that we will refuse to be tried or concluded by that.
5. Here I must suppose that by *Ecclesiam* he understands the *Roman* (which he calls *Catholick*) *Church*; but then this interpretation or understanding of his, is one thing, and those words of *Christ* are another, for they belonging to the

*Church* indefinitely, under which any man, that hath offended, is regularly placed, doe to a member of the particular *Roman Church* signifie that, as to an *English man* the *Church* wherein he lives, and that, is not the *Roman*, or the *Universal Church of God*, and that is more than the *Roman*.

6. And so by acknowledging that ground of *scripture*, we are no way *obliged* to *believe* all that that particular *Church of Rome*, to which we owe no *obedience* ( and are as ready to *contest* that by the same means also ) exacts of us.

7. As for our *contesting* any point by that ground or rule which *speaketh* nothing *clearly* of it, I gave him no *occasion* to make any such *objection* against us, and withall have said what was *sufficient* to it *Chap.8. Sect.3. n. 7.* and so need not here farther attend to it.



## CHAP. X.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the tenth Chapter.*

## SECT. I.

*The Romanists want of charity wherein it consists.*

**Num. 1.** IN his view of Chap: 10. he takes notice of two charges by us brought in against them, 1. judging, 2. despising their brethren, but contents himself with a very brief reply, and that onely to one of them, Thus,

2. In his 10<sup>b</sup> Chap: he saith, we judge them and despise them: as to the first I have often wondred, and doe now, that men, pretending to learning and reason, should therein charge us with want of charity, for if our judgment be false, it is error, not malice, and whether true or false, we presse it upon them out of love and kindnesse, to keep them from the harm, that according to our belief may come upon them, but since they deny they are Schismatics, and offer to prove it, we must not say it: yet I think we ought, untill we have cause to believe them, since our highest tribunal, the Churches voice, from which we have no appeal, hath passed judgment against them.

3. The want of charity, with which we charge the Romanist in this matter, is not their warning us of our danger, which may reasonably be interpreted love, and kindness, and care to keep us from harm, and if they erre in admonishing, when there is no need of it, there is nothing still but charity in this; but it is their casting us out of their Communion on this score, that we consent not to all their Dictates, that we withdraw our obedience from those, who without right usurped it over us, their anathematizing and damning us, and being no way perswadable to withdraw these sanguinary Censures, unlesse we will change or dissemble our beliefs, and as there cannot

be *charity* in this, any thing that can tend to the *mending* of any, for how can it be deemed any *act of reformation* in any, to forsake his present *perswasions*, whilst he is not convinced of any *error* in them, and surely the bare *damning* of us is not any such matter of *conviction*; so there is a double *uncharitable*ness, 1. of being *angry* without *cause*, and expressing that *anger* in very *ill language*, of which that of *Heretick* and *Schismatick* is the mildest, and each of those *cause*less too, if they be affixt to any *particular* man, much more to a *whole Church*, before either of them be sufficiently *proved* against us: For certainly as the *Romanist's* judgment concerning us, if it be *false*, may yet be but *error* not *malice* (by which this *Gentleman* here justifies himself from want of *charity*) so our *opinions* and *perswasions* of the *erroneousness* of their *doctrines* and *sinfulness* of their *practices*, if possibly they be not *true* also, are still as *justly* and *equitably* capable of the same *excuse*, that they are *involuntary* errors, and then by their own rule, cannot justly fall under such their *rigid censures*, which belong to none but *voluntary* offenders.

4. Secondly, the endeavouring to *insecure* and *pervert* *fearful* or *feeble* minds, using these *errors*, as the *Lion* doth his *roaring*, to intimidate the *prey*, and make it not *rational*ly but *astonish*ingly, *fall* down before them. And as the offering due *grounds* of *conviction* to him that is in *error* may justly be deemed *charity*, so this tender of nothing but *frights*, without offer of such *grounds* of *conviction*, is but leading men into *temptation* to sin against *conscience*, to *dissimulation* &c. and so the *hating* the brother in the heart, *Lev. 19.* the more than *suffering* sin upon him.
5. To these might be, not unseasonably, added a farther consideration, which hath carried *weight* with the *Fathers* of the *Church* in all times, that seeing the *Censures* of the *Church* were left there, *πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν ἢ πρὸς καταίρεσιν*, for *edification* not for *destruction*, and are onely designed to *charitative* ends, ( must never be used to any other purpose ) therefore when obedience it utterly *cast* off, the band, be it of *subordination* or *co-ordination* so broken, that the issuing out of *Censures* cannot expect to *compose*, but onely to *widen* the *breach*,  
not

not to *mollifie* but *exasperate*, there *Christian* prudence is to endeavour by *milder waies*, what *severity* is not likely to effect, and so the *thunderbolts* to be laid up, till there may be some probability of *doing good* by them.

6. But this is not the case, as it really lies betwixt *Rome* and us, save onely as *a majori* it may be accommodated to us; we have cast off neither *obedience* to any, to whom it was due, nor *charity* to those, who have least to us, nor *truth*, to the utmost of our *understandings*, and yet we must be cast out and *anathematized*, and after all that, condemned as *wilful schismaticks*, i. e. *dividers* and *condemners* of *our selves*, because we quietly submit to that fate, which will cost us too dear, the wounding and *disquiet* of our *conscience*, to qualifie our selves for a *capacity* of getting out of it.

7. What he adds of their *highest tribunal*, the *Churches voice*, which hath passed this *judgment* against us, belongs I suppose to those *Bishops* of *Rome*, which have sent out their *Bulls* against us, and therefore I must in reason adde, that those are principally guilty of this *schisme*, and so their *successors* principally obliged to *retract* and *reform* the *sin* of it, and after them, all others in the *order* and *measure*, that they have partaken in this *guilt* with them.

8. And there can be no greater *charity* than to beseech all in the *bowels* of *Christ* to return to the *practice* of that *charity*, which hath too long been exiled from among *Christian* Professors.





## CHAP. XI.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the last Chapter.*

## SECT. I.

*Of the present state of the Church of England. The Catholicks promise for eternity to his Church. Roma æterna. Particular Churches perisshable. Mr. Hooker's prediction of the Church The power of the secular Magistrate to remove Bishops Sees, not to make Bishops. The Councel of Florence concerning the Popes supremacy &c. Marcus's opinion of it. Joseph: Methonen's his answer briefly examined.*

**Num. 1.** **T**HE last part of this Gentleman's indeavour is to perswade men that the Church of England is not onely persecuted but destroyed, and of that he means to make his advantage to fetch in *Profelytes*, being out of his great charity very sensible of their estate, unwilling they should sit any longer in the vault or charnel house to communicate with shades, when they are invited to a fairer sunshine, in a vital and very flourishing society. Thus then he begins his reply to the 11th Chapter,

2. *In the last Chapter he complaineth of the Catholicks for reproaching them with the losse of their Church, and arguing with their disciples in this sort : Communion in some Church, even externally, is necessary, but you cannot now communicate with your late Church, for that hath no subsistence, therefore you ought to return to the Church from whence you went out ; truly in this case I think they ought to pardon the Catholick, who hath, or undoubtedly is perswaded he hath a promise for eternity to his Church, and experience in the execution of that promise for 16 Ages, in which none other can compare with him, and sees another Church judged by one of the learnedst and most prudent persons*

Hooker's  
Eccl: Pol:

persons confessedly that ever was among them, to be a building likely to last but 80 years, and to be now torn up by the roots, and this done by the same means by which it was seited; I say if this Catholick believe his eyes, he is at least to be excused; and though I know the Doctor wil reply his Church is sti'l in being, preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained, yet let him remember how inconsequent this is, to what he hath said before, for ask him how it doth remain in being, if there be no such Bishops or Presbyters among them, for his defense against the Church of Rome is, that the secular authority hath power to make and change Bishops and Presbyters: from whence it will follow, that as they were set up by a secular authority, so are they pulled down, and unbishoped by another secular authority; if it be said the Parliament that pulled them down had not the three bodies requisite to make a Parliament, no more had that which set them up, for the Lords Spiritual were wanting both in Parliament and Convocation, so that there was as much authority to pull them down as to set them up: but it will be replied that though they are pulled down, yet are they still Bishops, viz: the character remains upon them.

Alas what is their Character, if their mission of Preaching and Teaching be extinguished, which follows their jurisdiction, which jurisdiction the Doctor makes subject to the secular authority, so that whatsoever characters their Bishops and Presbyters pretend to have, they have according to his principles no power over the laity, and so no character can be made of any Bishop as head and Pastor, and of the People as body and flock, and consequently their Church is gone.

But we account our selves Bishops and Priests not from an authority dependent upon Princes, or inherited from Augustus or Nero, but from Peter and Paul, and so shall stand and continue, whatsoever Princes or secular powers decree; when they according to their doctrines and arguments are not to wonder if they be thrown down by the same authority that set them up, and as the Synagogue was a Church to have an end, so is this with this difference, that the Synagogue was a true Church in reference to a better, but this is a counterfeit & tyranical one to punish a better.

As concerning the Doctors prayer for Peace and Communion, all good people will joyne with him, if he produce *Fructus dignos pœnitentiæ*, especially if he acknowledge the infallibility of the Church, and supremacy of the Pope, the former is explicated sufficiently in divers Books, the latter is expressed in the Council o' Florence in these words, viz. we define that the Holy Apostolical See, and the Bishop of Rome have the primacy over all the world, and that the Bishop of Rome is successor to S. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and truly Christs Vicar, and head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher o' all Christians, and that there was given him in Saint Peter from Christ a full power to feed, direct and governe the Catholike Church: So farre the Council. Without obeying this, the Doctor is a Schismatick, and without confessing the other, an Heretick, but let him joyne with us in these, all the rest will follow.

3. I shall not here repeat my complaint (if it were indeed such, and not rather a bare proposing of a last foreseen objection against us) knowing how little compassion any sufferings of ours may expect to receive from this Gentleman, I shall only joyne issue with his tenders of proof, that our Church hath now no *subsistence*; but yet before I doe so, take notice of one part of his arguing, viz. that the Catholike hath, or is undoubtedly perswaded he hath a promise for eternity to his Church. Where certainly the fallacie is very visible, and sufficient to supersede (if he shall advert to it) his undoubted persuasion. For what promise of eternity can this Gentleman here reflect on? undoubtedly that of the Church of Christ indefinitely, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevaile against it, *Mat. 16. 18.*

4. What is the full importance of that phrase is \* elsewhere largely shewed, and need not be here any farther repeated, than that the promise infallibly belongs not to any particular Church, of any one denomination, but to the whole body, Christ will preserve to himselfe a Church in this world, as long as this world lasteth, in despite of all the malice, cunning, or force of men, and devils.

5. Now that this is no security, or promise of eternity to any particular Church, whether of Rome or England, any more than

\* Annot. on the place.

6.

7.

than of *Thyatira* or *Laodicea* (which contrary to any such promise, is threatned to be *Spued out*, *Rev. 3. 16.*) is in it self most evident, because the destroying any one particular Church is reconcileable with *Christs* preserving some other, as the *Species* of mankinde is preserved, though the *Gentleman* and I should be supposed to *perish*, and because the Ἐκκλησία μου, my Church, which is there the subject of the discourse, is not the *Romanist* (or in that sense the *Catholike*) his Church, as is here suggested, but the Church of *Christ* built upon the foundation of the *Apostles*, of which *Simon* is there said to be one Πέτρος, i.e. stone or foundation-stone, so as he was of other Churches, beside that of *Rome*, and so as others were of other Churches, which he never came neere, and even of this of *Rome*, *Saint Paul* as well as he.

6. From hence therefore, by force of this promise (which as truly belongs to every Church, as it doth to *Rome*, but indeed belongs to no particular, but to the *Christian Church*, to conclude that the Church of *Rome* is eternall, is a first ungrounded persuasion in this Gentleman, the very same, as to conclude a particular is an universal, or that the destruction of one part is the utter dissolution of the whole; and the proof from experience of 16. ages, which is here added, is a strange way of argumentation, such as that *Methusalem* might have used the very day before his death, to prove that he should never dye, and the very same that *Heathen Rome* did use, at the time of their approaching destruction, calling her selfe \* *Urbem aeternam*, the eternall City, and † ἡ ἐνδοξοτάτη πόλις, Rome the Heaven-City, and \* *Ρωμαίων Πόλις*, Rome a Goddesse, which accordingly had by *Adrian* a Temple erected to it, and the Emperors thereof, and the very name of the place worshipt as a deity (*More Dea, nomenque loci seu numen adorant*) and all this upon this one score, that it had stood and prospered so long.

\* Hieron. qu. 11.

ad Alga.

† Athenens, l. 1.

\* Gelsius in

Thesaur. Dio in

Adriano Pru-

denius.

7. The like may be affirmed of the Church of the *Jewes*, built upon a promise, which had more of peculiarity to the seed of *Abraham*, than this of *Mat. 16.* can be imagined to have to the Church of *Rome*, and yet that Church was destroyed,

stroyed, and nothing more contributed to the *provocation*, and merit of that *destruction*, than their owne *confidence* of being *unperishable*. The best admonition in this respect, is that of the *Apostle*, *Be ye not high minded but feare*, and *If God spared not the Natural branches*, take heed also lest he spare not you; and this Gentleman cannot be ignorant what

\* *Rom. 11. 2.* \* Church it was, that was then capable of this exhortation. And the very making this matter of argument, and in this respect (not of *purity*, but of *duration*) exalting the *Romanist's Church*, above all other Churches in these words [*none other can compare with him*,] as it is one character which determines the speech to the particular Church of Rome, (for else how can he speak of others and affirme that they cannot compare) so it is no very humble, or consequently *Christian* expression in this Gentleman.

8. What he addes out of Master Hooker, and applies as the judgement of that learned man concerning the Church of England, yeilds us these farther observations, 1. That in all reason this Gentleman must in his former words speak of his Church of Rome, as that is a particular Church, for else how can he after his Church, name another Church, meaning this of England, of which saith he, Mr. Hooker speaks? and that will conclude the evident falsity of his assumption, that by Christ's promise eternity belonged to it, for that it cannot doe to any particular Church, because the Universal may be preserved, when that is destroyed, and the promise being made indefinitely to the Church, may be performed in any part of it.

9. Secondly, That a very small matter will serve turne with this Gentleman, to support a conclusion, which he hath a mind to inferre, otherwise Master Hookers Testimony had never been produced to this matter. The words of that (truly) most learned and prudent person, are to be found in his fifth Book, Num. 79. in the Conclusion. The subject of that whole Paragraph, beginning pag. 424. is of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for the perpetuity of Religion, which was in his opinion sure to be frustrated, by alienation of Church livings, and this being largely handled by

by him throughout that *Paragraph*, at length he observes, 1. what waste *Covetousnesse* had made in the *Church* by such *commutations*, as were proportionable to *Glaucus's change*, giving the *Church flanel* for *Gold*: and 2. how *Religion* it self was made a *Solicitor* and perswader of *Sacrilege*, signifying, that to give to God, is error, and to take it away againe *Reformation* of error, concluding in these words, *By these or the like suggestions received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the Christian world, they have brought to passe, that as David doth say of Man, so it is in danger to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Service of God, the time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten yeers, or if strength doe serve unto fourescore, what followeth, is likely to be small joy for them, Whosoever they be that behold it. Thus have the best things been overthrowne, not so much by puissance and might of aiversaries, as through defect of Councel in them that should have upheld and defended the same.*

10. This is the first importance of that place which the Gentleman hath so disguised in his abbreviation. Mr. Hooker foretells what a destructive influence, *Sacrilege* may have on the whole *Religion* and *Service of God*, observes in certain parts of the *Christian world* (without naming any) that *sacrilegious suggestions* are received with all joy, and putting these two together, presageth sad events to the whole *Religion*, and *service of God*, within threescore and ten; or fourescore yeares, and from hence this Gentleman concludes it Master Hooker's judgement, that the *Church of England* was a building likely to last but fourescore yeares.
11. In what mode and figure this conclusion is thus made from the premisses, he leaves us to divine, who have not sagacity enough to discern it; The conclusion to all mens understanding will most regularly follow thus, that the *Church of England* was so constituted, that all the enemies thereof on either side were never likely to destroy it by arguments, and consequently that the most probable way remaining to Satan to accomplish his designe was, by *sacrilegious violations* to impoverish and subdue the maintainers of it, which as he foresaw very likely to come to passe within the age of a man, so it



would be no joyfull sight when it should come, he was not so unkinde to any part of the Church of God, as to be willing to live to see it.

12. And if this Gentleman's inclinations have qualified him for the receiving pleasure or joy in such a spectacle, I shall as little envy him the prosperity which hath thus petrified his bowels, as he shall think fit to envy me the honour of being a member of the purest (being withall the most persecuted) Church.
13. Thirdly, That these words of Mr. Hooker thus pitifully distorted are the onely proof he hath for his assertion, that this Church of ours hath now no subsistence, and that it is now torn up by the roots; A way of arguing very conformable to his characters of a true Church, of which external glory and prosperity must never misse to be one, but very unlike the image of Christ the head, to which his Church the body may be allowed to hold some proportion of conformity, for of him we can give no livelier pourtraiture, than as we finde him crucified between two thieves, whilst the souldiers divide his garments, though they were not over-sumptuous, and cast lots who shall have his vesture.
14. What next follows is an answer to a supposed objection of ours ( and that is a farther evidence of what I said, that Mr. Hooker's distorted speech is the onely proof of his proposition ) The objection is, that our Church is still in being preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained; and to this objection he will make some answer from our own principles, of which he supposeth this to be one, that the secular authority hath power to make and change Bishops and Presbyters, and saith without any regrets, that this is my defence against the Bishop of Rome.
15. Many replies might be made to take off all appearance of force from this answer. As 1. that this, to which the answer is accommodated, is not my objection. The truth is, I took not on me the objectors part in that place, but evidenced it by clear demonstration, that if twenty years agoe the Church of England was a Church, it must needs be so now, being the very same that then it was, except these bands, as the Apostle once said, who I hope did not cease to be an Apostle by being

ing imprisoned. And when I mentioned the Church of Englands being preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained, together with multitudes rightly baptized (which sure are all the necessary ingredients in constituting a visible Church) I added, none of which have fallen off from their profession, and then foreseeing the onely possible objection to inferre the Church guilty of schisme, I answered that by remembering the Primitive persecutions and night-meetings, and the very manner of the Romanists serving God in this Kingdom for these many years.

16. And all this is pulled off from the clue, and fumbled together into an objection of mine, supposed to be made against that which the Romanist, without either tender of proof, or reason, had crudely affirmed. But truly I may be believed, that I meant not that affirmation so much respect, as to offer objection against it : And then that is one speedy way of concluding all chatter.
17. But they \*condly, for that saying of mine, on which he will form his answer to this imaginary objection, tis certain I never said any such thing, as is here suggested : That the supreme Magistrate hath power to erect and translate Patriarchates, and the like, I had affirmed indeed, i. e. to make that a Patriarchal See, which had not formerly been such, so to ennoble a town or city, that according to the Canons of the Church it should become an Episcopal, or Archiepiscopal, or Chief, or Patriarchal See, and my meaning is evident, and not possible to be mistaken by any that understands the Language, and adverts to what he reads.
18. But sure I never said that the secular authority hath power to make Bishops and Presbyters, and there is no question but this Gentleman knows, if he hath read what he answers, that in the Tract of Schisme I never said it.
19. So again it is of daily practice in this Church, as in all others, for the supreme power to change, as that signifies to remove Bishops from one See to another, and so for every lay-Patron in the same sense to change Presbyters : But what is that to the making of Bishops or Presbyters, did ever King or lay-Patron pretend to that ? This is too visible to need insisting on.

Thirdly,

would be no joyfull fight when it should come, he was not so unkinde to any part of the Church of God, as to be willing to live to see it.

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16. And all this is pulled off from the clue, and fumbled together into an objection of mine, supposed to be made against that which the Romanist, without either tender of proof, or reason, had boldly affirmed. But truly I may be believed, that I meant not that affirmation so much respect, as to offer objection against it : And then that is one speedy way of concluding the matter.
17. But the secondly, for that saying of mine, on which he will form his answer to this imaginary objection, 'tis certain I never said any such thing, as is here suggested : That the supreme Magistrate hath power to erect and translate Patriarchates, and the like, I had affirmed indeed, i. e. to make that a Patriarchal See, which had not formerly been such, so to ennoble a town or city, that according to the Canons of the Church it should become an Episcopal, or Archiepiscopal, or Chief, or Patriarchal See, and my meaning is evident, and not possible to be mistaken by any that understands the Language, and adverts to what he reads.
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Thirdly,

20. Thirdly, when he saith there *was as much authority to pull down Bishops and Presbyters in this nation as to set them up*, I might demand, 1. Whether he hath any reason to pretend that *Presbyters* are now *pulled down* in this nation, for this is by him supposed, who inquires by what *authority* they are *pulled down*: 2. Whether he can, either upon mine or his own principles, assume with any colour of truth, that none had any hand in *setting up* the *Bishops* in this *Kingdome*, but those whom here he affirms to have consented to the *pulling* them down, and consequently affirm, that there was as much *authority to pull them down*, as to *set them up*? 3. Whether it have any truth in it, (whether he speak of what was done in *Parliament* in *King Henry's*, or *King Edward's*, or *Queen Elizabeth's daies*) that the *Lords Spiritual* were wanting both in *Parliament* and *Convocation*? 4. What he hath said to make it in the least degree *probable*, that the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* mission of *preaching* and *teaching* is *extinguished* among us, any more than it was in the *Primitive Church*, when the *Emperour* was not *favourable* to the *profession*, and when the *Jewes* called it *heresie*: And lastly, whether, if no one of these can with any degree of *verity* be answered in the *affirmative*, this be not very immoderate liberty, which this *Gentleman* hath given himself in *affirming* or *supposing* all these, and then adding, that our *portion* is to be lookt for with the *Jewish Synagogue*, as one, so the other, to have an *end*; not considering that he hath as little skill in *revealing secrets*, as even now in *interpreting* *Mr. Hooker's prophecy*, that he cannot yet tell, what *God* hath within his *veil* decreed concerning our *Church*, and which may yet make the greatest speed to follow the *Synagogue's fate*, they which are *cast down*, but not *destroyed*, or they which (to say no worfe) *stand by*, and *rejoice* at it.

31. The *Treatise of Schisme* concludes with a *Prayer for Peace and Communion*, and for the matter of it, we have his seeming confession that *all good people will joyne* in it. But even in such a *Prayer*, wherein *all good people will joyne*, this *Gentleman* will not *joyne* with me, but upon such *termes*, which I shall not undertake, to *qualifie* me for his *favour*, I meane  
not

not the *fructus dignos pœnitentia*, such as John Baptist would prescribe, but the penances of this severer confessor, to acknowledge the *Infallibility* of the Church in his notion of the Church, *Supremacy* of the Pope, &c.

12. And all that I shall need to reply is, to beseech him that he will then, without *joyning* with me, pray in *secret*, what I began to him, and endeavour so to qualifie himselfe with *charity* and other *graces*, which may *wing* his prayers unto that holy place, where all *humble Christians supplications* daily meet, and then I shall againe pray God, that I may be found in the number of *those*, that so I may be secured to meet and *joyne* with him, at that *common throne* of *grace*.
23. He is pleased to shut up all with an expreffion of the *Council of Florence*, to the businesse of the *Popes supremacy*. To this I might reply that this *definition* is there visibly subscribed, as the *act* of the *Bishop of Rome, Eugenius IV.* (who was a *liberall carver and definer* for himselfe) as may be seen in that very \* page, where the words cited will be found, both \* *Concil: t. 7.* by the *Seale* of his *Pontificate* there *imprest*, *Saint Peter* on p. 858. *edit: the left hand, Saint Paul* on the *right*, and *Eugenius Pp. IV. Paris:* under it; and by the last part of the date in these words, τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἡμετέρας ἐννάτῳ, in the *ninth year* of our *Pontificate*; which though I shall suppose to be the *mode*, the Pope to pronounce the *definition* of the *Council*, yet this was much varied from the *old form*, and the *Council* being dated at *Florence*, in the year of our *Lord 1439.* so near *Rome*, and so farre from the *first times*, where more *simplicity* and just *distribution* of *rights* might be expected, this might be a competent answer to this *testimony*, and a *vindicating* my self from all *schisme* or *heresie*, that my want of the *obedience* or *confession*, which he requires, might fix on me.

24. But I shall for this once, choose somewhat the longer way, and transcribe part of *Marcus the Metropolitan of Ephesus* his answer, wherein he expresth his *opinion*, and others, of that *definition* of the *Council*, as it lies in the \* *Apologie* of \* *Ioseph Methonensis* for that *Council*, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ Πάππαν ὡς τὸν: pro Concilio τῆς Παλαιαρχῶν λογιζόμεθα, ἔτσι ὁ Βικέλιον τῶ Χριστῶ καὶ πατρί: Florent: τίς καὶ διδάσκαλον τῶ Χριστιανῶν ἀπάντων μάλα σιμνῶς ἀποφαί: p. 1023.



νοῦσα, *We also account the Pope as one of the Patriarchs, But these doe with great gravity pronounce him Vicar of Christ, and Father and Teacher of all Christians: and this both to them and us is matter of some wonder, how (μάλα τεμνῶς) with so much gravity, they could thus pronounce, what had so little of truth in it.*

25. And it is worth recounting here, what for the justifying of that definition Joseph Methonensis was able to reply there to that Bishop (and that reply thought worthy to be inserted into the *Acts* of the Council) 1. That he doth not say that the Pope is two or three, but only one of the Patriarchs, ἐν ᾧ ἐμολαγῆται τὸς πρωτεύων, *having praeminence among those of the same Order with him.*
26. For this he hath, 1. Chrysostome's authority in his 17 Homilie on the *Acts*, where, he saith, that among the seven there was one, πρωτεύων καὶ τὰ πρωτεία ἔχων, *one above the rest (and the seven there, were the seven Deacons, and the same praeminence that Stephen then had over them, and all the rest of the world, we shall not deny the Bishop of Rome, especially if, as it follows there, he have the πλεονα χρεὺν more grace than all the other Bishops, and will acknowledge, as it is there also, the κοινὴν οὐρανίου, the same ordination of him and all other Bishops.)*
27. Secondly, the saying of Christ, that, *He that heareth you, heareth me, and the common maxime πάντα ἀρχιερεῖα διδοῦσιν Χριστῷ εἶναι, that every Bishop is the successor of Christ* (But then how came the Bishop of Rome to impropriate that title, to be the only one that all are obliged to bear, when, as he confesses there, καὶ ταῦτα κοινῶς πρὸς πάντας, *This was said in common to them all.*)
28. Thirdly, the words of Theodorus Studita (one, by the way, that had been imprisoned for opposing the Bishop of Constantinople, and who did not communicate with that Church, see Zonaras tom: 3. p. 9. & 102.) to the Emperor Michael, that if he doubted of, or disbelieved any thing that had been there resolved, he should command a δεσπότης declaration or explication to be sent him from old Rome, ὡς ἀπὸθεν καὶ ἄρχης παλαιῆς Ῥώμης ἐξεδίδην, *how from of old, and from the*  
beginning

beginning it had been delivered by tradition of Fathers, adding that that was κορυφαία τῆς ἐκκλησίας the uppermost of the Churches of God, of which Peter was πρωτόθετος, the first that sat Bishop there, unto whom Christ said, Thou art Peter, &c. (But all this still amounts to no more, but that Rome was the prime Apostolick See, that might very probably explicate a difficulty to the Emperour, by telling what had been from time to time delivered, and believed in that Church.)

29. Fourthly, the words of the same Theodorus Studita again, in his Epistle to Nancratius, which speaks of some that had broken off themselves from the body of Christ, from the chief See, in which Christ placed the Keyes of that faith, against which the gates of hell, the mouthes of hereticks had not, should not prevail, (But then still, supposing his testimonie were authentick, this is no more, but that, they which divided from the true doctrine, which he supposed to be at Rome, did in his opinion break off themselves from the body of Christ, that Rome again was the prime See, that it had the Keyes of knowledge and faith intrusted to it by Christ, at the Apostles founding a Church there, but this not exclusively to other Churches, which doubtlesse had those Keyes, as well as she, & that the faith of Christ should never be utterly destroyed by hereticks.)
30. Fifthly, the words of Arcadius a Bishop in the third Council, that of Ephesus, proposing that the words of Cælestine the Pope, who was to be named with all reverence, Bishop of the Apostolicall See, should be read, that they might see what care he had of all Churches (and why might not the like be said of any other truly Christian Bishop?) And so the like speech again of Cyrill of Alexandria, that the letter of Cælestine, the most holy Bishop of the holy Apostolick Church (a title which belonged, and was ordinarily given to other Sees, beside that of Rome) οὐ τῆς προσόρου τιμῆς ἀναγινώσκοντες might be read with due honour or respect (but sure that doth not prove his supreme power over all the Churches of God.)
31. Lastly, the words of the Emperour's letter (called θεῶν γράμμα a divine letter) in the Council of Chalcedon, that the most

blessed Bishop of the city of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ πάντων, priesthood over all, χάριν καὶ ἐκποσίαν ἔχει καὶ πύξιν καὶ ἐξέον ἀνακρίνειν, may have a place and power to judge of faith and of Priests, from whence he roundly concludes, Ἐπεὶ ὅν καὶ πύξιν, &c. Seeing then he hath power to judge of Faith and Priests, he is justly defined by the Council of Florence διδάσκαλος καὶ χειριστὴν ἀπάντων, the teacher of all Christians.

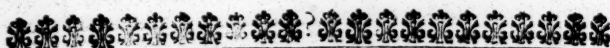
32. This being the last and most probable, and indeed only Testimonie, to justify with any colour of reason the definition of that Council, it is not amiss to consider it a little, and with that to conclude also the debate with this Gentleman, as Joseph Methonenfis there did with the Bishop of Ephesus. And if we turn to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, we shall soon discern the full weight of it.

33. There in the \* first part, num: 25. we shall finde this Letter, styled Θεῶν γράμμα, sent by Valentinian the Emperour to Theodosius, ὥς κελεύσαι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας σὺν ὁδοῦ ἐπιτελεθῆναι, that he would command a Synod to be called in the parts of Italy. This then was the subject of the Letter, and this the occasion; A second Synod had lately been held at Ephesus, in which the heresie of Eutyches had received some assistance, Upon this Pope Leo, and his Synod of Bishops met at Rome, \* writes earnestly to the Emperor Valentinian, that he will κελεύειν command γενικῶν σὺν ὁδῶν a General Council to be called in the parts of Italy, that may remove and mollifie all offences. The same he \* again proposes to the Emperour Theodosius there, desiring ἰδικῶν σὺν ὁδῶν a special Council to be convened in the parts of Italy. Hereupon soon follows a letter of Valentinian to Theodosius to the same purpose, in condescension to Leo's request, and in it those very words (recited by Joseph Methonenfis in defence of the Council of Florence) to no other sense but this, that such a Council might be convened in Italy, to review and reform what had been done amiss in that second Council of Ephesus.

34. This therefore is the meaning of the ἵνα χάριν καὶ ἐκποσίαν ἔχει, that he may have a place and power] that some place may be assigned him and the Bishops, to meet in Council, that he may

may have power, or faculty, or Commission to sit (not he by himself, but he and the Bishops in Council) and when they sit, *πῶς το πιστῶς ὁ ἱερέων κείνῳ*, to judge of faith and Priests, as in all Councils it is done, to define what is the true faith, opposed by hereticks, and what persons, Bishops or others are fit to be censured for any thing done or taught by them.

35. This is the plain and onely importance of the place, to which all the rest of the Epistle accords, that an Universal Council should be called in Italy, wherein the Pope was doubtlesse to preside, and he *συναχθέντων ἐν πάσης οἰκουμένης ὁ ἡμετέρος ἱερέων*, all other Bishops also being convened from the whole world, should consider and define, what the true faith required. And so this is a faire testimonie to prove that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, the Father and teacher of all Christians.



## The Conclusion.

Num. 1. **I** Am now come to the close of this Gentleman's Answer in these words,

*Thus, Sir, you have my sense of Doctor Hammond's Book in all the particulars, which, I think, to the purpose; my time, nor the brevity fit for a Letter, not permitting I should be more methodical, and doe rest*

*Bruxels,  
the 30 March,  
1654.*

Your friend  
and humble servant,

*B. P.*

2. Here he is pleased largely enough to assume the office of an *Aristarchus*, and to involve under no light *censure*, of *impertinency* at the least, the farre greatest part of that *Treatise* of *Schisme*, for certainly that which he hath not offered any Answer to, is such, and yet he here undertakes to have given his *sense in all the particulars, which he thinks to the purpose*, which must conclude it his *opinion*, that all other *particulars* are not to the *purpose*. This indeed is a *performance* somewhat above the *promise* of the *title page*, which obliged him to an Answer of the *most material parts* of that *Treatise*; And it were very easie to shew that there is no degree of truth in either of these, that on the contrary, he hath not offered any word of Reply to the *most material*, which I hope are not the *least pertinent parts* of that *Treatise*. But instead of this larger *Reflexion* it may suffice, that whatsoever he hath thought

thought fit to take notice of, and thereby hath expressed his judgment of it, that it is *most material* in comparison of the rest hath here been very particularly considered, and his *Answers* manifested to have no force in them. And so I very friendly take my leave of him.

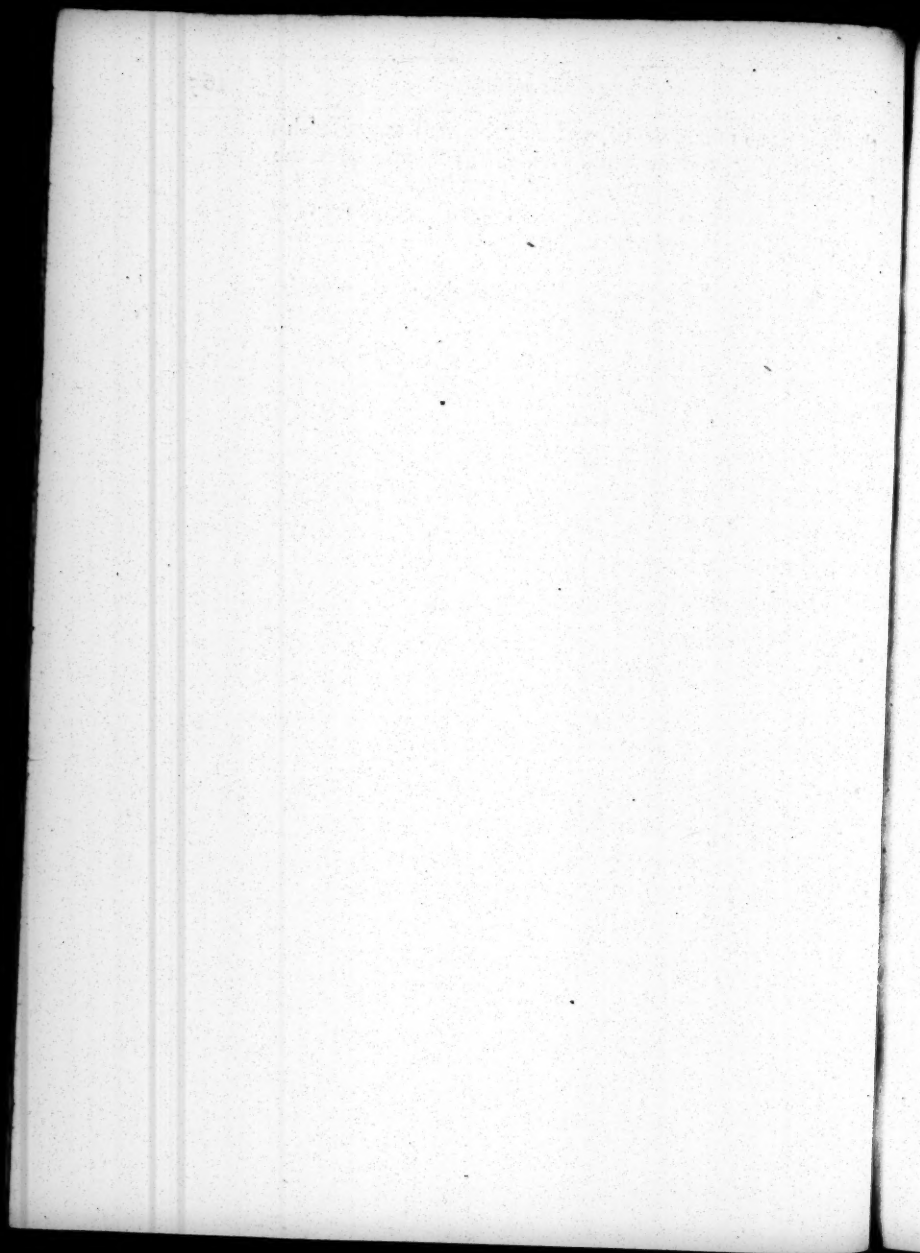
*The God of all grace and peace binde up the wounds of  
his bleeding Church.*

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*An*


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*An Account of H. T. his* APPENDIX  
TO  
HIS MANUAL OF CONTROVERSIES,  
CONCERNING  
*The Abbot of Bangor's Answer*  
to Augustine.

1.  Having concluded the foregoing *Reply* to the *Catholick Gentleman*, I received news of a *Manual of Controversies* in the presse, wherein I was said to be particularly concerned, and having soon gotten a sight of it, I found that the matter was of no greater bulk or weight, than might receive an account in few words, & those most proper to be here annext, by way of *Appendix*:
2. At the folding up of that *Manual*, the *Author* of it is pleased to take notice of (no more than) *one testimonie*, which I had cited out of *Sir Henry Spelman's Anglicane Councils*, containing an *Answer* of the *Abbot of Bangor* to *Augustine the Monk*, when he demanded of the *Britains* an acknowledgment of *submission* to the *Bishop of Rome*.
3. The passage is to be seen at large, in *Welsh*, *English*, and *Latine*, in that *some* of the *Councils*, p. 108. and is recited in the *Treatise of Schisme*, p. 111. and the summe of it is, that he and the rest of the *British Church* were under the government of the *Archbishop of Caerleon upon Uske*, and owed no obedience (or respect, save that of *fraternal charity*) to the *Pope of Rome*.

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This

4. This *Answer* of that *Abbot*, the *Authour* hath thought good to *censure* (by way of *Appendix* to the *Article* concerning the *Pope's Supremacy*) 1. As unapt to conclude against the *Romanist's* pretensions concerning the *Papal power* over the whole *Church*. 2. As unworthily alledged by persons of any ordinary judgment or erudition. 3. As that which may easily be contrived to be a simple imposture, and the waies of demonstrating it clearly, promised in that ensuing discourse.
5. What those waies are, and how farre short of the force or evidence of demonstration, I shall, with the *Reader's* good leave, examine anon, after I have premised this one consideration, That the onely thing, which is by us contested, and concluded against the *Romanist* from this *testimonie*, is a matter of fact of known truth, and such as the *Romanists* themselves (yea and this *Authour* H. T. who hath thought fit to arraign this *testimonie*) acknowledge to be such, and therefore, as in case this one *testimonie* should be demonstrated to be a simple imposture, we can very unconcernedly and easily part with it, standing in no manner of need of this *auxiliarie*, so it is a little strange that this *Authour* should think it worth his solemn pains, to wrest it out of our hands, and dedicate this whole *Appendix* to that one work, when if he were successful to his wish; his acquisitions hereby, and proportionably our losses, must be so unconsiderable.
6. That which we conclude from hence against the *Romanist* is no more but this, that the *Britains*, particularly those of *Bangor*, denied to yeild obedience to the *Pope* upon *Augustine's* demand of it. And for this we have the notoriouſness of the fact, as it is set down by the *Authours* which are of credit, and are vouched in this matter by the *Romanist*, particularly by *Bede*, in the second Book of his *Ecclesiastick Historie*, c.2. where the whole story may be read at large, and out of which I shall collect, and, in passing, clear these few things.
7. First, that *Augustine* and the *British Bishops* met in Council at *Augustine's Oake* in *Worcestershire*; This passage lyes very corruptly in the *Latine Bede*, in loco ubi usque hodie lingua Anglorum Augustineizat, id est, robur Augustini in confinio

*confinio Veltiorum & Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur.* Three *corruptions* I suppose there will soon appear to be in these words, which I shall briefly remove for the clearing of our entrance, and disabusing the *Author* of this *Manual* in one of them.

8. The *first*, and chief of them is, that *Augustineazat* is a *σολιμα* *yezindv*, mistaken for *Augustines-ac*, i.e. *Augustines oake*, whether that were the name of a *Tree*, or a *Village*, most probably the former, after the manner of that *Council*, which was held against *S. Chrysostome*, called ordinarily the *Synod ad quercum*, at, or under the *Oake*.
9. Secondly, that [*ubi*] should be read [*qui*] which is an easie mistake, and so the construction will be *facile*, which now is rough, in loco qui usque hodie *Augustines-ac* appellatur, in the place which even to this day is called *Augustine's-ac*, and accordingly the *Saxon* reads on *þære rtope þe mon nemneð Azurōinur ac*, in the place still named *Augustine's Oake*.
10. Thirdly, that *Veltiorum* (which the *Author* of this *Appendix* renders *Veltians*, and interprets to be the *Isle of Wight*, quite against all probable conjecture, for how can it be believ'd that the *Britains* should give him a meeting so farre from the place of their own present habitation?) should be *Wiciorum* (so *Huntington* reads it, and the *Saxon Bede* *Hwicna*) \* 1.3. p.325. meaning *Worcestershire* by that style, and accordingly this *Synod* is by *Authors* oft called *Wigorniensis Synodus*, the *Worcestershire Synod*; and among the *British Bishops*, who are recorded to be present at the second Session, *Wiccensis*, the *Bishop of Worcester* is one. In what part of that County it was that that *Synod* convened, I see it is uncertain among our later *Writers*, and so there may be place for conjecture, Sir *Henry Spelman* from the *Map* proposeth *Austric*, as a probable contraction from *Austinsric*, *Augustini ditio*, as that which may give some light in a doubtfull matter, but upon inquiry I hear that that village is called *Aufric* or *Alfric*, not *Austric*, and therefore I shall take confidence to mention, what seems to me farre more probable, that it was in the parish of *Merton*, which hath the agnomen of *Ussentree*,

or *Ossentree*, in old rolls, *Merton juxta Ossentree*, *Merton close by Ossentree*, an easie variation from, and contraction of *Austin tree*, and is three miles from *Worcester*, neer the rode to *Droitwich*, where the hill Church is *Augustine's Church*.

11. Secondly, that the businesse of this convention, designed to draw the *British* to obedience to *Augustine* & the See of *Rome*, began with a proposition onely of conformity in the observation of *Easter*, in the Ceremonies of *Baptisme* &c. But this in vain; for, saith *Bede*, after a long disputation they would give no assent to the intreaties, and exhortations and chidings of *Augustine*, but preferred their own tradition before all the Churches through the world, which accorded with *Rome* in the particular of *Easter*, &c.
12. Thirdly, that for the convincing of them, *Augustine* challenged them to doe miracles, and by prayer to God cured a blinde man, and was much cried up for so doing, the *British* still adhering to their way, and answering him, that *absque consensu & licentiâ suorum*, without consent and licence of their whether Rulers of Church, or whatsoever other superiors also (their *Metropolitan*, I suppose, which cannot be thought to have been with them at this, being certainly none of the seven Bishops, which are affirmed to have been present at the later convention) they could not forsake their ancient customs.
13. Fourthly, that upon proposall, it was agreed that they should have a second meeting, at which were present seven *British* Bishops (which other Writers expresse to have been the Bish. p of *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *Bangor*, *S. Assaph*, *Worcester*, *Paternensis*, *Morganensis*) and many other learned men, especially *de nobilissimo eorum Monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui tempore illo Dinooth Abbas præsuisse narratur*, of the famous Monasterie of *Bangor*, of which *Dinooth* was Abbot at that time.
14. Fifthly, that before they went to this Meeting, they were advised by a religious person, whose directions they asked, to observe diligently the behaviour of *Augustine*, when they came, whether he were meek and lowly in heart, a mark by which

which they might know whether he had taken *Christ's* yoke upon him, and consequently whether it were the yoke of *Christ*, which he now desired to impose upon them, and upon *Augustine's* sitting still upon his stool or seat, and never rising up with any civility or humility, at their approach, they were so displeased, saith *Bede*, that they contradicted all the proposals that he made to them.

15. Sixthly, that upon his making three Propositions to them, concerning *Easter*, *Baptisme*, and *preaching to the English*, and promising to bear with them in all other differences; (of which sort, said he, there were many wherein their practice was contrary *consuetudini nostra*, imò *Universalis Ecclesie*, to the custome of the Roman, yea the Universal Church) they answered, *nihil horum se facturos, nec illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros*, that they would not comply with him in any of them, nor acknowledge him for their Archbishop; Upon which follows that rough sanguinarie answer of *Augustine's*, *quod si pacem cum fratribus accipere nolent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi*, that if they would not accept of peace with brethren, they should have warre from enemies, and, as it follows in very plain language, *per Anglorum manu ultionem mortis essent passuri*, the hands of the English should act a bloody revenge upon them.
16. Which, it seems, soon after followed, and fell in an eminent manner on the Monks of *Bangor*, of which order there were at that time above two thousand, who lived all by the labour of their own hands. For, saith he, King *Edilfred* of *Northumberland*, coming with a great Army to *Caerleon*, made his first onset on their Priests, who were assembled by themselves to fast and pray for their brethren, (as *Moses* holding up his hands in prayer, whilest *Josua* held up his in fighting) and upon no other provocation (taken notice of by the Historian) but this, that they fought against him with their prayers (*contra nos pugnant qui adversus nos in precationibus prosequuntur*) he first set upon them, killed 1200 of them, and then destroyed the whole Army. *Sicque completum est presagium sancti Pontificis Augustini*, and so the presage of the holy Bishop *St. Augustine* was fulfilled upon them.



17. These particulars of the *story* I have thus punctually set down in obedience to the rebuke of this *Author*, who p. 412. chargeth it upon Sir *Hen: Spelman*, and those others that borrow out of him, as a want of willingness to see the truth, & of fidelity to communicate it to others, that they have chosen to reflect on that testimonie (which he is pleased to call *upstart*, and) which appeared not till within these 15 years, and not upon that true antiquity, which having indured the shock of almost a 1000 years, Sir *Henry* had a little before transcribed out of *Bede*, wherein, saith he, every one may read, first that miracle in giving sight to the blinde man, then that divine vengeance prophetically foretold by *Augustine*, which (in his opinion) more than sufficiently prove, that *S. Augustine*, sent by the Pope, came in the name of God, from a lawfull authority, and that his demands of conformity to the Church of Rome in the points specified were good, and to be yeilded to by the *Britains*.
- P. 413. 18. In this matter I might now fitly enlarge, and examine the force of this two-fold argument, that of the miraculous cure, and that of the predicted vengeance, and offer many things to consideration concerning each head.

19. For the former, 1. the no great credit that hath been given to the relations of *Bede* on this head of miracles (of which his *Story* is so richly furnished) together with the great deceit that such pretensions have been experimented to subject men to: Secondly, the confession of *Bede*, that the *Britaines* were \* unwilling to yeild to this tryall of their cause, and accordingly when he saith that the † blinde man being offered to the Priests of the *Britaines*, he received no cure or benefit by them, he doth not so much as pretend that the *Britaines* attempted to doe the miracle, and failed in it, but leaves us to resolve that they wholly waived this tryall: Thirdly, that if the miracle were granted to be a true miracle, and a testimony of Gods asserting the doctrines then contested between them, yet this would not be any concludent testimonie for the Pope's Supremacy, but onely for those things which were then the matter of the question, the time of the observation of *Easter*, the rites of *Baptisme*, accustomed in the *Roman Church*, and at the most some such like traditions,

\* Quod cum  
adversarii,  
inviti licet,  
concederent.  
† Cum obla-  
tus Britonū  
sacerdotibus  
nil curatio-  
nis horum  
ministerio  
cepit.

traditions, wherein the *British* custome varied from that of *Rome*, for this was the forme of the proposed tryall, *quæ sequenda traditio quibus sit viis ad ingressum regni illius prope-  
randum*, what tradition was to be followed (in the celebration of *Easter*, that which the *Britains* had received and retained from their first conversion, imputed to an *Apostle* or *Apostolical* person, *Simon Zelotes* or *Joseph of Arimathea*, or that which the *Romans* deduced from *S. Peter*) by what waies they were to hasten to entrance into that *Kingdome* (referring, I suppose, to the rites of baptisme, the second head of debate between them) And in both these, (as also in refusing to joyn with *Augustine* in the common work of preaching to the *Gentiles*) it may easily be granted by us, that the truth was on the *Romanists* side, and not on the *Britains*, without yeilding a *supremacie* of the *Church of Rome* over the *British Churches*. Fourthly, that the *Britains* by *Bede's* confession, acknowledged themselves convinced by that miracle, that the way of righteousness which *Augustine* preached, was the true way, yet added, that they could not renounce their antient customes without the consent and licence of their own (*superiors*) which evidently confines and determines the miracle and all the supposed virtue thereof to the confirming the Traditions which *Augustine* delivered, without farther extending it to the asserting the *Papal power* (to which the *Abbot of Bangor's* answer was particularly confronted) for had they once acknowledged themselves convinced of that, there had been no place left for the *licentia suorum*, no need of the consent or licence of any other superiors, which yet they resolutely adhere to. Lastly, that at their second meeting the *Britains* deemed *Augustine's* pride a more valid convincing argument, that the yoke which he designed to impose on them was not the yoke of *Christ*, than the supposed miracle, that it was.

20. And for the latter, that of the slaughter, first \* threatened and then fulfilled upon them, 1. If that were indeed a miracle, it was not of the complexion, which is generally observed in *Christ's* miracles, used for the working of faith, but proportionable to the Spirit of the Boanerger, which would have the fire from heaven called down upon the Samaritans, and bert.

\* Fertur mi-  
nitans præ-  
dixisse. Bede.  
Terruit eos  
vaticinio fu-  
tura super  
eos calami-  
tatis. Sige-  
and bert.

and were answered by *Christ* that this was not agreeable to the *Spirit* of the *Gospel*; And if the example of *S. Peter* on *Ananias* and *Saphyra*, or of *S. Paul* on *Elymas* be made use of as a precedent for this severity, yet sure the answer of *Pope Gregory* to *Augustine* at that time, supposing different Churches to enjoy different customs, and not imposing the Roman upon all, might have directed him to greater moderation. See *Bede*: l. 1. c. 27. in his answer to the third Interrogation. Secondly, it is no very great miracle, that a grand Army falling first upon unarmed Monks, should obtain the victory against them, and afterward against all other their opposers; nor consequently is it any whit strange that *Augustine*, that was so provoked, and meant to use this bloody revengefull course, should thus threaten what he then designed to see performed, for that is the full meaning of his foretelling it.

21. It is true indeed that either *Bede*, or some Interpolator, that copied out the original Latine of that Historie, hath thought good to insert some words in the end of that story, l. 2. c. 2. in fine, (*quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato*) which might delude men into a perswasion, that this bloody act was a long time after *Augustine's* death; But for this, First, it is observable that *King Alfred's* Saxon translation or paraphrase of *Bede*, wholly omits that parenthesis, and reads it onely thus, 7 77a 7a7 7e7777e 7e 77e7e7e 7e7 7a77a7 B. Agustinus 7 7i 7e7e7e7e, &c. and so was fulfilled the prediction of *S. Augustine*, that they should feel the revenge of temporal destruction. Secondly, that the series of the story in *Bede* gives just prejudice to that parenthesis, for this of the slaughter of the Britans being set down in the end of that second Chap: the third begins with *Augustine's* ordaining two Bishops, *Mellitus* and *Justus*, which sure was not after his death, and as the Saxon paraphrase of *King Alfred* begins that Chapter with this form of reference to the former passage, 7e 7a7 7e7e7e 77777777— It was after this— which plainly defines *Augustine* to have survived that bloody fact, so the Latine *Bede*, which sets down the time of *Augustine's* ordaining those two Bishops, Anno Dominice incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto, In the year 604, doth yet more incline

us to suspect that *Parenthesis*, for though *Bede*, who sets down the month and day of *Augustine's* death, sets not down the year of it, but leaves it in a latitude to be between the year 596. in which he came to *England*, and the year 613. (or, as the *Saxon* reads 616.) in which *King Ethelbert* died, yet others commonly affirm that he continued *Bishop* 15 or 16 years, and so died about 612 or 13. whereas *Chronologers* affirm the slaughter of the *Monks of Bangor* &c. to have been in the year 603, and so the year immediately precedent to *Augustine's* ordaining those two *Bishops*. Thirdly, when in the relation of this slaughter, the *Latine Bede* begins *Siquidem posthac ipse, de quo diximus, Rex Anglorum*— For after this, i. e. after *Augustine's* threatening destruction to the *British*, the forenamed *King of the Angles* gathered an Army—the *Saxon* paraphrase reads, and *þona þnape æfter ðyrrum*, and soon rath, i. e. very soon after this, which again perswades that it was before *Augustine's* death, at least that the *jam multo ante* in the *Parenthesis* (that *Augustine* died long before) could have no truth in it. Lastly, as some Writers of these dark times have made a shift to affirm with the *Latine Bede* that *Augustine* was first dead, so it is known also that others charge it on him, that he was not onely the inciter to it, but that he met the *Kings* when they were ready for the fight, and was present with them; And *Trivet* in his *French Chronicle*, that saith it was done after *Augustine's* death, yet adds that *Ethelbert King of Kent*, who stirred up *Ethelfred King of Northumberland* and his *Saxons* against the *Britans*, and by name against *Dinoth Abbot of Bangor* forementioned, was highly displeased and inflamed, that he had despised *Augustine*. All which being considered, it is certain, that this was no very *Christian* action, whether in *Augustine* or in *Ethelbert*, and the threats of the one, and performances of the other, as they bear an exact proportion, so are they equally argumentative, not for, but against that cause, which was willing thus unchristianly to support it self.

22. Thirdly, if the slaughter of these poor *Monks* shall yet be thought a solid probation, as an act of divine vengeance upon them

them ( just such as the falling of the towre of Siloe was, from which none but a Jew, or Turke, or the Barbarians, *Act. 28.* or those that make prosperity the special mark of the true Church, will think fit to conclude any thing ) there is one part of the story yet behinde, which will refuse and retort that argument, for when Edilsfrid had used them so bloodily, and in the heat of his rage and victory proceeded to destroy the remainder of those Monks, and their Monasterie together, the avengers of blood met him, three British Commanders, with their forces, routed his Army, killed ten thousand and sixty of them, wounded the King, and put him and the remainder of his Army to flight, which certainly is an argument of as much validity to inferre that God maintained the cause of those innocent Monks against the Saxons and Augustine, as the former was argumentative on their side against the British.

23. But it is not needfull, that I insist on either of these, the one thing that from this view of the story in Bede was to be concluded, is onely this, that upon the relations, as in him they lie, and are by this Author H.T. vouched against us, there can be no doubt of our Conclusion, that the Abbot and Monks of Bangor opposed Augustine, yeilded him no obedience, referred themselves onely to their own Governours, without any acknowledgment of obedience to the Pope; And this is generally the result of other Authors narrations of this matter.

24. So \* *Balcan*, speaking of that convention, *Dionysius omnium in Dinoth. primus graviter & docte de non approbanda apud eos Romanorum autoritate disputabat*, Dinoth in the first place gravely and learnedly disputed against the Authority of the Bishops of Rome among them, adding, *Fortiter prater ea tuebatur Menevensis Archiepiscopi in Ecclesiarum suarum rebus ratam jurisdictionem*, that he moreover strongly and courageously defended the validity of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of S. Davids ( the same that in the Abbots answer is called the Bishop of Caerleon ) in the affairs of his own Churches.

25. So Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Edelbertus Rex Kantiorum, ut vidit Britones dedignantes subjectionem Augustino facere, Northumbriorum*

*thumbrorum & ceteros Saxonum regulos instimulavit, ut collecto grandi exercitu in civitatem Bangor Abbatem Dinot & ceteros clericos, qui eos spreverunt, perditum irent. King Ethelbert seeing the Britains disdain to yield their subjection to Augustine, stirred up the King of Northumberland and other Saxon Kings to gather a great army against the city Bangor, to destroy Dinot the Abbot and the other Clerks of that Monasterie, who had scorned Augustine and the Saxons.*

26. So Sigebert in Anno 602. *Augustinus—habita Synodo cum Britonum & Scotorum Episcopis, quâ sacerdotes & Monachos in enim adversarios agnitatis—* Augustine had a meeting with the British and Scottish Bishops, and there found an opposition from the Priests and Monks, and terrified them by prediction of a calamity that should fall on them. Other evidences to the same purpose are set down in the Collection of the Anglican Councils, and Mr. Whelock's Notes on his edition of the Saxon Bede, p. 115. if there could now remain any question of it.
27. And that this was discerned by the Author of this Appendix, if it had been for his Interest to have taken notice of it, is evident by his mention of the *miracle and divine vengeance*, as of proofs that Augustine was in the right against these refusers, who yet continued, saith he, still refractory to his proposals. And this was all I concluded from the Abbot's answer, and this stands firm in this Romanist's own confession, though the words of the Abbot's answer had not been preserved to us.
28. And therefore being now wholly unconcerned in the validity of this testimony, and so secured from all danger of being bribed by interests to judge more favourably of it than the matter requires, I shall now proceed calmly to consider, whether there be that *clearness and evidence* in this Author's arguments for the invalidating this testimony, which he assures us we shall finde in them.
29. His first argument is negative from the [not least scrap of Antiquity so much as pretended to prove that the Cambrian (i. e. Welch) lines cited, were the Abbot of Bangor's answer to Augustine upon the occasion specified, nor that the renowned

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*Dinoth was that Abbot, nor that the old Manuscr: whence Sir Henry Spelman extracts the testimony, was copied out of any more ancient.*

30. What other proof from antiquity should be expected from Sir Henry Spelman to give authority to these lines, than what readily offers it self in this matter. I do not understand; That the *British*, particularly those of *Bangor*, and yet more peculiarly *Dinoth* the famous Abbot of that *Monasterie*, disputed against *Augustine's* pretensions for the authority of the *Bishop of Rome*, and asserted their own subjection to their *Metropolitane*, hath already appeared to be the affirmation of those, who are most competent witnesses of it; and the *Manuscript* passage in *Welch* and *English*, which Sir H. Spelman had transcribed from Mr. *Moston's* Copie (and directs the Reader to Sir *Robert Cotton's Library* to satisfy himself in that matter) is directly agreeable to this for the matter of it, and so gave that very judicious Knight just reason both to set some value on it himself, and to communicate it to others, as that which might gratify their curiosity, and approve it self by its own light to any judicious Reader, to be, if not the very words of that Abbot's answer, yet the sense and substance of it, and whether of these it should be judged to be, it matters not.
31. Had the contents of this Testimony been any way contrary to other undoubted records of those times, or indeed any disparate new relation, that had not formerly been taken notice of, and was now to owe the whole credit and support to this Testimonie, some reason there might have been for an *Aristarchus* to proceed with more caution than here was used, and to yeild nothing to bare groundlesse conjectures (and the *Romanist* hath as much reason as any man to lay this to heart, to act with this caution in other Testimonies) but when the matter is agreed on among the *Antients*, and an old record offers it self to our view, in perfect concord with that which we had formerly all reason to believe, and onely affirms that more legibly and distinctly, which was in substance before, but not so punctually delivered to us, I cannot think the severest Critick, supposing him unconcerned and impartial,

tial, without any hypothesis of his own to be defended or tendered by him, would have any aversion or dislike to a testimony thus produced, though for some circumstances of it, such as are here mentioned, the producer have nothing of authority to back his own conjectures.

32. This one thing I am sure is most unjust, not to give credit to a Manuscript, that it is what it pretends to be, unlesse I have some expresse affirmation of Antiquity concerning that particular Manuscript; should such rules of severity be now imposed on the presse, the Vatican must never bring forth more rarities, the wealth of all the Archives in the world must lie dead, like a Miser's treasure, no one volume being able to testify for the veracity of its neighbour, or if it were, it self must also bring its voucher along with it, and so on in infinitum, or else it would not be *ισχυρις* a competent testification in this matter, and when it is remembered, that all, which is now made publick by the help of Printing, lay once in single Manuscripts, and those multipliable onely by transcribing, and neither the original nor Copies any other way testified to be what they pretended to be, than as these Cambrian lines are delivered to us by Sir Henry, I hope this will be deemed a competent proof, that this first argument is not so clearly demonstrative as was promised.

33. Another branch there is of this first argument, in these words, And certainly if his Manuscript be no elder than the interlined English, he hath grossly wronged himself and his Reader, by honouring it with the style of Antient: For, as every one sees, the English is purely modern, and cannot be so old by many years as Henry the Eighth's cashiering the Pope's authority, and arrogating the supremacy in Ecclesiasticall matters to himself, for maintenance whereof it is alledged, and was certainly forged.

34. To this I answer briefly, that it is not pretended by Sir Henry, that the English is as antient as the times of Dinorh, no nor the Welch neither, but that those two Languages were made use of by some, whose ages he pretends not to know, to convey to us intelligibly the answer of that Abbot, in what language soever it were delivered by him; And if it

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shall now be granted to this *Author*, that the *English* idiom evidenceth it to be written within these last 100 years, this can be no prejudice or ground of suspicion, much lesse a proof of forgery against this *Manuscript*, as long as the *Welch* is allowed to be more *antient*, to which the *English* may upon a latter transcribing have been annext, as fitly as old Greek *MSS.* are daily printed with the *Latine* translations of a later date, in the same or several pages.

35. His second argument is deduced from the *Cambrian lines*,  
 p. 46, 7, 8. in which he pretends to discover many *un-Cambrian* mixtures of *English* words, *helpio* and *gleimio*, for *help* and *claim*, want of *Orthographie*, and the like; To which being utterly unskilfull in the *Welch* language, I acknowledge my self *incompetent* to give any very particular reply, yet shall give my reason, why I cannot think that this second argument of his is any more demonstrative against the validity of the testimony, than the former; For 1. supposing this *Copie* of Mr. *Mostons* to be a transcript, not the original (as it is evident *S. H. Spelman* suppoeth) what difficulty is there to imagine, that that *Copie* was transcribed by one unskilful in the *Orthographie* of that language, especially when it is known, how ordinary this is to be found, not only among the *vulgar*, but among learned *Church-men* of that nation, who are fain by study to acquire skill of reading before they can officiate in that language. Secondly, I shall readily grant, or, if he please, yeild to the force of his arguments, that the *Welch lines* are not the words, or language wherein *Dineth* delivered his answer, but (as this *Gentleman* after contends) that *Dineth*, a writer of *Latine Books*, being to speak to *Augustine*, that understood not the *British* language, gave his answer in *Latine*; What hinders now, but that this *Latine* answer being conserved among the *Britans*, might in later times (before *Henry* the eight) in any age to which the idiom of the *Welch lines* shall direct a Critick in that language to affix them, be translated into imperfect (I mean more modern) yet intelligible *Welch*, either by a native of that Countrey, or by any other, who had acquired so much of that language, as was sufficient for no weightier an enterprise? I discern not what disadvantage I can

can receive by this *concession*, and then sure there will be small difficulty in vindicating Sir Henry's integrity, if this shall be supposed; For he no where pretends, that the *Cambrian lines*, in the form here presented, were the *language*, or words of the answer of *Dinoth*, but that the *matter* of his answer, in what *language* soever delivered by him, is communicated to us by that *MS.* And that it was not, here is no word of so much as *probable argument*, much lesse of *clear demonstration* tendered by the *Author* of this *Appendix*.

36. Lasty, for the two words which occasioned his charge of the *English mixtures*, I am, by those which have skill in the language, enabled to return him some answer, that the word *help*, from whence is the infinitive *helpio* or *helpu*, is found used by *Tudor Aled*, who wrote an: 1490. and by *Lluellyn*, who is thought to be more *antient*, and that *gleimio*, or *climio* is by the *Latine* and *Welch Dictionary* set down in the word *vendico*, in the first place, (and after that *holi*) as the most proper *Welch word* for it, not borrowed from the *English*; From whence as I shall not conclude, that these *Welch lines*, were the original of *Dinoth's* answer. (that were to retract my former *concession*) so I may safely assume, that these two words (his onely instances of *English mixtures*) doe no way demonstrate this *Welch translation* to be later than *Henry the Eighth's cashiering the Pope's authority* (as of the *English* it was granted) nor consequently leave it under suspicion of being forged by any *Protestants*.

37. His third argument is of more seeming force, taken from the mention of this *Abbot's* subjection to the *Bishop* of *Caerleon* upon *Uske*, in which he findes two absurdities, 1. faith he, *Bangor* is very neer, if not in the *Diocese* of *Lhan Elwy*, now commonly called *S. Asaph*, 2. all *Histories* testifie that the *Archiepiscopal Seat* was removed from *Caerleon* to *S. David's* in *King Arthur's* time, who died about the year 544. i. e. 50 years before *Augustine's* first entrance into *Britain*.

38. To these two branches of probation, certainly the answer is very obvious to the first, that acknowledging and supposing that the *Manasterie* of *Banchor*, situate in *Flintshire*, though within the confines of *Chestshire*, was under the diocesan Bishop  
either

P. 409.

either of *S. Asaph*, or of *Chester* the *Episcopal See* of *Bangor* lying in the *County* of *Caernarven*) yet this can be of no manner of force against this testimony, for he that was under the *Bishop* of *S. Asaph*, as his immediate superior, or diocesan, may yet be under the *Bishop* of *Caerleon*, as his *Metropolitan*, as he that is under the *Bishop* of *Rocheſter* in one respect, is under the *Bishop* of *Canterbury* in another. And so that is a full answer to his first difficulty.

39. For the second, it is acknowledged that before this time of *Dinoh's* answer to *Augustine*, the *Archiepiscopal See* had been by authority of *Synod* removed first from *Caerleon* to *Landaffe* by *Dubritius*, Anno 512. and so it is affirmed by *Sir Hen: Spelman* in his *Apparat*: p. 25. (where by the way lin: 5. the *Printer* hath mistaken *ad Meneviam* for *ad Landaviam*) and in like manner by his successor *S. David*, Anno 516. by licence from *King Arthur*, from *Landaff* to *Menevia*, which from that eminent *Bishop*, under whom that change was made, was after called *S. Davids*. But this removal of the *Metropolitcal See* from one city to another was not of such weight or consideration, but that the *Metropolitcal dignity*, having been so long fixt at *Caerleon*, might still retain that title after the translation.

40. Besides, the *Abbot* of *Bangor* making answer to *Augustine's* claim, which was founded in some old right, which he pretended the *Pope* to have over all *Churches*, it was most proper to contest this by former practice, not onely how it stood at that present, but especially how it had been ἀρχαῖον ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, of old, or from the beginning, by custom immemorial, and herein not to consider such immaterial changes, as were the removing of the *Primate's See* from one city to another, but to look on it, as it had alwaies layn, in opposition to all foreign jurisdiction: And it being certain that *Caerleon* was antiently this *Prime See*, nothing was more agreeable to this contest, as it is supposed to be managed by that *Abbot*, than thus to referre to the ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη (as the *Councils* of *Nice*, and *Antioch*, and *Chalcedon*, and *Ephesus* had done, in the like controversies) to tell *Augustine* that the *British Christians* had alwaies, from their first plantation, been under a  
British

*British Primate*, and to call the *British Primate* by that title, which had most antiently belonged to him, i. e. *Bishop of Caerleon*, and not by the later of *Landaffe*, or the yet later of *S. Davids*.

42. What this *Author* here objects against the former of these answers, saying, 1. That this is not proved. And 2. that it implies a contradiction to say the *See* was translated, and the former title still retained, Translation importing the taking a new, and desertion of the old title,] is no way applicable to this second answer (which consequently remains in full force) and therefore I need not farther attend to it; And in relation to the former answer, It is farre from the promised clearnesse of demonstration.
43. For as to the first part of it, the thing may be true, though it be not proved, the contrary must be proved by him that promiseth clear or demonstrative confutations: And for the second, it must be founded in some new notion of Contradiction, which my *Logick* hath not acquainted me with, for sure he that saith the *See* was translated, and the former title retained, doth neither say that the *See* was translated and not translated (which is the only form of a Logical contradiction) nor that the former title was retained and not retained; Nor consequently can I discern the least inconvenience, much lesse contradiction, either direct, or by way of implication, that the *Metropolitcal See* being translated from *Caerleon* to another city, the *Metropolitan* should still retain his original title, that of *Bishop of Caerleon*.
44. Other exceptions he proceeds to adde, but those so farre again from being, according to promise, demonstrative evidences against this testimonie, that they are no way worthy to be attended to.
45. First, that *Dinoh* would probably have answered in *Latine*, and to that I have already replied, that I may well grant he did so, and consequently that both the *Welch* and *English* in *Mr. Moston's MS.* were translations of that *Latine*.
46. Secondly, that the words in *Welch* rendred [whom you name to be Pope—] are not rightly translated; In this again I cannot contend, having no knowledge in that language, but as
- A a



before I followed Sir Henry's translation, and finding it not very clear, did endeavour to expresse his meaning by a just Paraphrase, and thereby happily rendred the true sense of the place, so if I should now believe my teacher again, this Author, that undertakes to correct Sir Henry's translation, it would not be impossible so to render the words, as should bear a very commendous sense, and perfectly agreeable to the notion I formerly had of them.

47. But being not secure that my leader H. T. (whom now I discern to be no Welch-man) hath really the skill in that language, which his animadversions pretend to, I thought it more reasonable to consult some other more knowing guide, and am now from a judicious hand assured, that there is an error in the distinction between Daad: and yw gleimio, which being taken away, the true rendring of the whole is this, *Et aliam obedientiam, quam istam, non agnosco ego cuiusquam esse, quem vos nominatis Papam, vel patrem patrum, vendicare & postulare, And any other obedience than that, I acknowledge not to be any mans (or to belong to any man) whom ye name Pope, or Father of Fathers, to challenge and require.* This is plain sense, and still perfectly agreeable to the understanding, I formerly had of the words, and I doubt not but upon the most Critical examination it will be found to be the most literal rendring of them.
48. The third, of the no good sense of the English is already answered also, by adhering to that better translation, which is as perfectly fit for our turns, as the other was imagined to be, and much more intelligible and clear, as appeared in the last number.
49. The fourth is, that the words used of the Bishop of Caerleon [who is to oversee under God over us] makes against the aim of the Prelatick reformers, and particularly against me, who labour to support the King's Supremacie against the Pope, whereas these words exclude the King as well as the Pope.] But certainly there is no force in this, for Augustine's demand, or question being onely of that obedience and subordination which belonged to the Supreme Bishop, whether that were the Bishop of Rome, or the Bishop of Caerleon, and not at all inquiring

quiring into the *nature* or *extent* of the *regal* or *imperial* power (there being no *occasion* to suggest any such *inquiry*) the *Abbot's answer* can in no probability be *extended* any farther than the *question* extended, i. e. to the asserting the *Prime Episcopal power* to belong to the *Metropolitan* of *Caerleon* or *S. David's*, without any *subordination* to the *Pope* of *Rome*.

50. As for that which in the *fift* place he adds of the *miracle* and *divine vengeance*, in *Bede*, and so concludes his *Appendix*, to that I have spoken \* already, in that which I thought \* n. 19, 20. meet to *premise* to this debate, and so I have no more to add by way of *answer* to his *exceptions*, but that I cannot sufficiently wonder, that this *Author* (so recommended to the Reader by his *learned Friend* in the front of his Book) should make it his solemn businesse to invalidate this one *supernumerary testimony*, being withall no better provided with *arguments* to promise him *success* in it.

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The End.

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# ERRATA.

**P**age 4. line 28. after *him*  
adde ,

p. 15. l. 34. after *fide* re: or

p. 33. marg: l. 3. re: *Apolog:*

l. 29. after *must* adde ,

p. 36. l. 32. re: *nomina*

p. 40. l. 12. re: *Δελήσατε*

l. 13. re: *εὐχερῶς*

p. 83. l. 34. re: *πεπλαβῶσιν*

*συνθείας*

p. 15. l. 24. after *πρόξει* dele ,

p. 19. l. 33. after *else* adde )

p. 90. l. 17. for *μῦ* re: *μῦ*

l. 20. for *the* re: *then*

p. 96. l. ult: re: *αὐτοκεφαλία*

p. 108. l. 30. re: *testifie*

p. 111. marg: l. 11. re: *ὁπισθο-*

*πὰς*

p. 120. l. 26. re: *it as*

p. 121. l. 11. re: *Campegium*

p. 129. l. 8. re: *ἔργον*

l. 6. re: *yet larger*

p. 133. l. 17. re: *by this*

p. 135. l. 6. re: *schism in him,*

p. 136. l. 35. re: *συγχαίτη*

p. 137. l. 29. re: *and shall*

l. 32. re: *extitit*

p. 138. l. ult: re: *is one*

p. 141. l. 7. re: *are by us be-*

*lieved to be con-*

l. 24. re: *our innocence*

p. 148. l. 36. re: *is utterly*

p. 150. l. 7. re: *this*

p. 155. l. 11. re: *the fall*

p. 160. l. 36. re: *διασάφους*

p. 161. l. 11. re: *Nancratim*

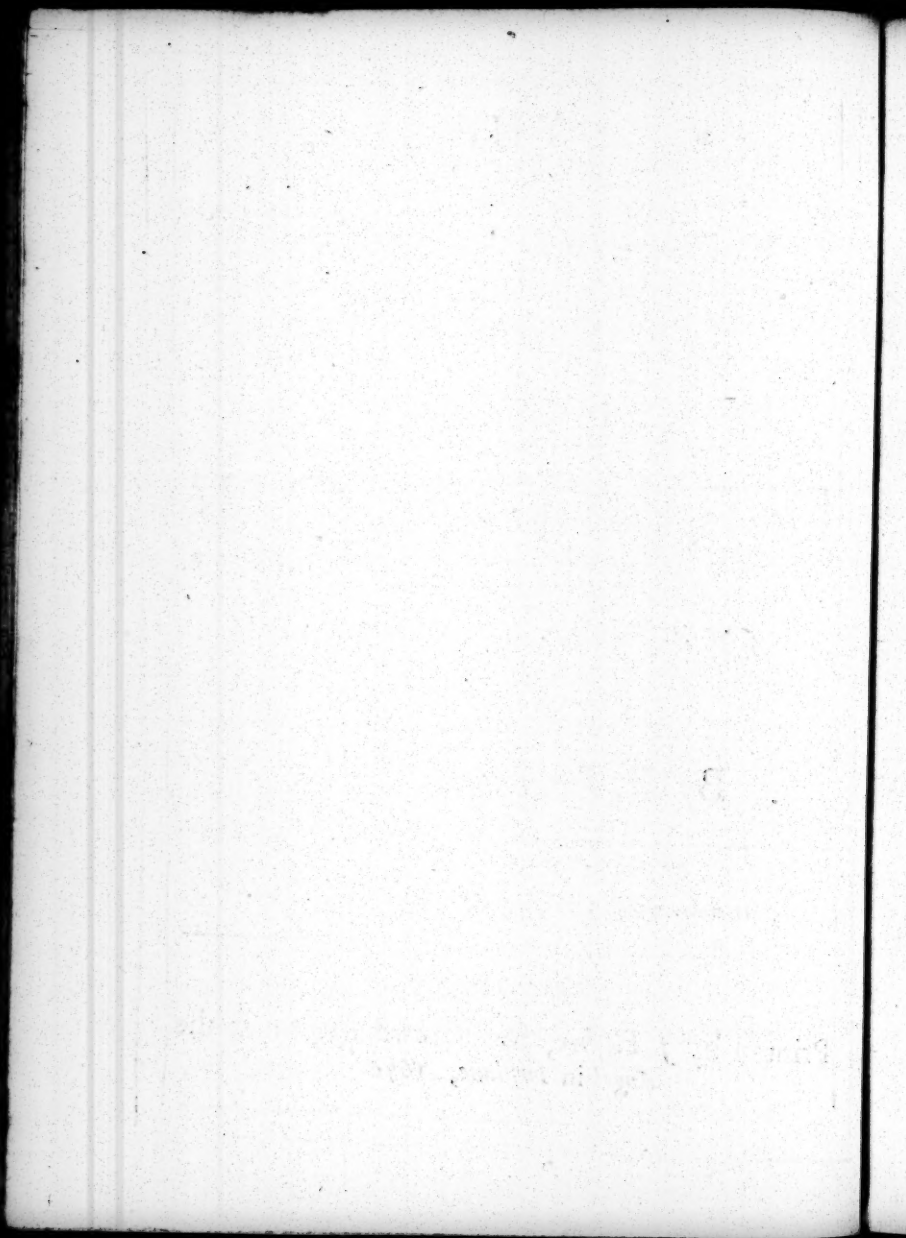
THE  
Disarmers Dexterities  
EXAMINED.  
In a Second  
D E F E N C E  
Of the Treatise of Schisme.

By *H. Hammond*, D. D.

Ἡ πλέον γελοῖσι, ταύτη μᾶλλον κακῶς ἔχεισι. *Iren.*

LONDON,

Printed by *J. Fleisher*, for *Richard Royston* at the  
*Angel* in *Ivy lane*, 1656.



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The Disarmers

# THE Disarmers Dexterityes EXAMINED.

## CHAP. I.

*An Introduction and answer to S. W. his Epistle  
to the Reader.*

### SECT. I.

*Of the Disarmers style and contumelies. The Scriptures  
judgement and sentence on Αοιδόποιαι. Other parts of the  
Character belonging thereto.*



Some months have now past, since I  
made my joynt Reply both to the Ca-  
tholick Gentleman his Answer to the  
tract of Schism and to M<sup>r</sup> H.T. his Ap-  
pendix to his Mannuall of controversies,  
and thereon I had groundd some just  
hope, that either I should receive a  
fair Christian Rejoynder to that Reply,  
or else being permitted to retire from  
these agones, be allowed some re-  
spite for thoughts and offerings of peace; But before some other  
importunities had permitted me to enter on the least injoyment  
of this calme, this φυσικὴ ἀνὰ δέσασιν (to me I am sure) most  
naturall habitude, \* as Epicurus call'd his γαλήνη, I finde my  
self

\* Νῆμινος οὐ-  
ρανὸν ἰσοῦσι. p.  
137.

self again ingaged ( by one who hath chosen to be so reserved, as to give ne but two Letters, *S. W.* to know him by, and so little to take notice of these lower transactions, as not to own the having heard of that *Reply* ) and there under the title of *Disarmed Schisme*, I meet with as copious a collection of *scoffes*, and *contumelies*, as I ever remember to have seen contrived within so narrow a compasse. To these the *Romish Factor* hath, in the name of the *Stationer*, pleased to give the stile of *Drolery*, and *Piquant sauce*, but the *Author* himself, who was fittest to have the naming of his own births, hath in his *Epistle* to the *Reader*, allowed them the plainer titles of *Rude blowes*, and *twischings by the beard*: now because the one businesse of that *Epistle* is not to excuse but to justify this dealing, to avow and defend the *Authors* just title to the *scorners chaire*, and profestly to plead to it, producing such evidences, as he is confident may secure his possession, and agreeably the *Publishers* care, and wit hath so particularly conformed, that to the *syllabus* of the *Chapters*, he hath solemnly annex a list of the *contumelies*, three and thirty pickt out by *specialty* out of the farre greater number, ( as if *Goliath's* cursing of *David* had been the *disarming* and *discomfiting* him; as if the language that the *King of Moab* would have bribed *Balaam* to use, had been a certain *incantment against Israel*, as if every reproach wherewith *Rabshakeh* adorned his challenge to *Hezekiah* were indeed a severall victory over him ) It is therefore reasonable that I should thus far comply with my *disarmers* method, as to begin with an examination of that *spirit* which hath suggested, of those *reasons*, which are thought competent to defend this manner of managing controversies in Religion.

And herein the matter under examination being already as *notorious*, and *confest*, as the *flagrant fact*, and the *Authors* justifying thereof can render it, the sentence is long ago pronounced by the *Apostle*, *1 Cor. 5. 11.* and *6. 10.* I shall need onely to recite it, In the former place, *ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ἢ λατρεύς. If any that is called a brother, by name or profession a Christian, be a railer or reviler, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ ἐσθίειν, with such an one no not to eat, the Christians of Corinth must have no society with him, ὀνομα μόνον ἀδελφῷ ἔχει, ἔκ τῃ δὲ τῇ ἀλη-*

ῥέα, saith the Scholiast. He hath onely the name, not the reality of a Christian, and βλάθυμα ἐκ διὰ τῶν ῥασιάν, he is for this fault a detestable person, and as such falls under the censures of the Church, v. 12. and he that is thus ipso jure excommunicate, is no very competent Juror or witness in a question of Schisme, such as that which we have now before us. In the latter the λοιδοροί, railers, revilers, contumelious persons again, are reckoned as a speciall sort of ἄδικοι unrighteous, which continuing such unreformed, shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven, and do but flatter, and deceive themselves, if they hope they may; and such sure are not qualified to condemn others, and exclude them from heaven, being none of those Saints, who clava non errante shall judge the world.

3. Beside these, which alone might have discouraged any sober Christian from this adventure, many other unhappy characters are ready to fall upon it. 1. That it is by our Saviour noted to be the very Dialect, which the obstinate Jews used toward the true Prophets of God, ἐνεδίκατοι, and πάντων πονηρὸν ῥήμα, reproachings and every evill word, Mat. 5. 11. and such withall as will to the sufferer be matter of triumph (χαρὰ and ἀγαλλaxis v. 12. amounts to that) in case it shall finally prove that causelessly or falsely, and for defence of the truth it hath fallen upon him.
4. 2<sup>dly</sup> That in case it should not in fine prove thus, yet it is that, which an Angel, the most highly dignified and most importunately provoked (so was Michael Jude 9.) would not make use of against the Devill himself, when engaged in the most malicious dispute against the true Church of God (for such I suppose I have elsewhere shewed was meant, in that place, by the body of Moses) And that it should now adayes against all lawes of Religion be admitted to an office (such I think should be a dispute) of Religion, what is it but the imitation of Hercules's sacrifices at Lyndus, which were celebrated by execrations and maledictions, any δαῖμονια or word of civility, though unwarily let fall, being deemed the violation of the festivall.
5. 3<sup>dly</sup>. That as nothing hath a more direct and particular opposition, and unreconcilable nesse to that spirit of meeknesse wherein we are commanded by Saint Paul, to \* instruct, to \* 2 Tim. 2. 25.

\* 1 Cor. 4. 21. \* *chastise*, to \* *reduce* opposers to that *supernall wisdom* in *St. James*, which being *first pure*, is next *peaceable*, then *gentle* and *εὐμενής*, so it cannot proceed from that *divine Spirit*, whose *fruits* among others are reckoned to be *love, peace, long-sufferings, gentleness, meekness*, in opposition to *hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings*, and such like, *Gal. 5.* and the *biting one another*, v. 16. all *characters* of the *Gnostick heresie* at that time.

6. *Lastly*, that as this is a most *unskilful* diviation from all *rules of art*, as well as *civility*, and *St. Hierome* notes it as a great *errour* in *Helvidius* that he took *railing* for *eloquence*, so it is not imaginable how so much *learning* and *abilities*, as this *Disarmer* is believed to have, should admit so great a mixture of *rudeness* and *scurrility*, had it not appeared *necessary* to assist in the *counterpoise*, to supply some other *defects*, and been usefull, as *Hierocles* saith of *oaths*, πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν λόγου, to fill up the *chasmes* or *vacuities* in the *discourse*, that same prudent *Philosopher* having given us this *Aphorisme*, that *confidence* of *skill* conduces much to the *insufing meekness* into our *debates*: Thus \* *Pliny* and \* *Aetius* tell us of the *Gracian serpents*, that have no *killing* faculty of their own, born with them, they are fain to feed on *noxious herbs* ; ( θανατηφόρος ῥίζα ἐδίσυσι ) or else they are able to hurt no body. And thus is *S. W.* put to it, to *highten* his *confuting powers*; he submits to a *sad diet*, and then \* *βεβρακώς καὶ φάρμακα*, having *armed* himself with these *strengthening plants*, he becomes, \* *ἐξέτερος ἀνδραμέτησι*, very *triumphant* at least, if not *victorious* over his *adversary*.

This therefore is no excellent indication of *S. W.* his *perswasions* of his own performances in this *combat*, that he deemed it *necessary* \* --- *geminare venenis vulnera*, thus to *anoint* his *shafts*, as the *Ethiopians* do their \* *little arrows*, which having thus imbibed *high virtues*, ἡ δὲ δρασνόντων πεπραγμένα, ἐξὸν τινὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιστρέφει, make very *quick work*, are very *killing*, or in my *Disarmers* phrase, *beyond all possible confute*; For ( besides this *conscience* of his own wants ) what *rational* account can be assigned; that such a last *reserve* should be drawn out so soon, that τὸ πλεῖστον which the *Orator* makes the effect of the *disputants* being *nonplust*, and cannot be more commodiously

ren-

rendred then in the *Authors* style, of *rude blowes*, should be the refuge so *early*, and so *constantly*, that this *ultimus conatus*, last plunge of a *gasping* cause (as when art is at an end, *Hippocrates* puts off his desperate patient to the *φύσις* *intacta*) should so long forestal the *κρίσις*, and *dishearten* his *friends* and *servants* (in which number, if but upon that one score of having received *injuries* from him, I am by *Christs Law* obliged to include my self) and shut out all hope of receiving benefit from any future applications, The Divine being allowed to have that *skill* in *symptomes*, which *Irenaus*, as well as *Gallen* hath taught us, that the *profusest laughter* is the worst indication in the *affections* of the *Spleen*, ἢ πλεον γελᾶσι, ταύτη μᾶλλον κακῶς ἔχουσι.

## Sect. 2.

*An Answer to his two Questions concerning contumelies. The Christian method of answering such.*

**H**AVING from that *Obligation* of *Charity*, which is most particularly required of me by *Christ* to the despightfullest enemy, *Mat. 5. 44.* said thus much to my unknown *Disarmer*, It is a second necessary method of the same *Charity*, to endeavour his *conviction*, by examining that one account, which he gives of the *rudeness* of his *blowes*, by exacting an answer from his *Reader* to this question, *How he would take it if one should spit in his face, and justify the affront because his breath is sweet, or what he would say to him that ruins his estate by perjury, & defends himself, that he held up his eyes to heaven, and swore demurely* ] adding, that whatsoever answer he gives, it will perfectly clear *S. W.* his behaviour towards the *Doctor*.]

2. Herein all the Reply that can be expected from me, is to answer his *double Question*, and to do it according to the *certain* rules of *Christs Divine Precepts*, and not the *uncertain*, mutable *practices*, or humors of the *passionate world*. To the first, which mentions *spitting in the face*, be the *breath* that accompanies it either sweet, or otherwise, my answer is, That this I should look on as a *contumelie* of the nature of that which *Christ* mentions,

*Mat.*



Mat. 5. 39. ὅστις σε ῥαπίσει, *Whosoever shal strike thee on the right cheek*, which, supposing no wound, or permanent pain to the body, was a fit instance to expresse reproaches and contumelies and such like supportable injuries of all sorts, parallel to which are all the *scoffings* and *revilings*, which were thought necessary by *S.W.* for the *Disarming* of *Schisme*; And if the Tract to which he replies had any such in it, either toward the *Church of Rome*, or any particular member of it (as I know there is not one in the whole Book, and the very confession of the *sweet breath*, the *courtious style*, the *civil adversary* makes it needlesse to contest it) the duty in respect of the sufferer is evident in *Christs* Sermon, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, *turn to him the other also*, rather adventure more of the like injuries than ever think of acting revenge on that. There is but one farther care beyond this, which can be seasonable, προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων, *To pray for them that thus despighfully use you*, and that it may not be ἀνεργητικός ἡ δυνάμις, a *suggish unactive*, and so *uneffectual sacrifice*, (that πνεύματι ὑποῦ καὶ ἱεροσολοις χορηγία, in *Hierocles*) the assistant endeavour, and diligence of *fraternall admonition*, and *reproof* is to go along with our *Prayer*, Mat. 18. 15. and this is all the revenge that is allowed to any private *Christian* in this case. And so that must serve for answer to his first question; Let him now consider what arts wil avail to make up the parallel betwixt this duty, and his practice, when he that gave the *Law*, shall come to exact account of the performance of it.

3. The other Question founded in the more unsupportable injury of *ruining the estate by perjury*, must have another answer, that in that case, it is very lawfull to use all lawfull means to discover the *perjury*, and to defend the *estate*: What those lawfull means are I shall not need to enumerate, but onely assure him, that *rude blowes* which avail nothing to either of these ends, *twitchings* by the *beard*, *declamation* and *satyre*, (before any attempt of proof) are none of these justifiable lawful means, but are on the contrary that most unjust, unskilful, as well as *unchristian* revenge, the ἐξομώσις in the *Stoick*: the doing the most we can to be like him, whom we most dislike. Mean while, to bring this home to the case before us, 'tis certain and visible, that as the *defending the Church of England* from *Schisme*, bears no proportion to the *ruining*

*S. W.* his estate (if he hath no other tenure in his earthly, or heavenly possessions, but the worlds believing, that we are *Schismatics*, he hath been very negligent of his deeds, and a little charity were his much better way to mend his assurances) so surely, neither is there any oath incumbent on us, which can be pretended to be violated by casting off the *Romish yoke*, neither hath there been any the least *perjurious* tampering discoverable in any part of my defence; he might as truly have said, that I offered sacrifice to Idols, that I consulted with *Necromancers*, to rob him of his *Christian* patience) and if he mark, his style, which was robust in the mention of perjury, is grown much fainter, when he comes to the ἀνταπόδοσις, pretends to no more than perverse meaning and abusive treating matters of religion; But I trust it shall appear that this was but the language of interest, or passion also, and that there is not one single falsity in that whole Tract of Schisme; If there be, I shall, when it appears, be content to deliver it up to the force of his proofes, but not till then, to the charme of his scoffes. If I must be humbled for my misfortune, as he styleth it, in handling controversies so meanly, 'tis not yet, I suppose, the season for it, till I have lost my own, or felt the keenness of his weapons, in whom it is (in the interim) a transgression of the rules of Art, as well as Justice, no other than the meanest begging the question, to suppose that guilt, which he was to prove, to assume so early, in the Epistle to the Reader, what he must (but hath not yet so much as attempted to) demonstrate.

I have done with *S. W.* his Epistle to the Reader, his very uneffectuall defence of a very great, and evidently the principall part of his Book, that which comprehends all the scoffes and revilings in it, and having said so much in this place, shall not adde one word more on that subject, how oft soever it sollicite me, in the future debates.

## SECT. 3.

*The affinity betwixt Schisme Disarmed and the Catholick Gentlemans letter. The design of this Answer.*

AND when I shall have subjoynd two considerations more, I shal have rid my self, and the Reader of a great part of the task, which seemes incumbent on both of us, and so shorten our work, by enlarging our *procinctus* or entrance to it.

2. First then it is manifest, that *Schisme Disarmed* is in a great part of it nothing else but the enlarging on those briefer animadversions, which had been given by the letter from *Bruxels*, or the Catholick Gentlemans answer to the most material parts of the Book of *Schisme*; For which purpose I refer the Reader to p. 24. of *Schisme Disarmed*: where after some prælusory lighter skirmishes, he thus begins. *These grounds laid, it were not amisse to insert here what the Author of that Epistle which was written from Bruxells in Answer to D<sup>r</sup> Ha. saith upon this* p. 25. *place* ] adding his judgement of that letter, that had it not been strangled in the birth, and miscarried in the Printers hand, it might have saved the labour of this larger confute; and being exactly short might justly be styled D<sup>r</sup> Ha. his *Iliads* in a Nutshell, since the force of it was so united, the reason in it so firmly connected, as might have cost the D<sup>r</sup> a full ten years siege, ere he could make a breach into it by his brown Paper bullets. ] This passage of kindness and reference to that Epistle, with many other characters of affinity betwixt that, and *Schisme disarm'd*, especially the first of the three parts of it, perswade me that the Author of that Epistle was the Penman of at least the first part of *Schisme Disarmed*: And agreeably the answers there drawn in little, have here a larger pourtraiture, but remain in substance, the same, with the advantage onely of some growth of limbs and such like accidentall improvements. Now whereas it is certain, that I have punctually made *replie* to that whole letter, and every period in it, setting it down and attending it *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, and having first, to the utmost of my skill, rescued it from all the
- Printers

Printers miscarriages, (which is all the strangling in the birth he speaks of) and then improved every Answer in it, as far as I could foresee it improveable, never taking the least advantage either of the conciseness of its natural frame, or the misadventures it had casually met with; It were now not onely superfluous for me, but unjust, equally impertinent, and unconscionable to make the Reader pay twice for the same Answers, and therefore no other then duty thus far to comply with his ease, and thirst, as to refer him to that Reply for all that is there competently vindicated, without any further repetition, which I therefore here minde him of, once for all, and accordingly design this view of Schisme Disarm'd to be an Appendix onely to that Reply to the Catholick Gentleman, to glean after the rake, to consider onely those Answers in it, which had not been insisted on, in the haste of that briefer letter, but are now taken in by these δούτεροι ποσειδες. Had my Disarmer taken notice of my Reply, (as he had time to have done, and I cannot apprehend his retirement, or employment so strict that he should not hear of it) he might possibly have given me a sight of some infirmities in it; But as it is, I discern no need of giving it any farther assistance, as far as respects those answers, which it undertook to consider: And so I have no more incumbent on me at this time, but to survey, and muster all the fresh forces, which now first appear in the field, and not to increase the roll with the new names and dresses, that the old stagers appear in, the second time.

3. Secondly, there are some parts of the Tract of Schisme, which my Disarmer excepts against, as superfluous to the debate betwixt us, as that insire branch entred on, Ch. 6. of the Romanists plea from the Bishop of Romes having planted Christianity among us. Which being disclaim'd to be any plea of theirs, It is perfectly needless that I should vindicate the arguments, that are framed to refute that plea, any farther, then as he which grants my conclusion, will yet make some specious objections against my way of inferring it.
4. Some other things there are of this kind, to all which I shall not need to give any attention especially when I have done it once in the Reply, And then that which remains, my present necessary charge or province, being thus refined, and separated from these three

parts of it, the *declamation*, the *repetition*, and what hangs loose, and may by consent be spared from the *controversie* before us; it will not retain so formidable a bulk, as it first appeared to have, and may by *Gods blessing* be dispatcht without much labour, and presented to the *Readers use* with some degree of that *compendium*, which *Philo* speaks of, τῶν Κολοσιαίων μεγίστων τὰς ἐμμάσεις ἢ ἡ βραχυτάτη σφραγὶς τυπωθεῖσαι δύχεται, the largest proportions may be carved in little, and contrived into a *signet*, and so might, if the hand were fine enough, the portraiture of my *Disarmer*.

## CHAP II.

### A Reply to his Introduction.

#### SECT. I.

*The writers that have engaged against the mainbody, and authority of the Church of Rome. The reasonableness of insisting on that rather than particular controversies, especially at this time.*

**I**N his *Introduction* these few things seem to expect some *Reply*. 1. His pretended admiration, *Why the Protestant party, who heretofore seem'd still more willing to skirmish in particular controversies, then bid battell to the main body of the Church, or any thing which concern'd her authority, should now print Books by pairs, in defence of this disunion from her and subducing themselves from her Government* annexing afterward his conjecture of the reason, to allay this admiration. Now of this, as far as concerns one of the pair, I am able to give him the one just account, and need not attend to his conjectures, who was not of my Council in the designment.

And 1. *S. W.* must be a very great stranger to his own country, or willingly dissemble his knowledge, if it were any newes to him, that the *Fathers* or *sons* of the *Church of England*,  
write

write Books against the *main body and authority of the Church of Rome*: 'Tis pity I should be let to prove this: He cannot but have heard of the *tract de vera differentia Regia & Ecclesiastica potestatis*, set out by the *Prelates in Henry VIII.* his days (and may if he please now view it. under the title of *Opus eximium* in *Goldastus's Monarchia*) as also *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1537. and, *The necessary Doctrine and Erudition*, 1543. under the head of the *Sacrament of Orders*, I. These certainly were as early, and as punctuall, as he could wish, to the *main body* of their *Pretensions*, and to omit innumerable others, What was *D<sup>r</sup> Reynolds's* conference with *M<sup>r</sup> Hart* in *Queen Elizabeth's* reign: and of later times, *Bishop B. Ison's* discourse of the *true difference betwixt Christian subjection, and unchristian Rebellion*, *Bishop Davenant de judice & norma Fidei*, *The Volumes of Antonius de Dominis*, when he was a member of our *Church*, and yet later, *D<sup>r</sup> White*, *M<sup>r</sup> Chillingworth*, and *my Lord of Canterbury*, and many others, which are fresh in every mans memory; And it is much juster matter of wonder to me, that *S. W.* would choose to set out so *unauspiciously*, as to begin with an *observation* founded in a *visible* contrariety to a plain matter of *fact*, that every man that thinks of, must discern to be so.

2. 2<sup>dy</sup>. If his observation had all *truth* in it, *viz.* That formerly we were more willing to *skirmish* in *particular* controversies, yet 'twere obvious to every man, what might now suggest the *change* of that *course*, and so could be no reall matter of *admiration* to *S. W.* For when the *particular* controversies have been competently *debated*, why should more pains and time be spent on them? And when the more general *fundamental* questions of *Romes* infallibility, and *universal* *pastorship* (on which the case of *Schisme* depends) comprehend all *lesser* debates, what more compendious way can be invented, to the ending of *disputes*, which are not such excellent *employments*, that they should be *perpetuated*, as this, to set the *axe* to the *root* of the *tree*, which when it is *stockt* up, the branches by *necessity* of consequence, without any new *execution*, will soon wither away, but till this be done effectually, the root will still propagate its *life* and *juyce*, and controversies will within few years sprout out, and flourish a-



fresh, and so the circle be endle's betwixt *growth* and *lopping*, and new *growth* again, when the *axe* and *mattock*, brought out together, might soon make a gainfull *conclusion*, transform and improve the *barren weald* and *bosk* into a *fruitfull Campania*. But beside *prudens* consideration, there was some kind of *necessity* which in stead of directing, *challenged* and *exacted* this method at this time. It was visible to all what *industrie* was used by the *Romish Missaries*, by pretence of our being in *schisme*, to defame (and so fright us out of) a *persecuted profession*. And if we may believe their own *boasts*, it hath succeeded with them very *prosperously*; and how could we, without the greatest *unchari-  
tableness*, permit the temptations of our present *pressures* to be thus *inbaunced* to any weak seducible *Christian*, when a little pains would lay it *visible* before him, that the *Bishop of Rome* never had from *Christ* or *Saint Peter*, or from any other title justly pleadable, any *supreme authority*, or *jurisdiction* over this *Iland*. And so unless an act of due and *seasonable Charity* be the great unheard of *nemes*, or *prodigie*; I discern not what could suggest to *S. W.* the least *admiration* in this matter.

## Sect. 2.

*No reasonableness of Schisme pleaded. The Censures of the Church not alwayes seasonable against Schismaticks.*

1. **T**He second thing that exacts Reply, is his advertisement that it were more seasonable for the Church of England to denounce to those many minute sects gone out from their communion the unreasonableness of their schisme, then plead the reasonableness of their own, and to threaten them with the spiritual rod of excommunication, unless they return, then cry so loud not guilty.]

To this I answer, 1. That *S. W.* cannot be imagined to have read the first Chapter of the short tract, to which he assumes to give answer, if he can believe himself, when he saith, that we plead the reasonableness of our own schisme: 'Tis there most evident, that I grant all schisme in any that are found guilty of it, to be *unable* of all excuse, or plea of reasonableness, and that

I main-

I maintain our *innocence* by denying the *fact*, and not by defending the *justice* of it. This then is another *δύξις*, what trust is due to *S. W.* in his affirmations.

3. 2. It must be a *misunderstanding* of the *nature*, and *aim* of the *censures* of the *Church*, if he could in earnest think this a fit season, to inflict or menace them, on those sons of this *Church*, which have at this time divided from us. 'Tis certain that a *prevailing* evil, a *schism* arm'd with *might*, is not either in *prudence* or *charity* to be contended with. They that have cast out the *Governors* of the *Church*, and trod down their *power*, are not, till the *paroxysm* assuage, or some good *crisis* appear, qualified for this kind of *application*. Our *prayers* are the special means, from which we hope *success*, and those we cease not to *poure* out for them, and for all that have *erred*, and are *deceived*. All other *fraternal* means both for *cure* and for *prevention* we take in also in their *seasons*: and I had thought the so large and punctual *representation* of the *danger* and *sin* of *Schism*, ch. 1. the *definition* and *specification* of the sorts of it, in the following *Chapters* of the *Tract* of *Schism*, had been in some part the *denouncing* against all that are *guilty* of it the more than *unreasonableness* of their *schism*: And I need not mind him of many other *treatises*, very particularly *address*, and largely designed to the same *end*.

4. As for any more solemn judicial process of *ὑπόστασις* & *ἐπιτίμια*, *admonition*, *exhortation*, *discipline*, they are not at all times, and so not at this, the proper chosen *weapons* of our *warfare*, which being designed to none but *charitative* ends, for *edification*, not for *destruction*, to reduce such as are within reach of that *hope*, not to riot in the *ruine*, to *seale* up, or increase the *damnation* of any, and being, is the *Apostle* saith, & *Caperna*, not *carnall*, they must consequently be far removed from that one (as from all other kinds of) *carnality*, the expressing *impotent* passion or *revenge*, or *heap*ing any other *cokes* of *fire* on the *Opposers* heads, but those that are apt and *probable* to *melt* them. And had the *Romanists* used this method, in stead of their other more *sanguinary*, with *meekness* *instructing*, and not with *rage* *fulminating* against those, that oppose themselves, the *Christian world* had not now probably been engaged in such irreparable *ruptures*, as with *rivers* of *tears* of *blood* will not be proportionably lamented.

## Sect. 3.

*The Romanists urging false fundamentals. Our acknowledging them a true Church, No proof that we think their Errors tolerable. The gravity of the matter makes not errors fitter to be prest then rituals. Tediouſness in things acknowledged, unjustly charged.*

1. **A** Third thing there yet remains set down in these words [*that we prest them to believe false Fundamentals. D<sup>r</sup> Ham: and his friends will not say, since they acknowledg ours a true Church which is inconsistent with such a lapse, they were therefore in their opinion things tolerable, which were upon them; and if not in the same ranke, yet more deserving the Church should command their observance, then copes or surplices, or the Book of Common-prayer, the allowance whereof they prest upon their Quondam brethren.*]
2. In these words there are too many variations from the rules of sober discourse, so many indications of S. W. his temper, that it will not be easie to enumerate them, I shall make tender of some few, *πρὸς δεξιῶν.*
3. And 1. when he undertakes for me and my friends, we will not say, that the Romanists have prest us to believe false Fundamentals, either his words are not intelligible sense, or else they have visibly no degree of truth in them. That any Fundamentals should be false, is a contradiction in adjective, and is not sense, or intelligible: The meaning therefore, I suppose, is, that some things may be said to be *fundamentall*, which are not *truly* such, and that they that prest others to believe such doctrines, and to believe them *fundamental*, presse them to believe false Fundamentals, and then S. W. his affirmation must be, that I and my friends will not say that the Romanists do thus. But herein certainly he knows the contrary, viz. that we affirm them to prest many things on us for fundamentals of belief, which are not Fundamentals (by name that of the infallibility of their Church) and that this is of all others the greatest objection, which we have to their dealing with us, as that which renders our reunion most impossible. That we hold nothing *de fide*, as *fundamental*, which they do not also hold,

we oft *affirme*, and it is most *manifest*, but that they have not made more things *necessary* to be *believed*, and so *de fide*, and *fundamental*, than we do, or can *acknowledg* to be such, is affirmed without the least *ground*, or *shew* of *truth*, and that was no very fair play in my *Disarmer*.

4. <sup>2<sup>d</sup></sup> For his *proof* of this his *affirmation*, viz. *because we acknowledge theirs to be a true Church*; either it is assisted by a *gross*, and *discernable* equivocation in the word [ *true* ], and then again it hath no *truth* in it, or else it is far from all *probability* of *concluding*, what he *infers* from it. If by [ *true* ] he means to exclude *erroneous*, even in this degree, as to *press* for *fundamental*, that which is not such, nay nor *truth* neither, then he knows we yield not the present *Church of Rome* a *true Church*, but charge it guilty of many *errors* in *belief* and *practice*, and particularly of this, that they *define* many things *de fide*, and *press* them to be so received by us, which we *acknowledg* not to be such, and so he hath gained little by this our *confession*. But if by *true* he means *veritatem entis*, which alone we *acknowledg* of it, that it hath the *true nature* of a *Church*, but that overcharged with many *errors*, 'tis impossible he should ever infer from thence, that we say they *press* us not to *believe any thing* for *fundamental* which is not such. This sure they may do, and be foully *culpable* for doing it, and yet not *unchurch* themselves by so doing. They that hold the *true foundation* laid by *Christ*, but offend by enlarging it beyond the due *limits*, who adde more than *Christ* or his *Apostles* deposited in the *Church*, do not by this *superaddition* either *renounce*, or *forfeit* all that before they had, the *dross* doth corrupt the *gold*, but not *annihilate* it.

5. <sup>3<sup>d</sup></sup> His *affirmation*, that *they were, in our opinion, things tolerable which were urged upon us*, is of the same *quality* with the former. 'Tis certain we have oft exprest our opinion, that they are such as without *hypocrisie*, or *gross sin* against *conscience*, we cannot admit, and no weight is more *unsupportable* than that. Another visible lapse you see in relating a matter of *fact* ( for such it is to affirm us to *opine*, what we *opine* not ) but then that which follows in the fourth place is still more *transcendent*. *The things which they press upon us* ( and we cannot *submit* to ) are, saith he, more deserving the *Church* should command their *observance* than

*copes*. I grant that *articles de Fide* are, or should be of far greater importance, than *ornaments*, or *risuals*: But what if *articles* are imposed *de Fide*, w<sup>th</sup> have no truth in them, wil the gravity of the matter in that case plead for the imposing them; or can it thence follow that all that the Church of Rome hath defined to be *de fide*, do better deserve to be commanded, than *Copes*? *Copes* are by us, and the Romanist joyntly acknowledged to be things *indifferent*, and so lawfull to be prudently prescribed by a competent authority; and the lighter they are in the nature of them, the greater obstinacy it is to resist such commands, and causelessly to depart from the Church, rather than do what is thus *indifferent*. But the weightier the importance of the other is, the more intolerable is the pressure, and the greater the tyranny of imposing them. So beyond all measure improbable are all S. W. his present offers of probation. 'Tis pity thus unnecessarily to insist on it.

6. What he addes of my tediousness in things acknowledged by both parties, is with no shew of justice suggested (the whole treatise being very short, and in my opinion every branch of it necessary to vindicate our innocence, or to pre-judge theirs) especially when the lesse he hath to oppose, the sooner he might, if he pleased, be at an end of his journey, were it not that he finds as faire colours of answers to reply, and as faire a field to expatiate, when the matter is most grossly true, and granted by him, as he doth, when it is most his interest to oppugn it. I shall propose to my self, not to transcribe this copie from him, but permit him peaceably to speak as much truth, as he will, be it direct, or never so much out of the way, and never disturb him in his course, unless I shall discern some part of my arguing concerned, which the former Replie to the Catholike Gentleman had not opportunity to vindicate. And so much for his Introduction.

## CHAP. III.

*A view of the first part of Schisme disarm'd.*

## SECT. I.

*No cause can justify Schisme. The reasons of my setting down the sin of Schisme so largely. The state of the question, which the Schismatics, the Romanists, or we. The case of the Romish Recusant. Of the Pope excommunicating us, against Canons Ephefine, and Apostolick, &c. A difference between the Court of Rome with their abettors, and the charitable subjects of the Papacy: The fundamental question, the right of the Popes power. My modifying the Fathers words.*

1. **I**N the first Section of his first part, two things S. W. is much to seek in, and to those it will be act of charity to afford some satisfaction. First, why I took pains to set so ill a character upon schisme (as is done in the 6, 7. and 8. Sect. of Chap. I.) to gather as he saith, such a bundle of severe rods out of the sacred Scriptures and best Fathers, to whip Schismatics: 2. Why I thinke the cause or occasion of any mans schisme not worth the producing or heeding in this Controversie.

2. Of the later of these I have already spoken in the Reply, Chap. 1. Sect. 1. and shall now only adde another very ancient testimony from Dionysius Alexandrinus, in his Epistle to Novatus, ἡμεῖς ὁμῶς παθεῖν ὑπέρ τῆς καὶ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλῆσίαν τῆς θεῆς. *A Christian ought to endure any thing in that (humble Charitative) cause of not dividing the Church of Christ, rather then really to divide upon what ever cause. And because it is now suggested that this is but a fetch, the prettiest that ever S. W. met with, to wave the whole question, or whatsoever is materiall in it, I shall in answering of his first wonderment, give a clear account of this second misunderstanding also.*

3. The evident reason of my premising so largely, and so early that bloody pourtraiture of the danger, and sin of schisme, as far as it



respects the *Romanist* and us ( for it had a more *comprehensive* influence than so, as hath been already said ) was no other but the intire *desire* to speak the full *truth* of God, and to lay all guilt, where I was fully perswaded the *All-just* searcher of hearts, and Judge of actions had laid it, i. e. on those, whosoever they were, that were truly guilty of it, who had either divided from the *Catholicke Church* of Christ, truly so called, or in special from any particular *National Church*, such as the *Church* of Rome is on one side, and the *Church* of England on the other. And this was so pertinent in both these respects, to the *Romanists* present case ( as many especially, as have forsaken that *Communion* of ours, in which they sometimes lived obediently ) that if ever I had been really willing to *alleviate* the *Fathers* censures of the crime of *schism*, ( as twice, or thrice my *Disarmer* pretends me inclinable to do, he shall see anon with how little reason ) I might most justly say, that it had been from a *tenderness* to our enemies ( and not from any *jealousie* of our selves ) an effect of which it really was, that I chose not to proceed to *fasten* this crime on any, to assume the office either of an *accuser*, or a *Judge*, but contain my self within the meekest bounds, that *humility* and *charity* could advise, of *vindicating* our own integrity, without *recriminating* or retorting the charge on our adversaries. Of this I shall now speak a little more expressly, upon this occasion.

Tr. of Schism,  
p. 11.

4. That it is in this debate, concerning *Schisme*, a matter of question betwixt the *Romanists* and us, whether the *Bishop* of Rome had before, and at the time of the *Reformation*, any *supreme* *legall* power, and *authority* over the *Church* of England, I willingly acknowledg ( and by the way, it is strange that *S. W.* can think fit to affirm, that \* none doubts it ) and till that question be decided on one side, it cannot with any reason be *defined*, on which side the *schisme* doth truly lye. And therefore I deemed it absolutely necessary to examine all the *Romanists* pleas imaginable, their *weightier*, or *lightest* colours of *pretensions* to that *authority*. And I think no man can, or doth say that I have omitted any head of them; but on the other side, that I was over carefull to prevent some which they now choose not to *plead*. From hence it is inevitably consequent, that as on the *rryal* of this question of the *papal supremacy*, the *Crisis* of this other of *Schisme* so depends, that when the one is determined, the other must follow it, it being evident

\* That our Church had authority to do it (to cast you out and deny you Communion) if you be found to deserve it, being then her subjects and children, none doubts, p. 4.

vident that actually there is a *schisme* or *partition* betwixt us, and by both of us granted, that no *cause* can excuse them, who shall be found *guilty* of it: So whilst the former, that of the *papal authority*, is under contest; the *question* is not barely this, Whether the *Church of England* be *schismatical*, or no, (for a *Romanist* may cheaply debate that, and keep himself safe whatsoever becomes of the *umpirage*) but indifferently, and equally, whether *we*, or the *Romanist* be thus guilty, or which is the *Schismaick*, that lies under all those severe *censures* of the *Scriptures* and *Fathers*, Those of the *English Reformation* on the one side, or the *English Revolters* on the other side, not *excluding* (but *involving* also under the same condemnation, in case they have no due *authority* over us, which now is the *question*, and must not be *begg'd* on either side) the *Governours* in the *Romish See*, that have against all *Christian* methods of *charity*, and *duty* of *Communion*, cast us out of their *societies*, as without *authority* (in case they are not our *lawfull superiors*) so without all *cause*, and continue their *severity* without all *remorse* or *relenting* for the space of many years, and this not only toward us, but toward many other *Churches*, *East* and *West*, *North* and *South*, in all parts of the *habitable* world.

5. For if the *Church of England* be really ἀυτοκέφαλος, duly subject to no *foreign jurisdiction*, which I must yet suppose to be made good in that tract of *schisme*, then the *laie Papist*, baptized a member, and sonne of this *Nationall Church* under the *authority* of our *Ecclesiastical Superiors*, as he was born a subject under the *civill Governors* of this *Realm*, hath *revolted*, and *separated* from his immediate *Superiors*, and for his sake, among others, it was, that the *Discourse* was so punctual, and so large c. 3. concerning the *unity* of *subjection* of all *inferiours* to all their *lawfull Superiours*, and the *schisme* that arose from the *breach* of that *unity*, the casting off that *Obedience*; It were to be wished the *English Revolters*, that are so neerly concern'd, and the unsetled *doubters*, that are in most danger to be *seduced* by the confidence of a supposed *safety*, which is promised them in their *departure* from us, and affirmed to be *granted* on all hands, would timely be *admonished* to take notice of it.

6. So again if the *Bishop* of *Rome* had really no more power and authority over this *Church*, then the *Bishop* of *Antioch* in the time of the *Ephesine Council* was found to have over *Cyprus*, then his pretending this *supereminent* authority, and proceeding with us, as with his *legall subjects*, sending out his *Bulls* of *Excommunication* against us, what is it but a *schisme* formally on his part, which makes the *rupture* between the *sister Churches*, and a most express *violation* of the *antient Canons*, which so distinctly, and precisely command the *contrary*. I shall best give you their sense in the very words of the great *Council* of *Ephesus*, *Can: ult.* μηδὲνα τῶν θεοφιλεσάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν εἰσεῖν ἐκ ἑσταν ἀναθεν καὶ ἐξαρχῆς ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἢ γὰρ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πιπιῖται βιασάμενος, τῶν ἀποδιδόναί, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβάνωσι. μηδὲ ἐν ἱερωγίας περὶ ἡμῶν ἐξουσίας κοσμητικῆς τύπος παρεσδύνῃται, μηδὲ λαῶμα ἢ ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ὡς ἡμῶν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκκλησίαν, that no Bishop (be he ne never to dignified) shall invade another Province, which hath not been from the beginning under his, i. e. his Predecessors hand or power. But in case any have thus invaded and by violence brought it under him, he shall then make restitution that the Canons of the Fathers be not transgressed, and under pretence of sacred office, the pride of secular power

καὶ δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων παραχρῆσιν τῇ τιμῇ καταχράμενον, εἰς δυναστείαν ταύτῃ ἀμελεῖν. καὶ ἐνανθενταῖν, καὶ χωρὶς κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν οἰκείων συναλετσεργῶν ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐρητύων, ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς *Zon. p. 17.D.* secretly steal in, and so we by degrees lose indiscernibly the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ the Redeemer of all men hath given us by his own blood. This is yet more distinctly set down in the genuine *Apostolike Canons*, where as the due observance of the *Primacy* in every nation is prescribed *Can: 34.* and his power thus limited in the exercise of it, that he shall do nothing in the *Inferior Bishops Dioceses*, ἀνὰ τῆς πάντων γνώμης, without the good liking of them all (and if he do otherwise, he abuses his dignity, saith the *Scholias*, and \* converts it into *δυναστεία* and *ἐνανθεντία* which is no better then *tyrannie*) so *Can: 35.* they proceed to define ἐπισκοπον μὴ πολυῶν ἔξω τῶν αὐτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιῆσαι, εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῦ πόλεις καὶ χώρας—that no Bishop shall dare to ordain any without his own bounds, in cities or regions not subject to him; or if he be convinced to have done so, without the good liking of those that have the rule of those cities or regions, he is to be deposed for that default. And

7. And what they thus define about *Ordination*, the *Council* of *Constantinople* extend to all other *Ecclesiastical* affairs, *Can: β. ἀλλήλεις ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐμβαίνειν* (as before ταῖς ὑπεροῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς μὴ ἐπέναι) ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις διοικονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς, that no *Bishops* must, unless they be called or intreated, meddle beyond their *Dioceses*, or with *Churches* without their bounds, either for *ordination*, or any other *Ecclesiastical* economies; and the *Scholias*t tells us, that the word ἐμβαίνειν signifies it to be ληστρικῶς καὶ ἀτάκτον ἔφοδον, a robbery, and a tumultuous disorderly invasion in them that are guilty of it. The same doth the 13<sup>th</sup> *Canon* of *Antioch* define of any *Bishop*, in reference both to \* *ordination* and to constituting of what ever *Ecclesiastical* affairs that belong not to him, decreeing a plain nullity of all that he shall thus constitute, and so again *Can: κβ'* of that *Council*. Zon. p. 70. A.
8. And this being the *Bishop* of *Rome* his condition in respect of us, in case he have no *legall* authority over us, and be not intreated by the *Governours* of our *Church* to exercise any; or in case he were our *Primate*, yet still if he act without the *Council*, and against the consent of our *Bishops*, as he must be supposed to do, when he *excommunicates* them, and their *Flocks* together, 'tis all this while, as was shewed, *usurpation* and *invasion*, and by force of these *Canons* ἀτάκτον and ἀκνεγν, irregular, invalid, and null, and in the consequence of it, most evidently destructive of that ἐμόνεια that concord and unity, as of brethren, which is to be preserved between severall *Churches*, and so a most culpable act of schisme in the *Bishop* of *Rome*, and in all them that are guilty of it in so high a way, as to anathematize and disclaim all *Communion* with others: and this is all this while visibly antecedent to, and abstracted from the cause of his doing it, which alone *S. W.* will allow to be considered, accusing me for waving the question, when he swallows it down at one hauff, pretending that none doubt of their *Churches* authority to do it, which I profess to be the one fundamental question of all, to which this other, who they are that are guilty of the schisme, or whether the charge of schisme be sufficiently proved against us of the *Church* of *England*, is but appendent, and consequent, the usurping of an undue power over those that are not his *Ecclesiastical* subjects, being no *Judicial* act, but a most visible *Tyrannie* in him that exercises it so bloodily.

\* ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ πᾶν καὶ καταδύσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων μὴ περιστηκόντων αὐτῷ, ἀκνεγν μὴ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα πυχάνην.

dily, on whatsoever pretended *misbehaviours*, and that which alone, without any other *branch* of plea, justifies us from the guilt of *schisme*, in vindicating our just *liberties*, by casting him out of that *power*, who was so unduely *possess* of it, and so divolves (unless he can clear his *title* to the *power*) the whole *guilt* of the *crime* on the *accuser*.

9. How highly the *Court of Rome*, and all that abett her *grandeur* and content of their *brethren*, are to be judged *criminous* herein, this is no place to define: I willingly acknowledg a wide difference between them, and the humble *charitable* members of the *Roman Communion*, who living quietly under their *Superiors*, endeavor and pray for the peace of the *Catholike Church*, and contribute not *actively* or *willingly* to the *ruptures* of it: Of which number because our *charity* bids us hope there are great *multitudes*, we are still free from any *necessity* of prejudging the *Church of Rome* from being a *true Church*, and so still retain that *favourable* opinion of *salvation* being attainable amongst them, which we always allow'd, yet cannot absolve from the guilt of the most culpable *schisme* those that have set up, and maintained that more than γένον or διίχον or μερότοιχον τὸ φεγγυῦς, that *impregnable fortress*, rather than *wall of partition* betwixt us, nor yet those that against all rules of *subjection* and *subordination* have renounced their lot in the *Church of England*, wherein they were *planted*, and given themselves up to a *foreign obedience*.

10. My *Disarmer* will, I suppose, by this discern the satisfaction which he is likely to receive to his two *scruples*, I have that confidence of his *capacity*, as to leave him to pick it out of the *premises*, and apply it to his best advantage, as I do also this open *acknowledgment*, that if by the process of this debate it shall appear, that the *Bishop of Rome* is, or was by the *Institution of Christ*, from whom he pretends, *our legal superior*, *possessor bona fidei* of the *supreme power* over us, we are then unquestionably the *Schismatics*; and if not, then are they such, which have *revolted* from us. And this, as it will shorten the *method*, and make it still reasonable to waive the consideration of the *occasion* and *causes* of the *schisme* (of which they that are guilty are not *excusable* by any *motive* or cause of their *action*) so it is most distant from declining the very point of the *difficulty*, as *S. W.* without all colour of

truth, or argument, pretends, the *right* of the *power* being the one great requisite to the *validity* of any *exercise* of it.

- 11 Wherein as we have no reason to dread the *Romanists*, or to misdoubt our *plea*, so I assure *S. W.* no fear, or *jealous* apprehension of any possible *danger* inclined me to modify any sharp expression of the *Fathers* against *schisme*, as he twice or thrice without any justice suggests me to do. The clearing whereof is all that I have any obligation to add to this *Section*.
- 12 His first whisper of *suggestion* is, that in rendring *S. Augustines* words, *Non esse quicquam gravius schismate*, I say there is scarce any crime so great as *schisme*. [ There saith he, I mince it with scarce, when the place cited is absolute, that there is not any ] But certainly *S. W.* sees amiss, The place in that *Father* is not absolute, that there is not any so great, but only that there is not any *gravius* heavier or greater ; now there may possibly be many crimes as great, though no one were supposed greater, and so my rendring it [ there is scarce any so great ] i. e. scarce any equall to *schisme*, is fully as much, as the *originall* contained : and if it differ at all from it, 'tis that 'tis more *comprehensive*, than that which 'twas set to interpret. And yet also the other expressions of the *Fathers*, produced in that place, gave me authority to let it in that *amplitude*, not *idolatry*, not *sacrilege*, not *parricide* ( say they ) is so great, and therefore I conclude, scarce any crime can come in competition with it, not knowing any that was qualified for it by being greater than these, and yet not assuming to affirm more than my *authorities* did induce, that there was none greater. Herein tis visible my *Disarmers* hast was too great, and that I could not have rendred either the words more fully, or the sense of the *testimonies* more punctually, than I did render them: I were, I doubt, his dearest interest, that some softer expression did truly belong to that *sin*, than that which I was forced to allot to it.
- 13 The other rendring which he blames is on occasion of these words of *Irenaus*, *Nulla ab eis tanta fieri potest correptio quanta est schismatis perniciem*, whence, not as translating to a word, but as deducing a conclusion, I infer, that it is in the opinion of the *Fathers* very hard, if not impossible to receive such an injury or provocation from the *Governors* of the *Church* as may make a separation excusable [ here, saith he, the *Doctor* mitigates the dangerous expression



expression with, very hard if not impossible. ] But why did he not say, I did not exactly render *schismatis perniciēs*? For it is evident, I varied that more, than the *nulla fieri potest correptio*. The short is, I set down the *latine* punctually, and so left it not possible for me to impose on any that understood that: Thence I inferred what I supposed the *testimonies* would be sure to beare, and was carefull not to go beyond those limits, and knowing that both in *Scripture* oft, and not seldome in other *Authors ἀδύνατον* which is literally impossible, was in sense to be rendred hard or difficult, I took that cautious expression to be best, that in their opinion 'twas very hard, if not impossible.

14 A third whisper there is still behind in this S. that in stead of the words of S. Augustine, separate from the Catholike Church, the Dr. full of jealousies and feares, puts the Church truly Catholike, as if, saith he, there were much danger lest any perhaps should imagine Christs Church (of which he conceives S. Austin meant it) to be untruly Catholike ] But this will be soon dispatcht. S. Augustines words are, *Communione[m] separent à communione Orbis terrarum*, I exprest this [ and by separating from the universall or truly Catholike Church of Christ ] the reason is visible, because the Church of Rome is by her Advocates styled the Catholike Church, being certainly not such in the notion, wherein S. Austin speaks, that of the Communion of the whole world, or as Catholike, if truly so, must signifie Vniversal.

15 These are the acts of *charynes*, whereof I am accused as of *dexterities*, that I found necessary, lest I might too directly prejudice my future work; with what truth suggested, the reader will now judg, yea & S W. also (if 'twere possible he should believe himself in this part of his accusation) whom I have now made my Confessor of my *secretest* and deepest *reservations*, I wish he would not oft put me to such necessities, till he be better qualified for that office.

## Sect. 2.

The notation of the word *χίσμα*, from the passive reciprocal. The Hebrew conjugations. *Σχίζεσθ. Ἀποσχίζεσθ. Ἀποχιζέσθ.* Self-division. Begging the principall questions. The cause considerable in excommunication, though not in Schisme.

1. IN the second Section what he premises concerning heresie, and formes into a kind of exception against my proceeding, had been intimated by the Catholike Gentleman, and is in the Reply, c. 2. §. 1. evidenced to be his misunderstanding.
2. What follows at large in a triumphant manner, on occasion of the critical notation of the word *χίσμα*, from *χίζομαι*, in the notation of the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, is perfectly new, and an excellent taste of S. W. his Grammatical skill, but shall no longer detain me, than whilst I clear the truth, and give reply to his objections.
3. The truth is evidently this, the word *Schisme* comes from the passive *χίζομαι*, which regularly signifies being cut, or divided, but yet the sin of *Schisme* being an action upon himselfe, not a passion from any other, it was, I conceived, of the nature of those passives, which note reciprocal action, or passion which S. Jude fully expresses by *ἀνδοσιπίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς*, the title which he gives the grand *Gnostike Schismaticks*, that they cut off, or divide themselves from the Church; and Justinian in his Novels, *διαιρέσει ἑαυτοὺς χωρίζον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεῶν*, if they divide themselves from the gifts of God. This being evident, and yet not regularly the notation of Greek passives, I laid it was of the nature of the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, which denoting reciprocal action, is by some reckoned the fourth, by others the seventh conjugation, constantly known among all by that name of conjugation, and I was content to speak as other men constantly speak, and therefore said that for want of conjugations (such as the Hebrew Grammars call thus) the passive was designed to supply the place of the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, and so noted the reciprocal, where the passion is from, and on himself, and is fully express'd by the latine *Neutral*, a separating, or receding

ding of any member from the *unity* of the Church. This is as plain sense, and as strictly according to the rules of *Grammar*, and ordinary use of words, as I could possibly speak, and withall, very usefull, in my conceit, to set down the true notion of *Schisme*, as it differs from all other things that border on it ( and though they are not, may yet be *mistaken* for the same ) particularly from *excommunication*, which is the *cutting off others* from the Church, whereas *S. Paul* speaking of the *heretical Gnosticks* which were *Schismaticks* too, saith that they were *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, such as *condemned* and *excommunicated themselves*, which is as perfect an evidence of the *reciprocal action* or *passion*, as could be.

4. This renders him answer to his first scruple [ *How I know it must necessarily be taken in that notion here, since, saith he, coming from a verb active, it must in the first place have a signification perfectly passive.* ] The account is given already, because the *Schismaticks* in *S. Jude* are defined by him not such as are *divided*, in a *passive* sense, but *ἀποδιόζοντες ἑαυτὺς*, those that *separate* or *divide themselves*, and the same men are by *S. Paul* said to be *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, such as *inflict the censure of condemnation* or *excommunication*,

Cod: Afr: can. 22 αὐτοὶ καὶ ἑαυτὺς in the *African Council*, *themselves upon themselves*. This evidences the *Schismaticke* to be a *reciprocal agent* and *patient*, and that the *Greek passive* denotes not, but as it supplies the place of the *Hebrew Hithpacl*, therefore thus it *must* be taken in this word.

5. 2<sup>dly</sup>. This renders him answer, with what propriety I say this is for want of *conjugations*, viz. for want of such *flexions* and *variations* both of the *signification*, and of the *first syllables*. as the *Hebricians* call *conjugations*, whose language it was fit I should use, when I spake of the *Hebrew idiom*, communicated to the *Greek*.
6. That *voices* and *conjugations* are, as he saith, *jumbled* in this language, is neither granted by all *Grammarians*, nor at all tends to *S. W.* his advantage, if it were granted to him. Those *Grammarians* that make but *four conjugations*, do certainly not *mixe*, or *jumble* them, for of those *four*, each of the three former are divided into their *Actives* and *Passives*, such as the *Latines* and *Greeks* call *voices*, and the *fourth* is not capable of that division, but is *reciprocal*. And though others style these *eight conjugations*, as *David Kimchi* in his מנחת כהן, *Moses Kimchi* in his Grammar, and

and *Elias Levita*, yet they have taken care to *sever* them, into the *parents*, as they call the *Actives*, and the *off-spring* the *passives* that have *issued* from them. and the *reciprocal*, which is *parent* and *daughter* too; and so still the *distinction* is preserved clear, and not the least *impropriety* imaginable in my speech, that the *Greek* which had neither *voice* nor *conjugation* of the *reciprocal* forme, used the *passive voice* in stead of it, for want of *conjugations*, i. e. for want of something answerable to that, which the *Hebrews*, both they which make but *four*, and they that make *eight*, do uniformly style *conjugation*.

7. In this place it is not conceivable how *S. W.* should come to call them *eight votes*, and to affirm that the *Grammarians* so style them. That any one *Grammarian* hath styled them *eight Votes*, is more then by any enquiry I can discover: and if any have, I am too dull, I acknowledg, to understand him, unless because *Votes* signifies *voices*, when they are used for *suffrages*, he means to give law to *language*, and appoint *votes* to signify *Grammatical voices* also. And yet if that were his mistake, or if the *Printer* substituted *votes* in stead of *voices*, there must be in it another *mistake* also, for no *Grammarian*, I suppose, could ever think there were *eight* such *voices*, and therefore still I am to be informed by some *Diviner*, what *S. W.* his *eight votes* signified.

8. So again, when having disliked my *multiplied conjugations* in *Hebrew*, he yet adds, that there are *more in the Greek then in the Hebrew*, 'twil not be easie to discern upon what account *Grammatical*, or *rational*, he could do so; For it being certain, that the different *conjugations* in *Greek*, are not *varied* in the *flexion*, as the *Latines* are, but only in the *Characteristick*, (and so the best *Grammarians* have resolved, that though such *καίους* are called \* *conjugations*, yet they are *improperly* so called) it is evident also, that the same *strict laws*, that are of force against the *multiplying* the *conjugations* in *Hebrew*, are of equal, if not greater force against the bestowing that title of *conjugation* upon all the *variations* of the *verbs* in *Greek*. The *variations* in all those, *γραμματ:* which the *Hebrew* call *conjugations*, being discernible both in *p. 39.* the *signification*, &c in the *first syllable*, which may well outweigh the *variation* of the *characteristick* in the *Greek*; And besides, it is most evident, that one and the same *verb* goes through all

\* ας καὶ συζυγίας καλεῖται, Theodor:

all the conjugations in Hebrew, but doth not so in Greek, and accordingly there is no such thing in the Greek language, as the variation of frequentative, transitive, and reciprocal, which are in the Hebrew Piel, Hiphil, and Hithpael, the only ground of my affirming, that the Greek wanted conjugations, which were found among the Hebrews. Such misadventures as these, his descending to such niceties hath cost him, and truly some more, witness his neutropassive taken by him for a passive in the reciprocal or neutral sense, when every school-boy knows, that all neutropassives are of the active voice, so again his instancing in *sto*, as a word partaking of a passive sense, because it may be rendred, *I am standing*, and others the like, through every stage of this his voyage, if it were not too great levity, and somewhat unreconcilable with common compassion to enumerate them.

9. In stead of so doing, I shal only adde an answer to his one principal scruple, when having mentioned the notion of Hithpael, to signifie an expresse action upon is selfe, he demands, where the *D* among all his criticall observations can shew him one word in all the Latine and Greek language to parallel it, or that is (as the Doctor expresseth it) of the nature of Hithpael. I answer σώζειν is such a Greek word of the nature of Hithpael, signifying sometimes saving and delivering himselfe, and in rendring expressed by the neutral, escaping, Gen. 19. 19. and 22. 1 Sam. 19. 12. Joel 2. 32. and so 'tis used by S. Luke in the same sense, Acts 2. 40. σώζειν ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς σκοτεινῆς τούτης, be ye saved, literally, but in sense, rescue, or as the English renders it, save your selves, or escape, or get out of this wicked generation. So yet neerer to the word we have in hand, ἀπορίζεις, literally, to be separated, is sometimes to separate themselves, without any action of, or passion received from any other, as 2 Cor. 6. 17. where by way of exhortation the Apostle bespeaks them, ἐξέλθετε καὶ ἀπορίσθητε, Come out and be ye separate, i. e. separate your selves, not, be ye separated, or cast out by others. The foregoing neutral sense of coming out, expresseth this to be the importance of it. And for the very word which hath occasioned this debate, see Num. 16. 20. where when the Hebrew hath הִבְדִּיל in Hithpael, separate your selves, the Greek reads ἀποχρίσθητε, be ye cut off, or divided from them, the very same that is varycd, v. 24. into ἄραχωρήματα

get you up from them; and v. 26. *סורו* depart, again rendred by the Gr: *ἀποχρίσθητε*, be ye separated. These are sufficient to answer his question: And for variety of other the like examples (I never affirmed it of all, as he is pleased to inferre, p. 9. but only of this and some others) if he have, either skill, or conversation in the original languages of the Scripture, he will be soon able upon this memento, with a little observation, to furnish himself.

- 10 As for his ways of disproving it, p. 10. [*that if it signifie a reciprocal action or passion, it must signifie an act of dividing exercised on himselfe, who therefore is the thing divided: and since division is a progress or motion from unity to plurality, its proper and formall effect is to make that, which it works on, more of one, but that which it works upon, saith the D<sup>r</sup>, is himselfe the Schismaticke, therefore it cuts the Schismaticke in two*] this is indeed a deep subtilty, which will soon be avoided by remembering him, what self-division it is, of which he knows we speak, not that of hewing, or mutilating his body, but cutting himself off from the body of the Church, with which he was united (the Church being a body as well as S. W.) and sure such a division is *motus ab unitate ad pluralitatem*, a progress from unity to plurality, when he cuts himself off from the Church, as well as when he cuts himselfe in pieces. If these be the rigorous, by which he saith he means solid, pregnant, convincing discourses, to which S. W. so pretends, I have no reason to be ill pleased, that he likes not my way of arguing, I should be sorry to have approved my self to him.

- 11 But it seems all this debate might have been spared, for after all this sollicitudo (which hath brought in but slender advantages to S. W.) he willingly grants all that this Criticisme demanded, viz. that the sin of schisme, must be the voluntary recession, as that differs from the passive, excommunication, which therefore he acknowledges not to be schisme. Which as plain a truth as it is, I desire to take witness of it, that it is granted me by him, and then I shall be the more perfectly secure from the guilt of schisme, till by some other argument than the Popes having excommunicated us (viz. by our voluntary recession from them, or from some members at least of the true Church of God) he shall prove that we are truly Schismaticks.

- 12 What he adds farther in this Sect. p. 12. of the no immunity from



T. of Schism.  
c. 2, §. 3, 4.

from error in the Governed, fir to counterpoise the liableness to error in the Governors, which I had mentioned; and p. 13 of the voluntary continuance in a just excommunication, which makes the thus excommunicated Schismaticks] hath in both parts perfect truth in it, but is no ways applicable to the business \* there in hand, nor can pretend to be so, without a begging of the principal questions, or matters in controversie betwixt the Romanist and us: First, that the Bishop of Rome was the Governor, and we the governed, at the time when he first excommunicated this nation; whereas at the time of those Censures coming, in Qu: Elizabeths days, he neither *de facto* was then owned as such, nor *de jure* had title to it: And at the time when this Nation first did that, for w<sup>h</sup> he first excommunicated them, i. e. in King Henries dayes, *de jure* he had no title to it, and by Papists, continuing such in all other points, the Government, which he held *de facto*, was first cast off, and that by those, to whom the supreme power, under Christ, did belong, viz. by the King concurring with the Bishops, and by the Bishops with the King. 2<sup>dly</sup>. That the excommunication sent out against us, was founded in a just cause; which it could not be, if we did nothing toward the Bishop and Church of Rome (viz. in that one act of casting out his usurped power, and reforming our selves) which was not perfectly lawfull for us to do. For though, as I said, in a voluntary recession, which alone is schisme, it is not worth breeding what the cause or occasion is, because none, how weighty soever, can be sufficient to justify that, yet in excommunication, which is not schisme, it is not so, the justice or injustice of that, whether in respect of the power (the legality thereof) or of the cause, is that which gives it validity, or renders it invalid, and null to all effects: and this being in part granted by S. W. viz. that unjust excommunication hurts no man, and the other part being as evident, that an unjust power is no power, and the acts null, we are perfectly safe from all the suggestions of the 2<sup>d</sup> Sect. till he make it appear, what here he attempts not to do, that their excommunicating of us had neither of these injustices and nullities in it.

## Sect. 3.

*The pretence of weak consciences against lawful authority in just commands, mis-represented. Fallibility of all but God, and Saints and Angels. S. W. his arguments for infallibility answered. The infallibility of the Apostles stated. Of the Church to the end of the world. Of the means to know the books of Scripture. Of matters of fact of our certain knowledg.*

THE third Section is by my Disarmer strangely mispent, Declaration poured out on the aire, like Xerxes his stripes on the Sea, a perfect Romance-combate with a Windmill of his own erecting, toward which I never contributed the least stone or timber, 'Tis upon a fancie, or fiction, that I favour the pretence of such a weak conscience, as makes a man thinke he ought not to communicate with the CHURCH, and this even though the truth be on the Churches side.] How much I favour such a weak conscience, which apprehends that unlawfull, which is duty, and so thinks to be excused from performing it, is visible to any that shall but view the place, to which this Section is confronted, where first I affirm of him, that he is in severall respects criminous, and particularly in this, that he communicates not with those, the condition of whose communion containes nothing really erroneous or sinfull. *Of schism c. 2. S. 8.*  
 2. I adde, that such an one is in the worst and most unhappy kind of straight, remains in error and schisme on the one side (is this in favour of such weak consciences, or an affirming (as S. W. suggests) that he may do it lawfully? or is it interpretable to have any kindness to a bare pretence of it, which comes short even of that?) and if to avoid that, he communicate, in this case he advances to lying and hypocrisie; and in plain termes, that which way soever he turne, till he really convert from his erroneous conscience, and weak mis-perswasion, he is sure to sin. What could be more plain, or free from my Disarmers calumny? from pleading for seditious offenders ears (of w<sup>th</sup> the wit of the Romish factor hath made a speciall service in his Bill of fare) or what Apology can S. W. ever make to God or his own conscience, for so manifest a perversion,

version, and slander of the most innocent expressions.

2. Having given the reader a few such *deſigns* of this *Diſputer*, I ſhall get, as ſoon as I may, out of this cloſe *converſe* with him.
3. In the latter part of this *ſet*: I am chid for not apprehending *any but Saints and Angels in heaven, and God himſelf to be infallible and impeccable*: and as this laſt word is ſtyled a *diſgracefull addition of a forged calumnie on the Romaniſts*, and noted as a *cuſtome of ours, whenſoever we ſpeak of their tenets*, ſo for the former part, he pretends to ſhew the great *abſurdity* of it, 1. by mentioning the *Apoſtles* as thoſe that were *infallibly aſſiſted*, and ſo 2. the *ſucceeding Church*, and 3. that there is *ſome means to be infallibly certain that ſuch and ſuch books were Gods word and genuine Scripture*: and laſtly, that the *D<sup>r</sup> himſelf will acknowledge it impoſſible that all the Proteſtants in England ſhould be fallible, or miſtake in wiſneſſing whether twenty years ago there were Preſbyterian Biſhops or no.*
4. To theſe *objections* I answer briefly, 1. by recounting the occasion of thoſe words of mine, to which his animadverſion belongs. It is a ſaying of *M<sup>r</sup> Knots*, that we may *forſake the Churches communion, in caſe ſhe be fallible, or ſubject to error*, which ſeemed to me very ſtrange, becauſe then 'tis not only lawfull to forſake the *Communion* of every *erroneous Church*, but of all that are *fallible*, though they be not in error, and ſuch I conceived all *humane ſocieties* to be, and conſequently that there would be no poſſibility for any on earth to be guilty of the ſin of *ſchiſme*: Now as this is plain in it ſelfe, ſo it is very far from ingaging me in the *queſtion* concerning the *Infallibility* of the *Church* (on that ſubject I had ſpoken at large elſewhere) any farther, than to take notice how ſtrange an *argument* this was to conclude it by.
5. 2<sup>dly</sup>, By aſſuring him, that I was far from *calumniating*, or affixing any *diſgraceful* word on the *Romaniſt* in that place. I conceived *humane* nature to be in it ſelfe equally liable to *ſin* and *error*, and ſo no more *infallible* than *impeccable*; and again, that no ſociety of men on earth hath now the *priviledge* of *immunity* from either, and if any had the former of impoſſibility to be *deceived*, yet unleſs it alſo had the latter, and ſo could not *teach contrary* to their *belief*, it were ſtill the ſame to all *effects*: He that *knows the truth* himſelfe, and yet may be ſo wicked as to *teach contra-*

ry to his *knowledge* (and he that can *act* contrary to his *knowledge*, and so *sin*, may do so) may *lead* others into the most ruinous *errors*, without *erring* himselfe: and therefore I said, that none but *Saints* and *Angels*, and *God in heaven* had the priviledg of *impeccable* and *infallible*, never conceiving that any man would hence conclude me to think, that the *Romanists* pretended to both of them, whose actions so openly, and acknowledgely *disclaim* the one, and I think the *other* also. The utmost was, that I thought it as possible that the *Pope* might *erre*, as *sin*, having no more *promise* from Christ of his *security* from one, than the *other*, and so might any other *single* man in the world, and in proportion any *multitude*, or assembly might (the *major* and so *prevalent* part of them) consent in an *error* as well as in a *vice*; and as this was far from *calumniating* any, so is it to my apprehension, as *evident* a truth, in reference to any *society* of men *now* in the world, as could have been mentioned by me, but this is no place to enlarge on it, farther than the remaining *objections* exact from me.

6. To them therefore I proceed, and to the mention of the *Apostles*, I reply, 1. That sure they are comprehended in the number of *Saints in heaven*, for thre undoubtedly they are, 2<sup>dly</sup>. That supposing *S. W.* to speak of them, when they were here *on earth*, as his following words interpret him; I *answer*, that it is most true, that they were *assisted* by *Christ*, so as they did not, and could not *erre* in the discharge of their *office*, in penning the *sacred writ*, and preaching the *Gospel*. In this work they were, according to *Christs promise*, *led* by the *Spirit into all truth*; But that this *promise* had an *unlimited* extent, or consequently that they were in all sorts of things made *infallible*, appeareth not; nay the *differences* that were between them, in lesser things, prejudgeth that.
7. I shall lay down this a little more *distinctly*. Of the *Apostles* 'tis evident, that as they were men here *on earth*, they were *fallible*, and oft *deceived*, even after they were employed by *Christ*; Of *ignorances* and *slowness*, and *hardness* of heart, and *littleness* of faith, they are by their *Master* frequently affirmed to be guilty. And so all the *infallibility* that ever they had above other men, proceeded from *Christs special promise* of *assistance*, made unto them; some degree of this *assistance* was promised them, in order

to some particulars, at their going out to preach, *Mat. 10. 19.* and after more largely, at his departure from them, *Mat. 28. 20.* Now that promise, *Mat. 10. 19.* was evidently confined within such limits, as left them subject to the many great errors, which after they proved guilty of, so far as (to omit many other of an inferior degree) to doubt whether he were the Redeemer, or no, *Lu. 24. 21.* one to apostatize finally and betray him, another not to believe him risen for some time, and all as to be scandalized and forsake him at his apprehension, so to disbelieve the relation of his resurrection, *Lu. 24. 11.* and to take the appearance of him, *ver. 37.* for a phasme.

8. From such grand fallibilities; and failings as these, I suppose them perfectly secured by that second promise & the descent of the Holy Ghost, & to be from thence forth infallibly assisted to their whole office, but yet to be lyable still to some frailties and ignorances in other things, whereunto the promised assistance extended not in that degree, as should make them thus wholly infallible; which appears, as I said, by the lesser differences, which are recorded between the Apostles themselves, in their Ministry.
9. Now to bring this home to the particular in hand, It is not only a speaking truth, a not being actually in error, which will inferre such an infallibility, as there I speak of, and conceive not to be met with on earth (for my words are expressly, to forsake all that are fallible, though they be not actually in error) but it must be a security founded in some promise of God, that they shall not be lyable to any error, and though naturally they are so, that yet they shall undoubtedly be preserved from falling into it, and that not only from this, or that sort of errors, but indefinitely from all (for so Mr Knots words are [infallible and not subject to error.]) And neither of these being proved to be comprehended in the promise made to the Apostles, it is evident, that this first instance or example of the Apostles could not pertinently be opposed to my affirmation.
- 10 2<sup>ly</sup> For the ensuing, or succeeding Church till the end of the world] 'tis certain that that degree of assistance which was afforded the Apostles, was not either promised, or afforded to that. By the succeeding Church, the Governors must necessarily be meant, speaking as he doth of that promise of remaining with them always

to the end of the world. For the *units* you ] there, being primarily the *Apostles* themselves, and secondarily the *successors* of the *Apostles*, 'tis evident and acknowledged generally by the *Fathers*, that the *Bishops* in every *Church*, were those, the *Apostles* *successors*: And therefore this *promise* in the *secondary* sense belonging unto them, 1. It belongs no otherwise to the *Church*, then as that signifies the *Governors* of the *Church*. 2. It belongs to the *Governors* of the *Church* of *Ephesus*, *Laodicea*, &c. and to all other *Bishops*, as well as the *Bishop* of *Rome*. And belonging to all theie indifferently, it is yet evident, and consist on all hands, that all these *Governors* have not been *infallible*. Many of them have notoriously fallen into *error*, and even in the time of *Scripture*, witness the *Epistle* to the *Churches*, *Rev.* 2. 3. and so sure the same *priviledge*, that the *Apostles* personally had, was not thus communicated to the *succeeding Church*, i.e. to their *Successors*, the *Governors* of that;

11 Nor indeed was it needfull it should; All things which were deemed needfull for the ensuing *plantations*, were agreed on by the *Apostles*, and deposited in each *Church*, as their *Rule of Faith*; and if they would adhere to that, there was no need of any *super-added infallibility* to other things, because these, already provided, were *sufficient*; but if they would not adhere to that, this were an evidence of their *fallibility*: As for the *promise* here mentioned, that *Christ* would remain with the *succeeding Church*, that, and the *prediction* that the *gates of hell* should not prevail against it, are assurances, that he will so support the *Church* by his *presential providence*, that it shall never totally be *destroyed*, or *demolished*: But not that any particular branch of this *Church*, be it never so favour'd by him, shall be thus secured from the utmost either *error*, or *ruine*, in case it shall not walke worthy of the *mercies* bestowed on them (the *seven Churches* in the *Revelation* are competent instances of that) nor that even the *universal Church* over all the world, in what capacity soever, *diffused*, or *collective*, shall never fall into the *least error*, *Christ's personal* presence among his *Apostles* on earth having not thus secured them.

12. 3<sup>dy</sup>. For the *infallible* meanes of knowing this or that booke of *Scripture* ] it is sufficient, that I answer, that if this were yielded,



yet would it not prove any *society* of men on earth to be *infallible*. He that is in *many* things *fallible*, and more than so, actually *erroneous*, may yet *infallibly* know or *believe* some one, or more *other* things, either by his *own senses*, or by the *testimony* of others, founded in their several *sensations*, which being faithfully conveyed to us by *undeniable Tradition*, supply the place of an *authority*, are as *unquestionably certain*, as what we have *seen* our selves. I *know infallibly* I now write, and that the book which I now *answer*, was written before me, and *S. W.* cannot question the *truth* of these affirmations, yet *sure 'tis* his interest to be so just, as to thinke me very *fallible*, and actually to *erre* in many other things, else he would have no excuse for having written a *volume* against me. And the same I affirm of all other matters of *fact*, *testified* by my *own senses*, or by *universal unquestionable Tradition*, for that is founded in the *repeated sensations* of so many other men, which being *communicated* and sufficiently *testified* to me, I have no more reason to *doubt* of, then of my *own sensations*. And of this sort is the *Tradition* of the *universal Primitive Church* concerning the *Apostles* delivering some *doctrines*, and *writing* some *books*, the *testifications* of those which *saw* the *miracles*, which the *Apostles* wrought (and whereby *God set his seal* to the truth of their *preachings* and *writings*) that this or that *booke* was written by them, and so by those which were *inspired by God*. In this *testimonie* the *Church* is not considered as a *society* of *believers* indowed with any *inerrable priviledg*, there being nothing in this *question* contested from the *authority* of their *judgement*, be it *errable* or *inerrable*, but as a *number* of *witnesses* (*heathen* and *Jewish* first, and then *converted* by this *doctrine* thus *miraculously confirmed*) joyntly *testifying* of a thing *done* and *scene* by them, and wherein it cannot be imagined, that they should *agree* to *deceive* and *betray*, and so *destroy* their *posterity*, by *confirming* a *falsehood* to them. And so this being the *meanes* whereby I am *assured* that such or such *books* are *genuine Scripture*, it follows not from hence, that either I that thus *assuredly believe* this, on these *testifications*, or even they that have truly *testified* this *one* thing, are in all *other* things, wherein they do not thus *affirme* upon their *own* or *others* *certain knowledge*, of an *infallible authority*.

14 To the last I say, that it is a strange shortness of *discourse*, that puts together an *impossibility* of actual mistaking in *witnessing* a matter of *fact* of mens *certain knowledge*, and an *impossibility* of being *fallible*; for, as 'tis one thing *not* to be *mistaken*, another to be *infallible* so 'tis not one *act* of *infallible* judging, that makes that person *infallible*, but a *foundation* of *security* for all the *acts* of ones life, and so this is a most impertinent *instance* to prove *general infallibility*. For though I no way doubt of the truth of that which all *Protestants in England* affirm in a matter of *fact* twenty years ago, wherein many of them *lived*, and *saw* what they affirm, yet I have no *assurance* that both in that, and in every other *affirmation* of theirs (of which there is no other evidence) 'tis impossible for them to be *fallible*. That they do, or probably can mistake actually in a thing of that nature *visible* before their eyes, I believe not; Yet is that no *proof* that they are any way *infallible*, either in *observing*, and coming to the knowledge of all matters of *fact*, without all possible *mixture* of *error*, (*humane weakness* or *inadvertence* may here interpose sometimes) or in *conveighing* and *testifying* to others exactly, what they did observe; *humane frailties* and *passions* also may at other times intermixe, and even when neither hath *really* interposed, either *might* have interposed, and so still they are not *infallible*, for that contains more than *speaking exactly true*, an *impossibility* to do otherwise, which was the *priviledge* that I still believe to belong to no barely *humane* society.

15 Thus have I, *ex abundanti*, given him answer to all his offers of *reason* for *Infallibility*. And if the rest of those *evidences* tendered by the excellent *Apologie* be of this kind of frame (as me thinks *S. W.* should not be so *unskilful* or *unkind*, as to choose out the *weaker*) I shall not be in danger of that *amazement* that *S. W.* tells me of. Some creatures are pictured on the flag that hangs out, far more *terrible*, than they appear, when you have been at the cost of the *neerer* view of them. And that is all I have to say to his third *Section*.

Scct.

## Sect. 4.

ἰδιος τόπος, *Act. 1.* Theophylact's, and Occumenius's Scholion, &c. The division of Provinces betwixt S<sup>t</sup> Paul and S<sup>t</sup> Peter. Ambroses, and Jeroms testimonies, and Theophylact's. This by their own agreement, nor only by Gods designation. Exclusive of no other of the Apostles. Peters singular supremacy at Jerusalem, why denied. Clements testimonie. The principall place belonged to James in his own See, and so in the Councel. Εὐαγγελίω, *Acts 15. 22.* Peters speaking first. S<sup>t</sup> Pauls no dependence on S<sup>t</sup> Peter. A place from St. Cyprian, answered. The testimony out of Anacleus's Epistle.

1. **T**He fourth Section is but the spreading a little thinner the Catholike Gentlemans letter, and hath been fully answered in the Reply, c. 2. §. 3. So also the 5<sup>th</sup> Section is answered in Reply, c. 3. 1. and the 6<sup>th</sup> Sect. c. 3. Sect. 2. & 4. So again his 7<sup>th</sup> Sect. (all but the calumnies, and ridiculous colours, that without the least cause or ground in the Tract, he affixes to my way of proceeding, as will appear to any one that reads the Tract it selfe) is prevented, Ch. 4. Sect. 1.
2. After this he hath another 7 Sect. p. 42. but that nothing but a detortion of my words about κληρος ἀποστολῆς, *Act. 1.* making that my evidence, which was never by me thought on, as such (nor had I need of such, the thing being evident by its own light, that the Apostles went not all to one, but disposed themselves over all the world to severall provinces) yet borrowed from the short notes of the Catholike Gentleman, and answered, Reply c. 4. Sect. 2.
3. Of the 8<sup>th</sup> Sect. three, or four pages are spent on the phrase προεδιῶναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἰδίον, going to his own place, *Acts 1.* and is of the same nature exactly with the former, and as largely prevented, Reply c. 4. Sect. 2. n. 20. &c. and yet upon this he pitches anew, with the greatest career of declamation, that he ever let loose to, in the whole book, and spends it all in a passionate *paranesis* to his dear countrey-men; the effect of which is, that the rendering

rendering that phrase of any thing but *Judas's* going to hell, is to relinquish the sense of the whole *Catholike* world. My reasons for the other interpretation of *Matthias* his going to that Province which should otherwise have been assigned *Judas*, I have largely rendred in the Reply, and shall now annex a testimonie perfectly to my sense from *Theophylact*, on *Acts* 1. ἰδίον τόπον, &c. he calls that his own place, which *Matthias*, so as it was just and fit, should obtain; for as *Judas* was a stranger to it, even before he had fallen from it, ever since he began to be sicke of covetousness and treason, so it properly belonged to *Matthias*, even before he obtained it, ever since he shewed himselfe worthy of so great an office. The like again we have from \* *Oecumenius* on the place, \* *Edit. Verc.* who setting down, as his use is, the most approved interpretations 1532. hath these words, τόπον δὲ ἰδίον ἦτοι τῷ ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ ἢ ὅτι τῷ ἱερεὶ ἐπαπομύνη, ὅτος ἰδίον οἶον, τῷ ἐκείνῳ λαμβάνον ἐπισκοπῇ, His own place ] he calls his suffocation, &c. or else that *Judas* being gone, he, i. e. *Matthias*, may have the place to himselfe, receiving his *Episcopacy*. So *Didymus*, the word τόπος place signifies many things, among the rest an Order, as when we say the place of a Bishop, or of an Elder. So the Ordinary gloss, ut abiret in locum suum, i. e. *Sortem Apostolicam*, that he might go to his own place, i. e. the *Apostolical* lot. Would ever any man have thought that all these should have been thus adventurous to mention such a blasphemous interpretation as this (just the same with the *D<sup>n</sup>*) or that *Lorinus* and *Salmeron* should take notice of them, without any expression of detestation; when *S. W.* had undertaken on his word to his kind readers and deare countrymen, that it was the utmost absurdity, that it inferred the finding of *Judas* a Diocess in hell, and *Matthias* succeeding him?

4. What follows there of the agreement made between *S. Peter*, \* *Petrum solum* and *S. Paul*, concerning the division of their Provinces, the one nominat, & sibi to the *Jewes*, the other to the *Gentiles*, and is matter to *S. W.* comparat, quia of such challenge, and triumph, is cleared in the same Chap. of the *Replie*, Sect. 3. and 4. to be a mistake in him, and all that I pretend, manifested from Scripture. To which I now adde the plain words of *S<sup>t</sup> Ambrose* on *Gal.* 2.8. wherein he asserts all that was either my purpose, or my interest to affirme, in these words, \* *Paul* ut Primatum saith he, nameth *Peter* alone, and compareth him to himselfe, be- d nlu G. nium cause Ecclesie.

cause he had received the primacy to build the Church, and he likewise is chosen to have the primacie of building the Churches of the Gentiles (and so Chrysost. that St. Paul demonstrates himself to be ὁὔτιμον, equall to them, καὶ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει ἑαυτὸν, and compares himself with Peter the chief of them, and Theophylact, δεικνύων ἑαυτὸν ἰσότητι τῷ Πέτρῳ, he shewes himselfe equall to Peter) ita tamen ut & Petrus predicaret Gentibus, si causa fuisset, & Paulus Judæis, nam uterq; invenitur utrumq; fecisse, sed tamen plena autoritas Petro in Judaismi predicatione data agnoscitur, & Pauli perfecta autoritas in predicatione gentium invenitur, Yet so that Peter preached to the Gentiles also, if there were cause, and Paul to the Jewes, and so both of them did both: but yet the full authority is acknowledged to be given to Peter in the preaching to the Jewes, and Pauls perfect authority is found in preaching to the Gentiles, from whence also he calls himselfe the Doctor of the Gentiles, adding that this portion was assigned him, in respect of his abilities, it being harder to attract to the faith, those that were far from God, then those that were neerer. And so S. Hierom having affirmed, on Gal. 1. 22. that the Churches which were of the Jewes seorsim habebantur, nec his qui erant à Gentibus miscebantur, were severed, and mixed not with the Gentiles, he addes on this verse of c. 2. That the agreement was made that Paul should preach to the Gentiles, and Peter, and James, and John to the Jewes, which sure was a severing of their Provinces. And so Theophylact on Gal. 1. 21. ἐπιστὰς τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ οὐ μὴ διαταί τούτους διὰ τοῦτο ἔδραον ἀποσταλταὶ κήρυξαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλότριον διέμεινον ἀνέχεσθαι διακομίσθαι, being come to Judea, he departed thence, both because he was sent a preacher to the Gentiles, and because he would not build on anothers foundation.

5. Yet one little deceit there is in S. W. his discourse which the Catholike Gentleman had not attained to, for on occasion of the [for] Gal. 2. 8. his conclusion is, that these two Apostles were more properly particularized to these two parts of the world, by no other designation, than the more especial co-operation of Gods efficacious assistance. Here the mention of Gods special co-operation hath truth in it, and is fully proved from vers. 8. but the [no other designation] (wherein all the force of his answer lyes) is most expressly contrarie to plain Scripture, the Text affirming, that

that besides that, this designation of mutual agreements interven'd, James, Cephas, and John, saith Paul, gave me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision. What can be more evident for this farther designation, founded in that former?

6. His 9<sup>th</sup> Section hath somewhat new in it (but perfectly agreeable to the mistakes and detortions gleaned from the *Catholike Gentleman*) as 1. that he will conclude from my words, that I will have all the Apostles to have several Provinces limiting their jurisdictions, and exclusive of one anothers right, and from thence making the circumcision, or Jewish Christians peculiarly Saint Peters province, and the Gentile Christians peculiarly St. Pauls. I have gotten all the rest of the Apostles leave to play] And then there is another prime dish for Mr. Stationer to add to his Bill of fare. 'Tis true, I said the Apostles by their own act distributed their universal great Province (the whole world, to which they were to go and preach) into several distributions, or less, or lesser Provinces, one or more to go one way, and the other another, to proclaim the faith of Christ, and that the circumcision was peculiarly St. Peters province, or division assigned to him (and thence I concluded it unimaginable, how he should be the universal or supreme Pastor or Bishop of the whole world:) But what word said I of concluding all the Jewish Christians under St. Peters assignation, or all the Gentiles under Pauls? from which alone his conclusion of the play-day for the rest of the Apostles is inferred? Nay when he had set it down for my affirmation, that I will have all the Apostles have their severall Provinces, is it possible he should, in the same breath, conclude me to deprive eleven of these all of their several Provinces? When I say Peter was the Apostle of the circumcision, exclusively to the uncircumcision (as when *Ensch. hist. l. i. c. i.* saith, that he preached in divers nations, *ἦν ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίων, to the Jewes that were of the dispersion*) the meaning is evident, that he was so the Apostle of the one, as he was not of the other, or as Paul was, and is in Scripture said to be of the other. But can it thence follow, that either no other Apostle was assigned to the Jewes, but Peter, or no other to the Gentiles, but Paul? Nay is it not expressly shewed §. 6. that the Jewes in Judea were by Peter, James, and John put under James



the brother of the Lord and Bishop of Jerusalem? And §. 3. that the other Apostles had their several *καὶ* assigned them, and their travels, labours, and plantations proportionable thereto, and that S. John was assigned the Jewes for his Province, as well as S. Peter, and so had the converting and governing of the Lydian Asia, and placing Bishops there. This in both parts he takes notice of, p. 57. but never relents at the foregoing calumnie, onely laughs it out, and despises the remainder of the dispersion of the Jewes, as a few pitiful parishes, unworthy S. Peter, but never offers to consider the allegations, by which it was evident, and can never be avoided by him or any man, that the Jewes in the Lydian Asia were governed by S. John (and from thence it was that they had and retained several customs, different from those which were introduced in the West by S. Peter) And must this be styled the freeing all the rest of that task which their Master had enjoyned them? If this be to conclude, or dispute, what contradictions may not this wonder-working faculty reconcile?

- 7 Secondly, he excepts against my use of the word [*singular*] when I say Peter had no singular supremacy at Jerusalem. To take away his wonderment, I answer, that by singular, I meant such an one, as was not common to the other two eminent Apostles James and John, who together with Peter committed the Bishoprick of Jerusalem, the Metropolis then of all Judea at least, to the Lord's brother; What he saith in this matter, p. 58. that Peters greater authority is not invalidated by his taking the other two with him, any more than is the Arch-bishops, when in consecrating a Bishop, he takes two other Bishops with him] is true, in case it any other way appeared, that Peter was an Arch-bishop in respect of these two other Suffragan Bishops, James and John: But this neither doth, nor ever will be made to appear by him, and though I did not then undertake to prove their equality by this argument, being about another matter, the extent of S. Peters Province, yet the words of Clemens ἱεροπολιτῆς l. 5. might to him, who had this conclusion in his eye, have deserved to be considered, when he saith of Peter, and James, and John, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κυρίου προσεσημασμένοι, as being by our Lord prefer'd or honoured before the rest, yet they did not ἐκδιδομένης δόξης contend for dignity, but chose James the first Bishop of

of *Ierusalem*, where the *æmptia* or precedence that *Peter* had from *Christ*, is common to *James* and *Iohn* also, and so no singular supremacy, and as such, they chose and ordain'd the brother of the Lord, which sure is not after the manner of an *Arch-bishop* and his *Suffragan Bishops*. And so also in that place to the *Galatians*, c. 2. 9. *James*, & *Cephas* and *Iohn* are equally dignified by *S. Paul*, and have all three the style of *δοκῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι*, seeming to be pillars, and as the *Fathers* even now concluded that *Paul* was *ὁμοτίμος* to them, and particularly to *Peter*, so they did also, that they were all *ἰσότιμοι*, equally dignified.

8. Thirdly, when I had said of *James* the Lord's brother, not that he was simply superior to *Peter*, but that being first *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, all the *Bishops* of *Iudea* were subject to him, and that thereupon in this his *See*, he is named before *Peter* and *Iohn*, *Gal. 2. 9.* and hath the principal place in the *Council* (where *S. Peter* is present) and gives the sentence, *Acts 15. 19.* on which the *Rescript* is founded, *vers. 22.* and from all this conclude no more, but that the jurisdiction in that *Metropolis* belonged to *James* the *Iust*, and not to *S. Peter*; All this he is willing to misunderstand, as a proof of mine, to infer *S. James's* priority of dignity, or greater authority, and to frame some answer to the severall branches of it. But he may know, that as I do not believe *S. Peter* had any greater authority then the rest of the *Apostles*, so I do not pretend that any of the other *Apostles* had greater authority than hee, much lesse this *James* the *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, who, I suppose, was none of the 12. *Apostles*: Only I was to prove that in this his *See* *James* was considered as *Bishop*, and so even in *Peters* presence had the principal place (and indeed if he was not there in that capacity, how came he there at all, for upon reasons elsewhere given, I suppose it competently established, that this *James* was none of the twelve) and against this what he pretends, is not of any weight: For

9. 1. When he saith, that the naming him before *Peter*, *Gal. 2. 9.* is, if it were allowed any weight, the losing my cause, because in most other places of *Scripture*, *Peter* is constantly named first of all the *Apostles*, This I am sure hath no force in it, because this place belonging peculiarly to the *Council* of *Ierusalem*, the giving *James*, which was none of the twelve, the first place here, must in all reason signifie thus much, that he was *Bishop* there, and

that is all, in effect, that I deduce from it, and not from that alone, but from it in conjuncture with other circumstances.

- 10 2<sup>dly</sup> When he saith, *I have not the least pretence of a testimonie that James had the principal place,* ] it is evident that Saint Pauls naming him first before Peter, is a pretence at least of a testimonie, as far as belongs to Jerusalem. And if there be not the least force in that, this will be somewhat to the prejudice of the Romanists argument, that is wont to be taken from the Πρώτος Σίμων, concluding his Primacy from his being first named which if it would convincingly prove, then must James here have it, who yet pretends not to it, any farther than in his own city. But then sure the mention of James's giving the sentence, v. 19. was another pretence of a testimonie, and this I still believe the phrase [ *Ὅτι ἐγὼ κρίνω, wherefore I judge, or, my sentence is* ] will be found to signifie, and not onely, as he saith, *his opinion or judgment*.

\* Tom. 4. p. 795. ment in the matter. For 1. tis \* S. Chrysostomes observation, that his speaking last was founded in his being Bishop of Jerusalem,

ἐπίσκοπος ὡς τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκκλησίας ἄτος, *ὅτι καὶ ὕστερον λέγει, he was Bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, whereupon he speaks last* (according to the customes in Assemblies, he that sits first, speaks last) adding upon 19, 20, 21. of that chapter, οὕτως πάντα ἐπιτάττει — *he rightly decrees, ordains these things, making his sentence ἐπίταγμα, a decree, and yet more expressly, setting down* \* the διατάξια good order observed in their speaking.

\* P. 796. l. 28. After Peter, saith he, Paul speaks, and Ἰάκωβος ἀνίσχεται, καὶ οὐ παρεμβάλλεται, *καὶ οὐκ ἐμβαλεῖν, James forbears, and interposes not, for he was intrusted with the principality: and* \* again observing that Peter spake more earnestly, but James more mildly, saith, ἔγω γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ διακρίσει, τὰ ὡς ὀφείλει ἐνέχεις παραχωρεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπὸ ὑμετέρων διακρίσεις, *for thus it behoves him that is in great power, or authority, to leave the sharper things to others, and himselfe to draw his arguments from the gentler, and milder Topicke, making James here in this Councel clearly superior to Peter.*

- 11 As for the arguments which I had drawn from κρίνω *I judge* ] I see not yet any infirmity in it. For thus sure the word signifies in the matter of censures, 1 Cor. 5. 12. τί γὰρ μοι καὶ τὸς ἔξω κρίνεις; τὸς δὲ ἔσω κρίνεις, *judging or sentencing to excommunication, ver. 13. and so v. 3. ἡδὴ κέκρινα, I have judged already, i. e. given sentence*

sentence; and so saith \* S. Chrysostome here of James, κρινω ἐγώ, \* P. 797. lin. 15. ἀντὶ τοῦ, μετ' ἐξουσιᾳ λέγω, I judge, in stead of, I say with power or, as other copies read, φησὶ καλῶς μετ' ἐξουσίας, τὸ κρινω ἐγώ, hee saith with power, I judge. But this I never meant any otherwise, than as a sentence pronounced by him, and agreed to by the rest, and founded, as any conciliary sentence ought to be, in the εὐδοκε τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν, which supposes the good liking of those others, that sate with him together in Council, not as depending only on his vote. And this is enough to confirm to him the principal place in that Council.

- 12 What he adds to *prejudge* the Rescripts being founded, v. 22. upon S. James's sentence in particular, that *tis but only*, Then (i. e. after S. Peter, S. Paul, Barnabas, and S. James had spoken) is *seemed good to the Apostles and Elders--*] is 1. founded in a misunderstanding of my assertion, and 2. is it selfe a farther mistake. For when I said James gave the sentence, I never imagined that the sentence was so his, as not to be the Councils allow, but that all their opinions uniformly inclining the same way, James pronounced the decree, or δόγμα. But then 2. the thing which there follows in those words, *Then seemed it good to the Apostles and Elders, and the whole Church*] was a subsequent determination of sending chosen men to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, and to write by them, as follows expressly in that 22. verse. And so on which side the want either of wisdom or honesty hath appeared to lye, S. W. may now be better qualified to consider:
- 13 What he would now conclude in favour of S. Peters authority, from his speaking first, or breaking the ice in such a solemnly pronounced oration] will soon be answered by remembering, that St. Peter had been accused of preaching to Cornelius a Gentile, c. 11. 2. as Paul and Barnabas had of more than so, and for that reason they begin, and give account of their actions, the one justifying himselfe by the holy Ghosts descent on those Gentiles, before he baptized them, and the other by the miracles which God had enabled them to do among the Gentiles.
- 14 In this Sect. treating the business of S. Paul set down in Gal. 1. 12. 17. he distinguishes of dependence on S. Peter, and allowing Paul to have had no dependence on him as to the manner of conferring on him the power of Apostle, he will yet have this power (given him) to depend on S. Peter, or to be subject to him as the chiefe.

chiefe of the Apostles.] But to this I answer, 1. That he ought in any reason to have offered some proof for this, which he knows is most denied by us, and 2. That unless the same Christ that gave him this power immediately, subjected it to S. Peter, and appears to do that, as clearly as he gave him the power (which tis certain appears not) this cannot be said with any sobriety. 3. That the place, Gal. 1. 17. belongs expressly to the power, after it was given, and yet then he depended not on him.

15. For this I appeal to S. Chrysostome, affirming of Paul distinctly, \* Tom. 3. p. 723. l. 23. *ἡ μὲν Πέτρου δόξα, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότης οὐκ αὐτοῦ, he had no want of Peter, nor of his voice (as I suppose he must have, if in respect of his power he depended on, and were subject to him) but was of equal dignity with him, adding in a parenthesis πλέον γὰρ ἐδέν ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ, for I will say no more, which what it is an intimation of, I leave S. W. to conjecture.*

16. The last thing that expects answer in this Sect. is the place out of Cyprian, Ep. 71. where concerning S. Pauls withstanding S. Peter, Gal. 2. 11. he saith of Peter, that though the Lord chose him first, and built his Church on him, yet he did not insolently challenge any thing to himselfe, or assume arrogantly so as to say he had the primacy, and so that he should rather be obeyed by newer and later Apostles, nor despised he Paul, because he had been a persecuter, but admitted the counsel of truth.] To which as being the only testimonie from antiquity, I have yet observed to be produced by S. W. it is needfull to give answer, that I never doubted of S. Peters primacy, in this sense, as this holy Father speaks of it (any more than of Christs building his Church on him) I gave him even now a testimonie from S. Ambrose, which expressly avouched it, I only deny, that this Primacy gave him any power either over S. Paul, or any other Apostle (or that his being a foundation on which the Church was built, gave him jurisdiction over the rest of the Apostles, who were foundations also) And that I have reason to deny this, he will remember both by the ἰσαριτία, and ἰσότης, so lately produced from Chrysostome and Theophylact, the equality betwixt Paul and him, and so of all other the Apostles, and also by the words of S. Ambrose, that S. Paul had a primacy among the Gentiles, as Peter among the Jewes. And then if he will review these very words of Cyprian, he will find them accord very well, which though they affirm him chosen
- primus

primum first by Christ, yet adde, that non vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumpsit ut diceret se primum tenere, & obtemperari sibi a posteris oportere-- leaving us to resolve, that if he had claimed any obedience from Paul by this primacy, he could not have justified it from arrogance of assuming that which did not belong to him. And to this agree those words set down in the \* Canon law as from Anacletus's 2<sup>d</sup> Epist: ad Episc: Ital: \* Decret: par: 1. where as on one side we find post Christum a Petro sacerdotalis Dist: 21. c. 2. caput ordo, quia ipsi primo Pontificatus in Ecclesia Christi datus est, & potestatem ligandi primus accepit, primusq; ad fidem populum adduxit; after Christ the sacerdotal order began from Peter, because the Pontificate in the Church was first given to him, and he first received the power of binding and loosing, and he first brought the people to the faith by vertue of his preaching, adding after, that the Apostles ipsum principem eorum esse voluerunt, would have him to be their Prince (where he read this I know not) so on the other side the words are as clear, Cateri vero Apostoli cum eodem pari consortio honorem & potestatem acceperunt; but the rest of the Apostles received honour and power in equall fellowship with him: Which being entred into their body of law, will, I hope, be of some force with S. W. what ever opinion others conceive of it.

### SECT. 5.

S. VV. his ill memory. The distinction of the Gentile and Jewish cætus. Acts 15. 23. The Bishops at Rome a proof of it.

THE 10<sup>th</sup> Section begins with the view of two testimonies out of Ignatius. The very mention whereof accuses the close of his former Section of a fault, which even before all others is predominant in this Author, and railing it selfe is but his blind, to keep this from being descryed. For he had there said, that there



was no testimonie at all to confirme my own [ we know ] and now being gotten into another Section his memory is fraile, and he hopes others will be so too, and then he blushes not to set downe two testimonies of that, of which he had so lately denyed any. But then next he hath objection to these; *The testimonies do affirm no more but the founding of the Church of Antioch by Peter and Paul, and that might be by their promiscuous endeavours without distinction, much less exclusion of authority & jurisdiction.* I answer, tis true, this was possible; and if it had been true, had manifestly prejudged *Peters singular jurisdiction*, and clearly joyn'd *Paul* socially with him.

But there was another testimonie behind ( and that, if taken notice of, had removed this, might be ) from *Acts 15. 23.* where the distinction of the Gentile *Cætus* at Antioch from the Jewish, is discernible, by the inscription of the Rescript of the Council, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς, τοῖς ἐκ ἑθνῶν, to the brethren ( i. e. the Christian Church ) which are at Antioch and Syria and Cilicia ( of which Antioch was the Metropolis ) those of the Gentiles, and that separately, and in contradistinction to the Jews, as appears, v. 28, 29. where the things required of the Church in that decree, are all proper to the Gentiles: And beside more evidence, which there follows to the same

\* In *Gal. 1. 22.* matter, the words of \* *S. Hierome* even now produced are most clear, *Seorsim qui ex Indeis erant Ecclesia habebantur, nec his qui erant à Gentibus miscebantur*; the Churches which were of the Jewes were held apart or in several, nor were they mixed with those which were of the Gentiles.

The next Paragraph concerning *Peters* with-drawing from all communion with the Gentiles, and not only the Gentile diet, is prevented in the Reply, c. 4. §. 6. and the whole matter of *Evodius* and *Ignatius* being Bishops of Antioch at once farther cleared, and his elaborate mis-understandings forestald, *Sett. 7.* And so likewise the other part, wherein *Rome* was concerned, is reviewed, c. 9. ( and to omit others, tis not possible all his scoffes can divert the force of the testimonie of *Epiphanius*, who makes both those Apostles Bishops, as well as Apostles of *Rome*, which they could not be at once without this distinction of the *cætus*, the Jewish to be under one, and the Gentile under tother ) and the testimonie of  
*Prosser*

Prosper concerning the *Ecclesia Gentium*, the Church of the nations, as that is cleared to comprehend the *Jewes* and *Gentiles* both *n. 10.* And that concludes the *calumnies* and *scoffes* of the tenth *Section.*

## Sect. 6.

The Popes seales for what produced. *S. W.* his misunderstandings. *S. Peters* jurisdiction in Rome proved to belong to the *Jewes* only. The *Jewes* solemn departure from Paul, *Acts 28.* yet some of them possibly of his cætus. The differences in story about the first Bishops of Rome. Christs favour to *Iohn.* Dignity of his place. Leaning on Christs breast. *Abrahams* bosome. No birth-right. Ὀνόμαζον ἑθνος. No presence for *S. Peters* power in *Asia,* *1 Tim. 3. 14, 15.* *Timothy* and *Titus* were not under *S. Peter.*

1. HIS 11<sup>th</sup> Section contains new matter, but all in the former dresse, I need not say of what kind that is. And first the seales of the Popes, which I brought for a testimonie of the Church of Romes being founded by *S. Paul* as well as *S. Peter,* and is so far an irrefragable testimonie, he must cry out on, as a most irrational proof of *S. Peters* being Apostle of the *Jewes* only, not of the *Gentiles.*
2. The short is this; I have proved out of Scripture that *Peter* was by agreement to betake himselfe to the *Jewes* ( where *S. Paul* and he met ) and *S. Paul* to the *Gentiles,* and it was sufficiently manifested, that these were distinct assemblies, and in agreement with this ( not as proofs of it ) I found expresse mention of both of these in the planting the Church of Rome, and I affirmed the Popes seales to be an irrefragable instance of this last. And then all this must be first shuffled together, and some appearance of incoherence gained; and then the victory is gotten, and pursued most triumphantly. I again therefore aske, Is not the Popes seale an evidence that *Paul* as well as *Peter* had the planting the

*Church of Rome* ? and is not that agreeable to *Peters* preaching to the *Jewes*, and *Pauls* to the *Gentiles*, when they met in a city, where there were *multitudes* of both ? and was not that the importance of the agreement, *Gal. 2. 9* ? And is not that an argument that *Peter* was not the *Universal Pastor*, but that the *Gentiles* were *S. Pauls* province, as the *Jewes* *S. Peters* ? If it were, then is all my arguing regular, and concluding, for 'tis cleare as the day, that this was it. And tis not the dazzling of his eyes from the distance of the object, but the resolvedness not to see ought to the prejudice of his cause, which made *S. W.* so short-sighted.

- 3 Agreeable is his next attempt against the word [*only*] when I said that the storie of Scripture, according to the brevity of the relations there made, only sets down *S. Peter* to be the Apostle of the circumcision. Where the [*only*] is set clearly in opposition to the Scriptures making more particular relations of *S. Peters* preaching to the *Jewish* cætus, at *Rome*, &c. as is evident by the consequences ; that it saith of *Paul*, that he preacht at *Rome*, &c. And *S. W.* can by no means see that true importance of the word [*only*] but 1. it must note that *Peter* is only set down as Apostle of the circumcision exclusively to *James* and *Iohn*, which he knows I could not mean, without contradicting one branch of my former discourse, and that most impersinently, to my own disadvantage : And 2. that he was Apostle of the circumcision only, and great wagers are offered against the truth of my words in this sense, which though they belong quite to another matter, as hath been said, yet because his offers are so liberall, in case I shall shew the least syllable either in Scripture or any other testimonies expressly restraining *S. Peters* jurisdiction (at *Rome* he had said, and must mean) to the *Jewes* only, and exclusively to the *Gentiles*, he will yield the laurel, and quit the controversie ; I shall, not for the laurels sake (that may belong to him upon other scores) but upon so tempting an hope, that I may be at an end of controversie, offer to his review the testimonie from *S. Paul*, and from *Epiphanius*, the one affirming the agreement made between those Apostles, that one should execute their Apostleship (for after that or the like manner must the Ellipsis be made up, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη --) among the *Gentiles*, the other among the *Jewes* ; and the other expressly affirming that in *Rome* *Peter* and *Paul* were the same persons,

sons, both *Apostles* and *Bishops*. From hence, and by force of *S. Hieroms* affirmation, that the *Churches* which consisted of the *Jewes* *seorsim habebantur*, were held by themselves apart, and were not mingled with those which were of the *Gentiles*, I shall adventure to infer the conclusion, that in *Rome* *S. Peters* jurisdiction was restrained to the *Jewes* onely, and exclusively to the *Gentiles*. For how could there be two *Bishops* in one city (a thing quite contrary to all rule, and practice, as soon as the division betwixt the *Jewes* and the *Gentiles* was taken away) unless there were two such distinct *cœtus*? If there were two such *cœtus*, then they that were of one *cœtus* under one *Bishop*, were not of the other *cœtus* under the other *Bishop*, 1. Because the *cœtus* were kept apart, and *impermixti*. And 2. because no *Bishop* was to meddle in another mans *Province*, and withal this was part of the foresaid agreement, *ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἑθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς μελοποιῶν*. And if it be pretended that is true in co-ordinate *Episcopacies*, but holds not betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Primate*, and *S. Peter* pretended as such, then the former arguments return again, that shewed from *Scripture* and *antiquity*, that *S. Paul* was independent from *St. Peter*, and that *S. Paul* had the *Primatum*, *primacy* among the *Gentiles*, as *S. Peter* among the *Jewes*. And if against all this it be again urged that *Peter* preachd to *Cornelius* a *Gentile*, I answer, that that was not at *Rome*, but long before this agreement between the *Apostles*: and though it may be he did convert some other such, yet this is not argumentative for *S. W.* being nothing to the matter of jurisdiction, and withall but a whimpering [may be] in his language, and till I can foresee some farther *Replie* from *S. W.* this is all I shall offer to him at this season.

4. So when I said the *Jewes* solemnly departed from *Paul*, *Act.* 28. 29. Whence I conceived it fit to apply his two years preaching there, to the *Gentiles* of that City, he is much offended at the word [solemnly] as not finding it in the *Text*, nor any expressions of absolutely relinquishing him; nor pertinacy nor contempt, but rather the contrary, much discourse or debate, a sign of hoveringness, &c. and finding a more solemn departure of his from them, *Acts* 13. 51. Shaking off the dust of his feet against them, after which yet he oft preached to the *Jewes*, demanding farther

what became of the Jewes which v. 28. were now converted by him?

5. But I answer, that as I cited not the word [*solemnly*] from that verse, as any part of the sacred Text, so I had authority enough to make use of the word, in that narration; For sure there were words, that signified a *solemn departure*, when before the dissolution of the meeting, Paul said this one word, *Well said the Holy Ghost to our Fathers by the Prophet Isaiah, saying, Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall heare, and shall not understand*—v. 26. *For the heart of this people is waxen gross, and their eares are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed, lest they should heare, and see, and understand, and be converted.* Vers. 27. *Be it known therefore unto you that the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and that they will heare it,* v. 28. Upon which words it is, that the mention of their departure follows, v. 29. This I thought was a competent ground, on which to found the solemnity of their departure, for this signified *persecution, contempt and obduration of heart*, and withall the Apostles resolution to deale with them as such, to betake himselfe to the Gentiles, so saith S. Chrysostome, Ἀσίμανοι ὅντες διεύοντο, ταῦτις μὴ πιστεύοντες ἀνεχώρουν, when they agreed not among themselves they departed, v. 25. that is, they not believing, forsook him, that is his notion of their dispute, and the conclusion thereof, and οὕτως ἐκείνους πάντα ἔειπται ἀπισήσοντας, those words of Scripture he applied to them upon their unbelief: and again, that you may not wonder that they remained unbelievers, he cites that prophecy. All clear to mine, and contrary to S. W. his sense. And on Pauls part, πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἔπειτα εἰς αὐτοὺς τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἔρχεται, he calls the chief Jewes, then having declared the matter to them, he goes to the Gentiles. What could be more expresse?

6. And what if he did not shake off the dust of his shoes against them? That was the ceremonie of his departing from them, and that when he meant to leave their city, c. 13. 51. but I there speake of the solemnity of their departing from him; and beside, he was brought prisoner to Rome, and could not depart at pleasure, and withall meant to stay there and preach to the Gentiles, and therefore this ceremonie was not now seasonable, and the others were sufficient to render it on both sides a *solemn departure*.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the *Iewes* that believed, v. 28. I answer, that if they continued in that *Faith*, which now they received, and were not scandalized and averted, if they did not fall off, upon the mention of his resolution to turn to the *Gentiles* (for many *Iewes* which received the *faith*, would no longer associate with *S. Paul*, when he did so) yet I say upon any evidence produced for this, I shall make no doubt to acknowledge, that they, though *Iewes*, became a part of *S. Pauls* cœtus, and so also can I as willingly yeeld to the force of any authentick testimonie, that there were some *Gentiles* in *S. Peters* cœtus, such I suppose was *Clemens* a Roman: and if we believe \* *Eucherius Lugdun: vetustâ prosapia senatorum atque etiam ex stirpe Caesarum*, and yet *S. Peters* Disciple, & Deacon, and Successor in the See. But this is no prejudice still to the distinct cœtus of *Iews* & *Gentiles*, in this, as in other cities, the one under one *Apostle* and Governor, the other under another, any more then the admission of some *Gentile* proselytes among the *Iews* can be an argument against the impaling of the Church of the *Iews*, or their not associating with the *Gentiles* before *Christs* time.

De contemptu mundi.

7. Next he makes a pompous mention of a testimonie from *Ignatius ad Tral:* (which I used only to prove that *Linus* was Deacon to *S. Paul*, and *Clemens* to *Peter*) and because it doth say nothing to the proof of *S. Peters* being onely over the *Jewes*, and *Paul* over the *Gentiles*, he hath great rejoycings over it: But I say again, that conclusion was proved by *Scripture*, which affirms him by agreement to go to the *Jewes*, as the other to the *Gentiles*, and this from *Ignatius* is only a branch of accordance with it, that *Linus*, who (saith *Ignatius*) was Deacon to one, and *Clemens* to the other, succeeded them in the Government of their several cœtus, that, as *Epiphanius* had said, *Peter* and *Paul* were both Bishops of *Rome*, so their two Deacons were Bishops after them. Whether this was any unseasonable advertisement, I desire others to pass their judgement, and shall not much consider, what *S. W.* thinks of it. Only he that likes not the phanſie, should have directed his reader to some other solid way to reconcile those repugnancies of story, some making *Linus*, others *Clemens* first Bishop of *Rome*, after the *Apostles*, and others making *Clemens* but the third, which must in truth have some way of reconciliation, and for which the course is pointed out in the *Traët* of *Schisme*, and need-



needed not have been so fastidiously rejected.

9. And this being the only *crime* committed against *S. W.* at this time, he is so relieved as not to offer any other means, but what himselfe justly calls *evasions*, to *salve the difficulty*. There was little *kindness* in this to his (even now) *deare Countrey-men*.

- 10 The remainder of the *Section* concerns *S. John*, of whom I had said, 1. That in *Christs* life he had the *favour of Christ*, and *dignity of place* before *S. Peter* himselfe. 2. That being by agreement assigned the *Jewes* for his *Province*, as well as *Peter* had been, he had the *converting and governing* of all the converted *Jewes* of the *Lydian Asia*, and the placing *Bishops* over them; and this proved from *Clemens Alex: Eusebius, Prosper*, and the author of the *martyrdome of Timothie*. 3. That *S. Paul* had planted the *Faith* in the *Gentile* part of this *Asia*, and placed *Timothy Bishop* there: Now to all this he hath sundry exceptions. 1. That I bring nothing to prove this ] But that is manifestly evinced by the testimonies there annexed, §. 14. Onely because they are not put in the same *Section*, in which the *observation* was proposed, he thinks that a very competent advantage, upon which to reply to §. 13. that I say 'tis manifest, and yet bring nothing to prove it. But this is the manner of this artificer, and therefore being now grown into some acquaintance with him, it must not be taken amiss from him.

- 11 2<sup>dly</sup> He dislikes my proof for the *dignity* of *S. Johns* place from the *style* of beloved *Disciple*, and leaning on his breast, as if, saith he, because *Jacob* loved *Joseph* more then all his other brethren, & therefore out of favour he might lean on his breast at supper, it must needs mean plainly, that young *Joseph* was the highest of his brethren in dignity, had due to him the birth-right & inheritance, &c. ] I answer 1. That having mentioned two things of *John*, 1. *Christs* favour to him, 2. The *dignity of place* he had above others, it was only the former of these, which I assumed from his title of the beloved *Disciple*, and that infallibly infer'd it. 2. That for the *dignity of place*, as the *ἀπολογία*, or *first room* imports that, so that was as irrefragably concluded from his lying in his bosome, or leaning on his breast at supper, in the *discubitus*, for supposing *Christ* first, he that was in his bosome, must needs have, next *Christ*, the uppermost place, and accordingly it unavoidably follows,

follows, that *Lazarus* being represented *parabolically* in *Abrahams bosome*, is there described to be in the *next place* to the *father* of the *faithfull*, and it being certain, that upon *supposition* of *degrees of glory* in heaven, *some one or more Saints* are *next* to *Abraham*, I presume we may believe *Christ*, that such an one as is in that *parable* decyphered by *Lazarus*, is capable of that *place*, and all *S. W.* his *scruples*, which he adds further on this score, have not the least *validity* in them. But as for the *birth-right* and *inheritance*, &c. which I suppose must import some reall *privilege*, such as *Reubens birth-right* was, *Gen. 49. 3.* the excellency of *dignity*, and the excellency of *power*, that is an *addition* of *S. W.* his own *fertile fancy*, and was never dreamt of, or pretended by me (or I think any man living) to belong to that *beloved Disciple*. I affirmed, in passing, that *John* had *Christs favour*, and the *dignity of place* before all others, and so visibly he had, and that was all I thought of, till by *S. W.* his *jealousies* this was converted into *birth-right* and *inheritance*.

- 12 3<sup>dly</sup> He will perswade himselfe, that the words of *Chrysostome* (which I had produced) ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῷ ἐμπιστευμένον, a whole intire nation that of *Asia* was intrusted to him, destroys all that I had said of *S. Johns* *Jewish province* in the *Lydian Asia*, and then great rejoycing there is for this ἄφρα, and no lesse then *unpardonable blindness* is become my portion. But what pity it was, that the *blindness* should be on *S. W.* his side, after all this? For to omit that he that is there spoken of, is *S. Timothy* (with a seeing persō might have discerned from *S. Paul*, when in the line before he had read, by him *S. Timothie* constituted *Bishop* there) the answer is obvious, that ὁλόκληρον ἔθνος, a whole intire nation in that place of *S. Chrysostome*, is not set to denote all the several sorts of *cæties* in *Asia*, but onely in opposition to the word ἐκκλησία precedent, some one particular *Church* of one city and territory, viz. that of *Ephesus*. There *Paul* saith he had left him *Bishop*, 1 *Tim. 1. 3.* and so the author of the *martyrdome* of *Timothie*, ὁ Ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου ἐχειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, he was by *S. Paul* ordained *Bishop* of the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*: And this being the chiefe *Metropolis* of all *Asia*, *S. Chrysostome* styles him *Bishop* of the whole nation. In *Asia* we know there were many *Churches* of which *Ephesus*

phesus was the *prime*, and therefore having said, *ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λοιπὴν ἦν ἐμπιστευμένος ὁ Τιμόθεος*, 'Tis manifest *Timothie* was intrusted with a Church, he adds (by way of ἐπανόρθωσης) *ἡ καὶ ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον*, or rather a whole nation, τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, that of Asia, which depended (all of it) on this chiefe *Metropolitall See*. By this interpretation 'tis evident, that what the other Church writers say of *John* (and hath in it as cleare truth) is soon reconciled with this, viz. that he being returned to Asia, τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, administred the Churches there, viz. those of the Jewish converts, the portion to which by agreement with *Saul*, he was to betake himself, and τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται μητροπόλεως, undertook the care of the Metropolis of the Ephesians, which in this other respect had before this, been intrusted to *Timothie*, from whom therefore, as from their first Bishop, the succeeding reckon themselves, as appears in the Council of Chalcedon, *Act. 2. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρινῶν καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο, from S. Timothie till now there have been 27. Bishops ordained in Ephesus.*

- 13 This being thus clear, was yet to be writhed by *S. W.* to another sense, that he might by that meanes have some opportunity to divert and wave the force of the instance, which consisted in this, that those Churches of Asia being wholly planted, and administred by other Apostles, *S. Peter* could not with any colour be pretended to be *supreme Pastor* of them. And this is equally true, whether it were *S. Paul* or Saint *John*, that had the managing of them. So little care hath *S. W.* to consider that, wherein the difficulty consists.

- 14 What follows *Sett. 12.* as if the mention of the early fame of the seven Churches of Asia, and of Christs letter to them, *Rev. 2.* were designed by me to contain a double proof of *Peters* not having the *Pastorship* over them, 1. Because *Christ* wrote an Epistle to those Churches, 2. Because they were early famous] is a signe that *S. W.* hath an excellent faculty in answering reasons of his own imagining, for 'tis certain I never used them as reasons, or proofs of any, much less of that conclusion. All that I designed was to mention these, as considerable parts of the Universal Church, desiring any *Romanist* to tell me, what can be said in any degree probably for *S. Peters* pastorship over them, for whom there is not the least

pretence, that he should be said *πρωτεύειν*, to feed, or govern, or so much as to have medled with the administration of these Churches of Asia.

- 15 That the Gentile part was by *S. Pauls* owne single power intrusted to *Timothie*, is there manifested, and here is confest by *S. W.* And for the administering it, that *S. Paul* personally gave him full instructions, leaving no other appeal or place of application for other directions, save only to himself, when he shall come unto him, I thought it was concludible from his words, *1 Tim. 3. 14, 15.* the words are these : *These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly ; but if I make any stay, that thou mayst know how thou oughtest to behave thy self in the Church of God.* Upon this citation, very tragicall tempests are raised, and to this hour I cannot discern what it was that conjured them up. That I infer'd this whole conclusion from the word [ *come* ] is one of his arts, to divert and amuse the Reader, I thought my grounds had been visible enough, being thus laid. The [ *ταῦτα, these things* ] which *S. Paul* now wrote to him, were a whole Epistle of instructions, that it was no longer, was because he hoped to come to him shortly, when he might give him farther instructions, if there were need. In the mean, these told him, how he should behave himselfe in the Church, discharge his Episcopal office, and the end of writing it was, that he might know this : Thus much is explicitly conteined in those verses. I now demand ( and that is all that I then did, as will be seen in the place §. 16. ) whether *S. Paul* left any other appeal, or place for farther directions, save only to himselfe, when he should come to him ? Or whether any other Apostle could, by any power given him by *Christ*, countermand, or interpose in them ? If any could, let him be named, and the power specified, and proved, by vertue whereof he should thus act : But *S. W.* after all his acts of diversion, dares not, I am sure doth not, affirm this. And if it cannot be said ( as no doubt it cannot ) then where was *St. Peters* supreme pastorship over *St. Paul* or *S. John*, or ( under the former ) over *S. Timothie* in the Churches of Asia ?

- 16 As for the mis-understanding of the question, which next he is willing to charge on me, certainly I shall not be found guilty of it, but he visibly of mis-understanding my proceſſe. I speak not of any Apostolical commission over the whole world ( of which he pretends

p. 82.

tends me to speak, and will yeeld it to every Apostle) but of the peculiar power that *Timothie* had by *S. Pauls* commission in *Asia*, and *Titus* in *Crete*, under no other superior jurisdiction, but of *Christ* and *S. Paul*; and if that be granted, as *S. W.* disputes it not, I am sure it will prejudice *S. Peters* primacy over (and therefore for once *S. W.* was concerned to be civil, and to set it only amongst) the rest of the Apostles.

17. The two remaining suggestions of this 12<sup>th</sup> Sect. 1. concerning *S. Peters* preaching to Jewes in *England*; 2. concerning *Ecclesia Gentium* in *S. Prosper*, were gleaned from the *Catholique Gentleman*, and satisfied in the *Reply*, c. 4. §. 7. n. 9, 10. And so much for that Section.

## SECT. 7.

Evidences against an Affirmation, by solving of testimonies. The reason of omitting to insist on *Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17. Mr. Harts* confession. The Romanists enclosing the keyes to *S. Peter*. *S. W.* his confession. The contrary charges laid on me, *S. W.* his inference from *John 21. 15.* groundless. The infallible interpretation of the *CHURCH*. The particularizing *Saint Peter*. A Steward in every Church. The badge of no vertue without the power. The keyes were no visible badge to *Peter*. The power as distinctly promised the rest as *Peter*. Sitting on 12. Thrones. The fire sitting on each, *Acts 2.* *S. Peter* having the holy Ghost in a peculiar manner, in an higher degree. The power of Bishops an argument that the keyes not peculiar to *S. Peter*. A specimen of *S. W.* his reasoning. Foundation stones. Θεμέλιος λίθος. The measuring of the wall, *Apoc. 21.* The Jasper stone.

18. **T**His 13<sup>i</sup> §. reflects on my view of the donation of the keys, & that being touched on by the *Cath. Gent.* received its due answer in the *Reply*, c. 4. §. 8, 9, 10. 11. yet some few passages may expect here to be taken notice of, which were not there rendered, and so came not under consideration. As when first he spends a page on the importance of the word *evidence*, I answer, I take it

in the familiar *vulgar* notion, for a *testimonie* to prove any *question of fact*, either in the *affirmation*, or the *negative*, and such was this, whether *S. Peter* were by *Christ* constituted *Universal pastor*: And the one possible way to *testifie* this (as any other) *negative*, is to take a view of the *places*, wherein he is by the *affirmers* pretended to be thus *constituted*, and to shew that those places have no such *force* in them. That they *have* such *force*, is incumbent on the *Defendant* to shew, at least to point at the particular *word*, or *passage*, which hath the supposed *energie* in it: And till that be done, he that undertakes the *Negative*, can only pitch upon those *places* and *specialties*, which he sees the learnedst *affirmers* most insist on, supposing it reasonable to conclude, that those are their most *important evidences*.

2. By this it appears how far I was from *prevaricating against my promise of evidences*, when I went about to prove my *negative*, by solving the *Romanists testimonies* for the *affirmative*, which I acknowledg with him to have been my method, and I suppose no man can by any laws of discourse *oblige*, or *direct* me to any other. 'Tis true (what he suggests) that he that undertakes to evidence, sustains the part of the *Opponent*. But that he may do, while he opposeth the *affirmations* (as well as *negations*) of other men, and that he must do by *invalidating* their *testimonies*, on which they found or defend their *affirmations*; and if hee can do so, why may not these be styled *evidences* on his side, *i. e.* *testimonies*, to evince the *reasonableness* of his *negation*? as when by any examination of a *witness* produced against me, I demonstrate the *invalidity* of his *testimonies*.

3. Secondly when upon my *omitting to insist on the words of Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17.* I am charged with a palpable *injuriousness*, that in answering their *testimonies* out of *Scripture*, I omit the chiefest, the strongest, and most important place of all ] This is just as Dr. Stapleton deals with Mr. Calvin, *Princip: Doctrin: l. 6. c. 8.* when among the *Romanists* arguments from *Scripture*, he had made no mention of *Lw. 22. 31.* the D<sup>r</sup> saith it was because he well knew, *nullo cavillationis fuco tam manifesta verba eludi potuisse*, that this was the unavoidable convincing Text, just on the same score, on which this must now go for the most important place, because it was not mention'd.

But



4. But for this my *reason* was by me with perfect truth rendred, p. 93. from my full *perswasion*, that it had so very little *appearance of strength* in it, and had been so often *answer'd*, that it would not be deemed *usefull* to any that I should *descend* to it. That herein I have done the *Romanist* no injury, I have already given some account in the *Reply*, s. 8. n. 10, &c. and cannot farther seasonably *attempt* it, till I am told, what yet I am perfectly ignorant of, wherein the pretended *strength* lies of this *most important place*, and whether there be any farther reserve of *force* in it, which *Mr. Hart* in the conference with *D<sup>r</sup> Reynolds*, fortified with all *Dr. Stapletons* armorie, did not take notice of. If there be not any such, yet *invisible reserve*, I must then remember the issue that it was brought to in that conference, as we have it under both the *Disputers hands*, *Mr. Harts last Reply* on this *Text* being in these words, p. 102. *This which you have said might seem to be somewhat toward the loosening of them (the knots of Dr. Stapletons finding out) if the Scripture gave not clear evidence for the proof of his supremacy as wel elsewhere as here, namely Lu. 22. 31. Out of which hold also being soon beaten, by evidence, that no more was there said to Peter, than Christ performs to every child of God, he concludes, p. 109. I cannot deny but that in some respect it may be truly said to all the children of God, if they fall as Peter did. Yet (I know not how) me thinks I cannot be perswaded but that it maketh somewhat for Peters supremacy.*

5. *Thirdly*, when he accuseth me of manifest calumniating, in saying that the *Romanist* pretends the donation of the *keyes* as a peculiarity and inclosure of *S. Peter* ] To this I have answered already, *Reply, Cap. 4. S. 9.* And yet a little farther I shall now desire the *Readers judgement* of it, whether I have calumniated the *Romanist*, supposing *S. W.* to be that *Romanist*, whose pretensions in that manner are \* set down gradatim, thus, 1. That something was said to *Peter* in particular, and by name, which was not said to any other *Apostle* particularly, and by name; That is his first step. 2. That since this saying was a promise, a promise of something was made to *S. Peter* in particular; That is his second step. 3. And by way of conclusion from hence, with a [wherefore] that seeing this thing promised was the giving of the *keyes* of heaven, it follows that the promise of giving the *keyes* of heaven was made

\* P. 90, 91.

made to *S. Peter in particular*. In this process it is clear, 1. That the promise of the keys is by *S. W.* affirmed to be made in particular and by name to *S. Peter*, and 2. that saying or making a promise in particular and by name, is in his sense so to make it to one particular, viz. to *Peter*, as not to any other *Apostle*, and what is that but to affirm it a peculiarity, and inclosure of *S. Peters*? If here he fly back to his refuge of [ *particularly and by name* ] and say that he affirms no more, but that this promise was not made to the other *Apostles in particular and by name*, then 1. he gain'd nothing at all to *S. Peter* by that process; for as long as that which was given to *S. Peter by name*, were without naming every of them particularly, given to them all, so that each of them had it, then this will never be able to found *S. Peters* supremacy over them.

6. But then <sup>2<sup>d</sup></sup> before he can thus escape, he will find himselfe intangled again; for in the words presently following, he thinks it most consonant to reason, and worthy our Saviour to perform his promise according to the tenor and manner in which he promised, and that by a performance in particular (which therefore he calls his best and surest testimonie, *Joh. 21.*) and I who produce a performance to them all in generall, am rebuked for omitting that performance in particular, and in stead of it, producing onely a performance to them all in generall. Here I demand, am I rebuked for omitting something, or not? if for omitting something, then that performance in particular to *Peter* was something, which was not comprehended in that performance to them all in generall (for if it were there comprehended, then I that am acknowledged to have produced that, cannot be said to have omitted this) and if it were so, then it was peculiar to him, and so his inclosure: and if the performance were so, then the promise was so too, by the foregoing confession of *S. W.* which will have the performance made according to the tenor of the promise. And so here is as much affirmed by *S. W.* (and by and by we shall have it more expressly repeated again) as that amounts to, which I suppose to be asserted by the *Romanist*, and that I hope will secure me from being like *S. W.* in calumniating him, with whom I came to dispute.

7. To conclude, was there, or was there not any thing here promised:

misd *Peter*, which was not *promised* the rest? If there was, then 1. that was *S' Peters inclosure*, and 2. that is contained in the *promise* of the *keyes*, for that and the *consequents* thereof, *power of binding and loosing*, is all that is there *promised* him. And then 'tis vaine to say you are *calumniated*, because you allow the *power of binding* to all the *Apostles*, for if you do, as indeed you do, and must, you must either shew somewhat else to be *promised* in those words, which *mention* nothing else, or else you must be forced to *confesse* that either there was *nothing promised* the rest of the *Apostles*, or that you will still *affirme* something to have been *promised* him, which was not *promised* him.

8. In this place it is not amisse to note, that at the beginning of this his 13<sup>th</sup> *Seet*. I am said to *affirme* that no *power of the keyes* was *given* especially to *St. Peter*, and yet the *Cath: Gent.* (*S. W.* his very good friend, who might have saved him the labour of this, as he calls it, his larger *confute*) saith, that I *confesse* the *keyes* were especially *promised* to *Peter*. The truth is, I never said one or other, and if I had said *our*, I must needs not have said the *other*, and yet by these two *Romanists*, or (as seems to me most probable) two appearances of the same *Romanist*, I am said to say both. What trust shall be given to such *disputers*? I say the *power* was given in common and equally to all the *Apostles*, and once mention the *making* the *promise* to him peculiarly, but that onely as a *color*, that the *Romanist* makes some use of, and reply to it, that in the *repetition* it is given to all, without any *peculiarity of restriction*, and that the *applying*, or *addressing* the words particularly to *Peter*, had a *speciall energie* in them, noting that the *economie* in *Christs* household belongs to single persons, the *Bishop* in each city, and not onely to the *Colledge* or *Consistory*. But still nothing of all this is to the *giving* the *keyes* either *specially* or not *specially* to *S. Petrr*.

9. What follows from *Joh. 21. 15, 16.* where, saith he, 'tis expressly recommended and incharged on *S. Peter* particularly and by name, once, twice, and thrice, with as many repetitions of his name particularizing him over and over, *Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep*, and asking him, *Amas me plus his?* ] is a strange way of *arguing*, and yet gives us a view of the utmost that *S. W.* can attempt in this cause of *S. Peters universal Pastorship*:

For

For when indeed that is the great *foundation*, on which the whole *dispute* of our *schisme* depends, and when as *S. W.* assures us, the place of *Joh. 21. 15, 16.* is their *chiefest, & strongest, and most important place* of all, and as it is evident by his *arguing*, the other place of [ *I will give thee the keyes*, *Mat. 16. 19.* ] must receive all its force from the comparing it with this and the consonancy betwixt the *promise*, and this ( as hee will phantasie it ) *performance*. Yet after all this, all that he can pretend to from hence, is but a recommending and incharging of him, *Feed my sheep*-- together with a question, whether he love him more than the rest of the *Apostles*? which what is it but an exhortation to perform that duty, to which he was before *commissionated*, *Joh. 20. 21.* and with him all the rest of the *Apostles* equally. For as to the other circumstances of *expressness*, particularizing him by name, frequent repeating of it, asking him whether he love him more than these ] one or all of them, they can never work a change in the matter. Christ praying the same prayer thrice, did not make it cease to be a prayer, and commence a precept; No more will an inculcated, express, particularized ( be it never so vehement an ) exhortation, introduced with a question, to quicken, and impress it, be converted by these accumulations into a commission for supremacy, especially when the causes, which visibly suggested to our Saviour this manner of questioning, and pressing his exhortation, were more justly matter of humiliation, than of exaltation to *S. Peter* (and so were received, and interpreted by him, *Peter* was grieved because Christ said to him the third time, *Lovest thou me?* ver. 17. and no doubt deemed it a reproach of his thrice denying his Master ) a remembring him of the foulness of his fall, but not the instating any principality or dignity upon him. But of this I have also spoken distinctly, *Reply, c. 4. §. 8.*

- 10 Besides this force of the words, *S. W.* is willing to call in the interpretation of the *Catholicke Church* according to her never erring rule of faith, and that gives him and his friends an infallible certainty that these and ( he only saith it ) some other testimonies from *Scripture* expresse a primacy in *S. Peter* ] But here he neither produces any one interpretation of either *Fathers*, or *Councils*, or any single writer, thereby to signifie what he means by the *Catholicke Church*, or what is the way of interpretation, that

must induce this. It is therefore left to his Reader to conjecture his meaning, viz. that the present Roman Church is the Catholike, that the interpretations of this are the never erring rule of Faith, that this hath interpreted this, and some other Texts to signifie a Primacy not onely of order but of power, an universality of jurisdiction, to belong to Saint Peter, over all the Apostles, and that this gives him, and all that are of his persuasion in all things (particularly in the beliefe of the Infallibility of the Roman Church) an infallible certainty of the truth of it. And this sure would equally have done it, if our Saviour had never asked St. Peter three times, *Lovest thou me more then these*— And so all that I can conclude from hence is but this, that S. Peters universall pastorship is as perfect a truth, as the Infallibility of the Roman Church, but withall that it is to as little purpose to dispute of that, or any subject, till the other be either resolved, or set aside, as it is to inquire, whether he say true that cannot lye. And therefore I shall thus take my leave of my inchaned adversarie.

11 What follows p.93. by way of new attempt, & deduction from my words, when I mention the applying the words particularly to S. Peter ] is a very subtle reasoning. By the applying the promise of the keyes particularly to Peter, he will have it follow, 1. That our Saviour told Peter in the singular, and in a singular manner that he should be Steward of his house; and then seeing all particularizing is a kind of exception from an universality, and that universality is the other Apostles, it must follow (saith he) that St. Peter was particularized out of that community for the office of Steward in Christs house. And if he were so, say I, then here the particularity and inclosure of the keyes to St. Peter, is affirmed by S. W. (which was a while ago such a slander of my pen against their Church) for sure so 'twas, if Peter by this Donation was particularized out of the Community, for the office of the Steward (of which he after tells us there was none but he) in Christs house.

12 But letting that passe, I shall attend to his reasoning, and though very fine, without much ado, this Fabricke will soon be demolished. The speech (I yeeld) is addrest to Peter in the singular, but that is a token onely, that Peter, as a single person, should

should have power, but not either that no others should have it too (or that when they had it, not *single persons*, but only *Communities* should be invested with it) or that the manner, in which *Peter* should have it, should be *singular* to him, and so, as it was not to each of them. The *particularity* gives him *particularly* the power, but *excludes* not others from the same power, and the same degree of power, to whom it was at any other time *promised*, or *given*, and so it was to all and every of the *Apostles*, *Mat. 18. John 20.* And though the office of *Steward* be a *particular office*, yet in every *particular house* there may be one such *Steward*, and every whether *Nationall*, or *Provinciall*, or *Diocesan Church*, is such an *house*, and not onely the one *Catholike Church* that comprehends them. If it were otherwise, that power which *Christ* had in one person by *Commission* from his *Father*, he could never have delegated to the *plurall Disciples*, as 'tis visible he did, *John 20.* or else that must not be the *Stewards office*, as it is visible also that it is, by comparing *Mat. 18.* with *Mat. 16.* where the *binding* and *loosing* is an effect of the *keyes*, and thoe the *Stewards* ensign of office: And by *1 Cor. 4. 1, 2.* where the *Apostolicall office* is so described, which consequently inflates every one in this *Stewards office*, as well as the *Text, Mat. 16.* doth *S. Peter*.

13 What is next said of the *keyes*, the *badge of the function*, that they are not read of to be given to any but *S. Peter* ] is of the same complexion with the former *Combatants*. 'Tis sure the *badge* and the *power* go together, and if they did not, 'tis the *power* and the *Commission* for that, which alone is considerable in this matter, and that is apparently and expressly given to all the *Apostles*, *Mat. 18.* and *John 20.* and for any more it matters little.

14 The *Commission* being cleared, either supposes the *implicite donation* of the *badge*, or else stands in no need of it. But then 2. it is yet farther evident that there were no *material keyes* given to *S. Peter* himsele, and those onely can be called a



badge (*spiritual, invisible keys* are not capable of being such) and *Christs commission* and the *power* accompanying it, are the *spiritual keys*, which he that hath, may open and shut the *kingdome of heaven*, and those every *Apostle* had as well as *S. Peter*.

15 His third argument from the *Apostles*, being part of *Christs house*, whence he infers *S. Peter Steward* over them, is answered most briefly by *retortion*, that if there be any force in it, then it will equally hold thus. *St. Peter* was a part of *Christs house*, and therefore *Paul* that was a *Steward* in *Christs house*, and is expressly so called, *1 Cor. 4. 1, 2.* was *Steward* over *St. Peter*.

16 What follows in this matter introduced by *Fourthly* and *lastly*, is only his expression of *dislike* to an argument of mine concerning *Presbyterie*, and so is not *pertinent* to the question before us, and besides it hath not, I suppose, any shew of the least difficulty in it.

17 As for the next passage on the same foundation, *pag. 96.* wherein I am said to affirm most shamelessly, and most expressly against *Scripture* alledged by my selfe, that this power was as distinctly promised, *Mat. 18. 18.* to each single *Apostle* as to *S. Peter*. ] I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether it be *calumnious* or no, by this *syllogisme*, That which was promised to all the *Apostles*, as to twelve single persons, each singly to have and exercise it, and not all together in *commune*, was as distinctly promised to each single *Apostle*, as it was promised to *S. Peter* ( I speak not now of its being promised particularly by name, nor were any such words found in this part of my former treatise, that is willingly allowed to *S. Peter*, and the full importance of it before considered ) but the power of binding and loosing was *Mat. 18.* promised to all the *Apostles*, as to twelve single persons, each singly to have, and exercise it, and not altogether in common, *Ergo*. The major is cleared by this, because the distinctness and particularity of the promise.

mise to *S. Peter* divolved no more on him, but this, that he should singly have and exercise that power, and not onely in common, or in consistory with other *Apostles*. If it be said that it divolved any more, I desire it may be said what it was, and how it appears to be by these words *divolved* on him, and whatsoever it be feigned to be, if it be lesse than a *supremacy* over all the *Apostles*, it will be nothing to the purpose; and that 'tis sure it was not, because the *supremacy* is not competent to two, whether persons, or communities, and yet this power promised *S. Peter*, is acknowledged by *S. W.* to be also made to all the *Apostles* in common and in generall, *Mat. 18. 18.* though not distinctly to each of them. The minor is in part confest by *S. W.* so farre as that this power was promised to all the *Apostles*, and for the other parts, 'tis evidently proved in that treatise out of *St. Cyprian*, *Theophylact*, and others, and is the interest of *S. W.* as well as of us, to maintain against the *Presbyterians*, who alone can gain by the questioning of it.

18 That about the meaning of the *twelve thrones* was considered in the *Reply*, *Cap. 4. Sect. 10.* and there the sense which *S. W.* never heard of, vouched from *Saint Augustine*, to whom I may also adde *Hilarius Pictaviensis*, and the *Author imperfecti Operis*. As for the words, that either judging should signifie ruling, or presiding, as *Governors* preside, or that *Sejvos* should signifie the *Episcopall chaire*, 'twill be no newes to any man, that hath observed the use of words, either the most critically, or the most slightly, whatsoever *S. W.* would make shew of believing to the contrary.

19 In the next place the *dumb negative* (as he calls it) is by him mutilated, or else it would speak articulately enough, to all that I cal'd it out to testifie. It is in the descent of the Spirit, *Acts 2.* the fire's being divided, and sitting on every one of them. This fire represented the holy Ghost, that holy Ghost sealed that Commission to those on whom it fell, which Christ had promised to *S. Peter*, *Mat. 16.* and to all the *Apostles*

postles, *Mat. 18.* Now this fire was divided, and ἐκδόσις ἐπ' ἑκάστην αὐτῶν, on each, and every one of them, *Acts 2.* 3. And this I suppose an argument of some validity, that the promise being thus sealed distinctly to every one of them, was meant (in the making of it) distinctly to every one of them. And when I adde that there was no peculiar marke allowed *St. Peter*, though that be a negative argument, and therefore I meant not from that alone to conclude any thing, yet I hope by being annex to the affirmative probation precedent, it will not be a gagge to make that dumbe and negative also.

- 20 But in this paragraph here is offered a very doubty prooffe to evidence on *St. Peters* behalfe (what I know not, for that is not exprest, but left doubtfully betwixt his being head of the Apostles, and his having some peculiar marke allowed him in the descent of the holy Ghost, yet one I suppose designed to inferre and conclude the other.) 1. Saith he, the Doctor was not there to see, and there is no historie that expresses the contrary. It seemes a Negative in *S. W.* his mouth is perfectly vocall, though it be but dumb in another mans. 2. Saith he, If we may judge by exterior actions, and may believe that out of the abundance of the heart the tongue speakes, then perhaps the Doctor may receive some satisfaction in this point also that *St. Peter* had in a more peculiar manner the holy Ghost, for it was hee that first burst out into that heavenly Sermon which converted three thousand. Here was one honest word the [perhaps] But even this will faile, forgranting the two postulata, that wee may judge, (probably at least) by exterior actions, and that our Saviour said perfect truth, when he said, Out of the abundance of the heart— Yet the Doctor may not be satisfied from thence, or from *St. Peters* first bursting out, making the first, though so powerfull Sermon, that he had received the holy Ghost in a more peculiar manner, or was designed head of the Apostles. I shall answer it no farther than by repeating it, hoping that my silence will not again have such efficacy

efficacy in it ( if it have, *dumbe Negatives* may hereafter deserve some consideration ) as to render this also a *strongest* and *most important* place for the *Romanists pretensions*.

21. What is next represented ( according to *S. W.* his meaning ) as my *fourth argument*, viz. *That they were all filled with the holy Ghost*, is sure no *distinct* argument of mine, but only a part of that *Text* before cited, where the *fire sate on every of them*, and this is a consequent of that, *they were all filled with the holy Ghost*. And that this thus set, was an *argument* of some *validity*, hath already appeared. As for the *possibility*, that they which were *all full* of the *holy Ghost*, might yet have it *unequally*, I am not concerned to doubt, if by [*unequally*] be meant the *inequality* of *divine indowments*. But though of these there is no certaine ground of affirming, which of all the *Apostles* had the *highest degree*, *Saint John* excelling in *some* graces, *Saint Peter* in others, and *Saint Paul* that came after, having as rich a proportion as either, for ought wee can discern, and *labouring more abundantly than they all*, yet not he, but *this grace of Gods spirit in him*: Yet our question being onely of *power* or *Commission* to *authority*, and *dignity* in the *Church*, and every one having that *sealed to him* by the *Holy Ghosts descent* upon every one, there is no remaining *difficulty* in this matter.

22. The *testimonies* which I \* brought out of the antients to prove that there was *no more promised to S. Peter*, *Mat. 16.* than was *promised*, *Mat. 18.* and *actually given*, *John 20.* to all and every of the *Apostles*, are lookt on by by *S. VV.* as *pretendings*, that the *Romanists build not the Church upon Bishops in the plurall*, nor allow any *authority* to them, but to the *Pope onely*, and this made a piece either of *pitifull ignorance*, or *malicious calummie*. But tis apparent they did not inject the least *suspicion* of that. What they were designed to *inferre*, was cleare by the matter of the *testimonies*, that though the words, *Mat. 16.* were spoken particularly to *Peter*, yet the *intire power* there spoken of

\* Tr. of Schism.  
p. 89.

p. 98.

was

was promised and given to all the Apostles, that from that donation it is, that all Episcopall power, which is in the Church, flowes, that in S. Peters receiving the Keyes, all Bishops received them, which is an evidence that either he received more than was comprehended in the keyes (which he cannot do by those words) or else he received no more than all other Bishops receive from the rest of the Apostles. And then how can his supremacy be founded in these words?

- 23 In this paragraph hee hath given us a very rare specimen of his reasoning, for not contenting himselfe to have sayd, that the testimonies of Bishops in the plurall, touch not the Romanists, there being no word in them excluding the Pope, Hee addes, *Nay rather they make for them*: How fair they bid to excluding the Pope, supposing that title to signifie not a Bishop onely, but a supreme universal Pastor, hath been shewed already. Let us now observe how hee proves this [*Nay rather they make for us*] for that will bee a matter of some moment, if performed successfully. His way of inferring this his advantage is, *For the Churches being founded in Apostles, and Bishops, prejudices not S. Peter to be the chiefest; and if so, then the Church is built most chiefly and especially upon Saint Peter, which is all we Catholikes say.* Where not to dispute what is meant by S. Peter being the chiefest, whether no more than appears to be meant by the *πρῶτος Σίμων*, which hee knows we willingly grant him, without imagining any supremacy of Authority over the rest of the Apostles, instated in him; All that I desire to observe, is the manner of his arguing, thus, If it prejudices not S. Peter to bee the chiefest, then the Church is built most chiefly upon him: from those testimonies not prejudicing, presently assuming that it is true, as if saying nothing to hurt it (by not saying any thing to it) were a clear evidence on its side, and then the first verse of S<sup>t</sup> Matthew inferres it also, for I acknowledged that prejudices it not, and

and then *S. W.* may set up for *immortall disputer*, having as many *reserves* of such *arguments* still behind, as there are *periods* in the *Scriptures*, or *Fathers* which speak of *other* matters, for of each of them 'tis acknowledged, that they *prejudice* not *St. Peters* being the *chiefest*. Sure *S. W.* when he was so *displeased* with the *dumb negative*, foresaw not hee should need to call in such *Auxiliaries* as these.

- 24 My answer to the Text of *Tu es Petrus*, is after his constant manner *deformed* by him, yet cannot misle to have this discernible *efficacy* in it, that there being no more meant by it, then that *Peter* was a *foundation stone*, and all the *Apostles* being such as well as hee, this cannot *constitute* him in any *superiority* over them, *CHRIST* onely being the ἀνεγώνιατος, *chiefe corner stone*, and no other place in the *Foundation* giving any ὑπεροχῇ of power to one *Foundation-stone* above another. This might bee soone manifested, if it were needfull, by the known *position* of *Foundation-stones*, one by, not on the top of another: And if *St. Peter* were supposed to bee the *first*, (as page 103. hee saith the *Doctor will not deny*) and so next the *chiefe corner stone*, and by that *Superior* to all the rest, then it must likewise follow, that that stone which was placed *next* to the stone that represented *Saint Peter*, or in the next place of honour, next *CHRIST* on the other hand, must be also *Superiour* to all the rest, and the same rules of *subordination* hold on, through all the rest, which I suppose will not bee *S. W.* his *interest* to affirm, and then I can foresee nothing that will incline him to that way.

- 25 Somewhat hath been added on this head in the *Reply*, Sect. 11. It remains onely that I gather up some special objections of his against what I have said in the *Tract* of *Schisme* of this matter, which were not tendred by the *Cath. Gent.*



26 And first, saith hee, the argument is onely negative, that no distinction is put (betwixt the Foundation-stones in Scripture) therefore there was none. I answer, the argument is this, Simon is by Christ called Πέτρος, a foundation-stone in the building of the Church, and the same title is, in another word, given every of the Apostles, when they are called δώδεκα θεμέλιος twelve foundations, from whence my conclusion (and not my prooffe) is negative: Therefore the words Tu es Petrus, neither give, nor affirme more of him, than is given and affirmed of every of the other Apostles.

27 Next, saith he, it is a most pitiful piece of reason to perswade the Reader from onely a plurality, and naming twelve Apostles, that all were equall. But this was not my reasoning, but that the rest of the Apostles were foundation stones as well as Simon, and therefore that that title of Tu es Petrus was no proof of inequality.

28 Thirdly, The Doctor, saith he, hath quite overthrowne his owne cause, since granting a foundation-stone and Πέτρος being the same, and onely St. Peter having the name of Πέτρος, it followes on the Doctors grounds that hee onely, and hee more particularly should be a foundation-stone. This would be a strange syllogisme, if it were put into forme; but I shall not trouble my selfe with that, onely when it is as certaine that Πέτρος and θεμέλιος is the same, sure they that are every one of them θεμέλιοι, shall be, as far as this argument can conclude, as much and as particularly foundation-stones, as he that was called Πέτρος; so far from being infer'd is his [onely St. Peter] or St. Peter more particularly.] 'Tis as if I should say, man and Enosh being the same, and onely the sonne of Seth having the name of Enosh, it followes on these grounds, that hee onely, and in good reason that he more particularly should be a man. I suppose to this propofall of objection against S. W. his being a man, he would find out some answer or other to defend himselfe,

himselfe, perhaps this, that *Isch* and *Enosh* are the same, and *S. W.* is an *Isch*, and therefore as well and as particularly a man, as the *sonne* of *Serh* can be deemed to be; and then hee hath no further need to be shewed the way to make answer to this argument.

29 But then fourthly, he must have it noted, that the Doctor will have all the Apostles called *Peter*.] And now I have helpt him to another quarrell with the Doctor as just as that, viz. that the Doctor will have every man call'd *Enosh*: But I answer, I shall not importune him that all the Apostles may be called *Peter* ( and therefore the eleventh dish in the bill of fare, was but a brick-bat put in paste, and meant onely to fill up room at the table) *ἑρμείος* & *Πέτρος* are all one, and that will serve my turne as well, and therefore I content my selfe with the Scripture style, that the Apostles were twelve *ἑρμείοι*, and not twelve *Peters*.

30 The confirmation of the observations concerning *Tues Petrus*, from the measuring of the wall in the *Apocalypse*, is made matter of much game to *S. W.* But a little seriousnessse (in such matters very decent) would have taught him, that the analogie of some obscure things in vision with some most plaine, may render some parts of visions intelligible, and then what more obvious than this, that the wall being built upon the foundation, and so commensurate with it, and the foundation being distinctly made up of twelve stones, and the names of the twelve Apostles expressly interpreting each of them to be the so many Apostles, and the wall also being divided into twelve equall parts, the severall portions whether of Province, of which the Church is made up, or else of power. with which the Apostles were invested, should be thought to be meant by them, and so this representative mensuration be exactly significative of that, which other plain Scriptures had given grounds of believing, and *Tues Petrus* had offered nothing to the contrary, viz. the equality of the power given by Christ to all the Apostles. As for *S. W.* his  
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*subtle fetch from the quality and lustre of the first of the twelve stones in that vision, the Jasper, I can allow him to make his advantage of it, to that which it is most proper to signify the lustre of zeal and other gifts, and if he can find any meanes to assure himselfe, 1. That St. Peter was signified by that Jasper stone, 2. That the lustre of that exceeded the lustre of every of the other stones, I shall very willingly grant him his conclusion, knowing that as the greatest Potentates are not alwayes the most zealous persons in their Kingdomes, so Dominion is not founded in such graces, but only in the Constitutions and Commissions of Christ, which mediately or immediately bestowes all supremacies on all that are duely possessed of them.*

- 31 And so much for this large 13<sup>th</sup> Section (which I have attended on *precisely*, and *αἰνῶς*, as being most important to our *businisse* in hand, the case of our *Schisme* fundamentally depending on the *supremacy* of *S. Peter*) and consequently of his first part.

## CHAP. IV.

*A Survey of the Second Part of Schism Disarm'd.*

## SECT. I.

*S. W. his one Evidence, Possession in the belief of Infallibility, Examined, in the general result, and the Special branches of it.*

1. *Being now to enter on this second part of my Disarmers dexteries, I meet with one in the front, which if thought on timely, and well husbanded, might have superseded, and saved him the expense of all the rest both foregoing and subsequent, the one Evidence that he pretends to for his whole tenure, their Churches long and quietly enjoyed possession of the belief of Infallibility. Possideo saith he, quia possideo, olim possideo, prior possideo, is all the evidence and all the reason she is bound to give to her Rebel Sons or outlawed Subjects.]* p. 106.
2. *This indeed might make short work, decide and conclude Controversies sixty an hour for an age together, if there were but this one thing granted, that the guilty were not only innocent but infallibly and unavoidably such, or that S. W. might be credited, when he affirms it.*
3. *By this we see to what purpose it had been for me to have reformed upon his admonitions (concerning my omitting his strongest and most important place of Pasce Oves——) when if I had let loose upon his direction, and refuted all D. Stapleton, and other Romanists pretensions from those words, I had been still as far as ever, from moving this rock: for when all other pleas fail he is still as safe as the clearest Deeds could make him; he hath an enchanted castle to retire to, their Churches Infallibility; and if any man will question that, it matters not; the*  

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belief

belief of *Infallibility* will serve turn; and if still you will be importunate, and demand some *reason* to found such belief, and that for the satisfaction of the *weak* (who would really give all the goods in the world, that they might be *assured* of the truth of it, but cannot arrive to such *heights* of believing without, and *against* all grounds of believing) why then in *stead* of *satisfying* those demands of frail fallible reason. here is the great *Επέρολις*, the engine of *batterie*, that will subdue in a moment all the intellectual fortresses, the long and quietly enjoyed possession of this belief, and so by these degrees *S. W.* his grand indenture is perfected, and all his evidence and reason summed up in this *Breviate*. *Possideo quia possideo* : Our Church is *schismatical* ; why ; because the Pope is *universal Pastor*, and we are divided from him. How doth he appear to be so ? Why, the Church (that must be the *Romane Church*) affirms it, which is *Infallible* : But how is she evidenced to be *Infallible* ? why, she believes she is so. I beseech him, upon what grounds doth she believe so ? why, she hath possession of this belief. But a thief may possess that which he should not possess, and one may ask (with a desire to learn) how came she by this possession ? Why she hath long and quietly enjoyed it : And if you further insist, and be so ill-natured, as to ask one question more, you are to know, *You are Rebel Sons and outlawed subjects*, and this is all the reason *S. W.* in her name, is bound to give you, and (as he goes on) *Tis your part to evidence ; hers to hold and possess her own* (Poor Protestants are bound to dispute and demonstrate, to grind in the mill, or digg in the quarry, 'tis enough for them to possess the belief of *Infallibility*) till you sufficiently i. e. demonstrably evidence her title to be unjust. ] One would think the very reciting of this arguing were sufficient reply to it.

- 4 And yet if after all this, it be remembered, either what title it is, that we are to prove to be *unjust*, or what kind of possession it is that is maintained by this title, the arguing will yet appear more admirable. 1. Tis evident there is no title (properly so called) so much as pretended ; Possession, long quietly enjoyed is all that is tendered ; and I hope possession, be it never so long and quiet, is no more then possession ; a title is *precautious*, and somewhat else, in which the Possession is, or ought

to be founded; and if it were not, tis not *bonæ fidei Possessio*. For though *prescription* by *humane Laws* may be allowed to create a right; Yet it hath no such power by the *Laws* of Christ either in *virtue* and *vice*, or in matters of *true* or *false*. If it had, both *Heathenism* of old and *Turcism* now would hold by the same *tenure*. But of this I have spoken in the Reply, p. 21.

5. So that this indeed proves *S. W.* to be ἀθάνατος πολεμίστης, an immortal invincible combatant. He need never dispute, or offer one word of reason for his Church till we have demonstrably evidenced her title to be *unjust*; and yet he saith, he is not bound to produce any title at all; and then how shall it be possible for us to demonstrate it *unjust*? And yet this is but one less considerable part of his arguing. The possession which is wont to supply the place of a title, and to be ingredient in a plea, is we know the possession of some outward thing, of Land, of Goods, moveable or immovable, of Power, and the like: but the possession, which *S. W.* speaks of, is the Possession of one of our own operations, an internal act; for such is *Belief*; But of that also, as such, we have spoken already. Reply Chap. 7. Sect. 1. n. 11. and I need add no more now, but this, that possession of belief, and the length of that possession, can signifie no more then that they have long believed it; and if that were sufficient ground to be rendered to any (whether *Subject* or *Slave*) who should demand a reason of the Faith that is in them, [they believe it, because they do, and have long believed it] I would gladly know, what the *Apostle* meant by that precept, 1 Pet. 3. 15. that we be ready πρὸς ἀπολογίαὺν πάντι ἀνθρώποις, to give an account, such sure as hath λογὸν, reason in it, i. e. an account of the cause and reason, as of our hope, so of our belief, to every man that demands such a reason from us, or whether the bare having so long believed it, without any offer of reason for it, be yet a reasonable account of that belief.

6. Nay when to the plea of a possession it is necessary that some competent testimonies to prove the prescription be produced, and so *S. W.* might be supposed to have some reserve of expedient, to extricate him out of this Labyrinth; the present specification of the object of this belief makes this issue yet more impossible; For tis The belief of their Infallibility, and not only of their



veracity which he speaks of, (and of that I hope I have said enough in the view of the *Romanists exceptions to my Lord of Falklands discourse of Infallibility.*) 2. of their *Infallibility*, indefinitely (and that is in effect *universally*) the *impossibility* that their *Church* should err in any thing she affirms, or defines; or shall ever affirm, or define; A thing, which as they cannot pretend to prove so much as by that way, that *possessions* are evidenced to be *Possessions*, by *Testimonies* of ancient men, for sure never any *Apostle* or ancient *Dr.* of the *Church* did by way of *prophecie* foretel this, that the *Church* of *Rome* never should err. or render her self capable of erring, so, after all this tis as necessarily refuted by every particular dispute of ours, wherein we have or shall prove her actually to have erred, and wherein we shall demonstrate her to have varied from her self (as it is certain we can demonstrate) as any title in the world can be evidenced to be unjust.

7. That I descend not here to this way of perfecting this demonstration, I have many reasons to persuade me. I shall mention but one, that this digression of his to the discourse of his one evidence, the belief of *Infallibility*, pretends to be founded in no more then an intimation of mine, that it belongs to them to evidence. And what had I said to intimate this? For 't'is the Title of my fifth Chapter was, *The evidences from the Bishop of Rome succeeding S. Peter examined*! A foul injury indeed to *S. W.* to imagine that they use any such evidence, or that they are bound to use any at all. Well if I have made such a dangerous intimation, I have now more then intimated my reasons for it, and when my intimations are more express (my whispers become vocal) I will endeavour my demonstrations shall be so also. In the mean this may serve to secure my intimation, and so the title of my fifth Chapr. For sure the last crime that is laid to it, in relation to the subsequent matter of the Chapter, viz. that the *Dr.* is contrary to himself, inscribing the chapter, an answer to their evidences, yet spending almost the whole chapter in producing evidences of his own,] will soon be pardoned him. When it is considered, that those evidences of his own were produced to refuse and invalidate their evidences, and so as proper a method as could have been used in the examining of them.

8.

## S E C T. 2.

*Bishops properly Successors of the Apostles, and styled Apostles. S. W. his disadvantage from pretending the contrary. The frail grounds of the Bishop of Romes supremacy. The place of St. Peters death no means to affix the pretended universal Pastorship to the See of Rome; Peters third coming to Rome. The Bishop of Rome succeeded him living.*

1. **H**is answer to my first Paragraph, is most of it triumph for the victories of his former part (which I suppose have proved no better then those in *Thucydides's* storie, the victories vanished, before he hath taken full possession of them) yet he cannot take leave of it without giving us one tast of his faculty; I had said that after the first evidence, which concerned *S. Peter*, was manifested to be incompetent to infer the conclusion, twas unnecessary to proceed to the other; and he recites this into another form. that I brag I have supererrogated, and said more then needs, applying it to what I had done in the former chapter, when my words evidently look forward, and relate to that which was next to be handled.
2. What follows next concerning the Succession to *S. Peter* at *Antioch*, compared with that at *Rome*, hath been spoken to and vindicated against the *Cath. Gentl.* in the *Reply. Chap. 5. Sect. 2.* and here is little Addition made by *S. W.* save only 1. His denying, that *Peter* planted a Church at *Antioch* of Jewish believers only (whereas 1. the contrary is manifested in the former chapter by the distinctness of the two cætus there; and 2. This is not at all to the matter of our present argument, which is founded onely in *Peters* planting a Church, and leaving a Successor Bishop at *Antioch*, which he equally did, were it of Jews or Gentiles) 2. The recounting the two divers qualities of dignity in *S. Peter* resident at *Antioch*; the first of particular care of that Church, as private Bishop of that See, wherein, saith he, he left an improperly so called successor, viz. a Bishop: the second of publike office of head of the Church, in which consists his Primacy, and in which he only could claim the inheritance,

who succeeded him dying. Herein there be three things to be briefly adverted to. 1. That his whole answer is founded in a visible begging the question, viz. that S. Peter was head of the Church, and so had the Primacy, i. e. the supreme Pastorship of the Church; for as to any other notion of Primacy, that title will not be proper. 2. That in his opinion a Bishop was but improperly a successor of St. Peter whereas tis notorious in all antiquity, that the Bishops were the only (properly so called) successors of the Apostles, and themselves frequently upon that account stiled Apostles, and the Successors of St. Paul and other Apostles in other cities equally so stiled, \*, Ἀποστολος Τιμόθεος, † Ἀποστολος Τίτος, || Ἀποστολος Εὐαφροδίτης, \* Ἀποστολος Ἰγνατίος, the Apostle Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, Ignatius, and many the like, as the successor of S. Peter at Rome, † Apostolus Clemens. And if it be said, that Bishops succeeded not in the whole Apostolical Power, that of preaching to all Nations, and so were but improperly their Successors; I answer, that is true; but little for S. W. his advantage. For then the Bishop of Rome not succeeding S. Peter in the plenitude of his power, can the less be proved to succeed in the Universal Pastorship of S. Peter (which if ever S. Peter had been possess of, must needs be founded in, and superstructed on his commission Apostolike) his succession in the Episcopal chair may be sufficient.

3. 3<sup>ally</sup>, That all the Bishop of Romes supremacy depends upon these frail grounds, and besides upon another perfect uncertainty; (even according to S. W. his unproved assumptions) viz. that none could succeed him dying, but only the Bishop of Rome; whereas 1. Tis evident, that whatsoever power S. Peter was invested in, he might at death, have delegated to any other Bishop constituted by him, as well as to the Bishop of Rome, to Eudodius as to Clemens; If it be said, he could not: I ask what should hinder him? sure no command of Christ, for he had not said a word to this matter; Nor was Peters will subject to any other authority; and therefore certainly he might, if he would, thus have delegated it; and that he would not, is not pretended, or attempted to be proved, and so it remains a meer groundless, uncertain assertion, or conjecture of which sort many millions might be produced, which yet have really no truth in them.

And

\* Anom. a. 7.

Phot. Num.

254. &

Theodor. in

1 Tim. 3. 1.

& Theophan.

Theod. in

T. 1.

|| Phil. 2. 25.

Theod. in

Phil. 1. 1 &

in c. 2.

Chryf. ibi l.

\* Chryf. 12-

v. 1. 2. 3. 4.

† Clem. Alex.

Strom. l. 4.

And whereas here is pretended a necessity in the matter, that where he dyed and was divested, there was necessary a succession into the dignity, which he left, and was wanting by his death to the whole Church. This is perfectly vain. For 1. that want, if any such there had been to the whole Church, might by any declared act of his will, by his delegation and institution have been as well supplied in any other city, if he had so pleased, as in that wherein he dyed: and without such expression of his will, the place of his death would have been utterly ineffectual; There is not the least necessity consequent to the Archbishop of Canterbury his dying at London, yea though he were also Bishop of London, when he dyed, to affix the Archiepiscopal power to that See; nor doth any kind of inheritance depend on such uncertain emergents as is the place of a mans dying.

4. Suppose the Emperour of the whole world were by particular title of Conquest, or Εμψύχους plantation, King of France first, and afterward of England, and before, or at the time of his death had assigned one successor in France to his crown and kingdom of France, and another in England to that crown, and without any provision appearing to be made for the succession in the Empire, he should dye intestate in England, would there be any necessity now from his dying there, that the King of England should succeed to the Empire of the world? His answer to this question, and his solid grounds of reason, on which to found his answer, whatsoever it shall be, will be useful to the clearing of this matter.

5. Meanwhile, as tis obvious to any, that he that hath long lived in one city, may upon some sudden occasion remove, and dye in another; so it seems most probable that this last coming of S. Peter to Rome was after this manner, not long before his death. For though in Eusebius Chronicon there is mention of his sitting 7. years at Antioch, and then five and twenty years at Rome, immediately before his death, (which is no way reconcileable with evidence of History in many particulars) yet in the third of the Ecclesiastical History καὶ α. the words are express. Πέτρος ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ — κεννηκέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐν Πόντῳ γαλλίᾳ καὶ βιθυνίᾳ. Peter having preached in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia — to the Jews, which were of the dispersions

\* Annot. in  
Platin. de vit.  
Pontif. in  
Pet. Apost.

dispersion at the end being at Rome, he was put to Death, &c. And accordingly \* Onuphrius, to reconcile the contrary appearances, is forced to place this his third coming, and last return to Rome, in the last year of the reign of Nero, under whom he was put to death.

\* Her. κζ.  
κατ. κη' ποκρ.

6. Add hereunto the affirmation of \* Epiphanius, *Θημι δὲ τῷ περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παύλον ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίζησαι, διὰ τοῦ Αποστόλου πολλὰκις ὅτι τὰς ἄλλὰς πατρίδας τὴν πορείαν σὲ λείπει, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα σὲ χρεῖσθαι, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀνεὺ ἐπισκόπου* &c. — that of those that belonged to Peter and Paul, there were ordained other Bishops, because they went to other Countreys to preach the faith; and Rome might not be without a Bishop; which is farther prejudice to S. W. his argument for the Bishop of Romes succession to the plenitude of S. Peters power, upon that only score of his dying there; For thus his argument lies. The dignity of Primacy annex to S. Peters person went along with him whithersoever he went, and remained with him living, so that he onely who succeeded him dying (the Bishop of Rome) could claim the inheritance of this sacred dignity] To this I reply; but if the Bishop of Rome succeeded him not dying but living, i. e. was constituted Bishop there in S. Peters life time, as Epiphanius expressly affirms he was, then all force of this argument is vanished. But of this whole matter I have formerly spoken in the reply, ch. 5. Sect. 2. and therefore I add no more of that.
- 7.

### SECT. 3.

*The Canon of Chalcedon. What the Bishop of Romes Primacy. ἴσα πρεσβυτῆα. Constantinople equal to Rome in all but place. ὡς ἐκείνη, noting an equality. Constantinoples Civil greatness, Ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς πράγμασι in all Ecclesiastical affairs.*

1. IN the next place my testimony from the Council of Chalcedon is to be examined by S. W. But that also was largely vindicated in the Reply, c. 5. sect. 3. But S. W. will ask some posing questions, which the Catholike Gentlemans curiosity did not suggest to him, as 1. How I know that ἴσα πρεσβυτῆα signifies the Primacy

macy, asking whether there be no other privileges besides the Primacy] The Pertinence of this question, is first observable. The thing which I had in hand, was to shew the original of the precedence of the Bishop of Rome: For this I cited the Canon of Chalcedon, that Constantinople should have *ισαπεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, (and be in place second, or next after Rome) upon this account particularly, *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν*, because it was (at that time) the seat of the Empire, affirming that to be the reason (and not any donation of Christs to S. Peter, or succession of the Bishop of Rome from him) that Rome enjoyed such privileges. And upon view of this, S.W. very demurely asks, how I know that *ισαπεσβεία* signifies the Primacy] What propriety or seasonableness to the matter in hand, the original of Romes dignity, is yet discoverable in this question?

But then 2. I shall answer this question by this other, Whether the Bishop of Rome his Primacy were any thing else above what the Bishops of other Prime Metropoles enjoyed, save only Primacy of order or place? If it were in his opinion no more, then as I willingly yield it to the Bishop of Rome, so it is the disclaiming all his pretended supremacy of jurisdiction over all others, in which alone the charge of our Schism is founded. If it were more, then the Council of Chalcedon, that confirms to Constantinople the *ισαπεσβεία* with Rome, excepting none but the precedence of place or order (*ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνειν δυνάμεθα πείρασιν*, to be advanced like her or to have the like greatness in Ecclesiastical affairs, that Rome had, being *δωδέκην μετ' ἐκείνην*, second, or next after it) must needs give Constantinople that Primacy also. Or in plainer terms, was the Primacy that belonged to old Rome any real privilege above other Primates? If it were, then Constantinople, that must have *ισαπεσβεία*, equal privileges, with old Rome, and not onely some few equal privileges without others, must have the Primacy also. For when that Canon confirms the *ισαπεσβεία*, it doth it 1. Indefinitely, i. e. universally, equal privileges, and 2. That equality is founded in having the same original of those privileges, which therefore equally dissolves them all that flow from that original; and Rome had no other claim by which to hold them, in the opinion of that



Council, and she is judged to have them, with one exception, and that only of place or order, *ἡ δὲ πόλις*, &c. (and we know an exception confirms the rule to all things which are not excepted) And so sure that gives grounds of inferring the conclusion in that full latitude of all but place, and so of Primacy in the widest notion (place only excepted) in which Rome had it.

3. To his second question, why [*ὡς ἴσιν*] which can exact no other interpretation but [as she] must be rendred [as much as she] deducing an equality or identity from *ὡς*, which only notes a similitude or likeness] the answer is obvious. 1. Because the parity, or agreement betwixt them in that place, is specified to be in respect of greatness, *μεγαλύνει δὲ ὡς ἐκείνην*, Constantinople shall be great in Ecclesiastical affairs as she; that must conclude it as great as she to any reality of power or greatness. 2. By the only exception mentioned, that of place, as was before said. 3. By the *ἰσαπερίεχον*, which were expressly mentioned before, equal privileges, and those, I hope, signify equality, and not similitude or likeness only. 4. By the ground of these equal privileges, the dignity of the city, of which we have the sense of Gregory Nazianzen in his *Orat.* 27. where he thus addresseth himself unto them, *Τίμει ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει, οἱ παῖδες τῆς πόλεως ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν πρεσβυτέρα*, Constantinople is the great city (*S. Chrysostom* calls it the metropolis *ὅλη τὴ κόσμῳ* of the whole world) the first after the first, or not yielding so much as this to it. And then if the Church were to keep the like proportion, we know what to conclude of it.

4. Thus when || *Sozomen* sets down the passages of the first Council of Constantinople where these privileges were conferred, he hath these words. *Μετὰ τὴν Ρώμης τὴν καθ' αὐτὴν πόλιν ἐπισκοπὴν τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑκείνης ἰσότητος τὴν Ρώμης τὴν ἐκείνης ἐπισκοπὴν. ἥτις δὲ ἐμὸν εἶχε ταύτης ἀποστολὴν ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρεσβυτεῖαν τὴν μακαρίστην καὶ ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ ὅλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ρωμαίων ἐκρίνετο καὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ γέγρατα περὶ πάντων ἐκείνης ἰσάζετο.* The Bishop of Constantinople shall have privileges of dignity next after Rome, as having the throne or chair of New Rome. For already (at that time) the city had not only that appellation, and a senate, and orders of the people and magistracies, the like to those at Rome, but also the ensigns of dignity, according

to what was customary to the Romans in Italy, were adjudged to them, and the rights and dignities in all particulars were equal to them both.

5. In the third place his questions are turned into chiding the Dr. for Englishing ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς πράγμασι in all Ecclesiastical businesses, whereas (saith he) there is no such word as [All] there;] I answer, that if by Englishing he means translating, I did not intend to English it, and the varying the letter is an evidence of that. But that I so concluded by way of inference from those, and the precedent words of the Canon, I willingly acknowledge; but am not, I conceive, to be chid for it. For if Constantinople be in Ecclesiastical affairs advanced to the same height of power as Rome, if it have indefinitely without any exception, but only of precedence of place, equal priviledges with Rome; and if this it have, upon this demonstrative account, because Constantinople now is what Rome was, and agrees with it in that for which Rome had her priviledges, συμπαραστέτα, saith Themistius, reigning together with Rome, then must this belong to all Ecclesiastical businesses (precedence of place beeing either excepted, or not deemed such a πρᾶγμα) for otherwise if there were any matter of the Church, to which Constantinople's power was not exalted, so as to be magnified ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ, like Rome, in that, whatsoever it were, there would be a real inequality, and so that Canon fail of its design of confirming the ἰσὰ πρεσβεία, not this or that priviledge in some particular matters, but indefinitely, priviledges equal to those which Rome had. And therefore sure my pen was not herein, as he saith, too liberall of its ink; I made no addition to the real necessary importance of that testimony.

## SECT. 4.

*Πρεσβεία* Honorary, Pompous, Ceremonious privileges. Some such belonged to Rome as the first Patriarchate, but no supreme universal jurisdiction from St. Peter. Constantinople equal to Rome in real privileges. The notion of *Πρεσβεία* in the Glossaries, and in the Councils, further proved by Leo's Epistles. Primacy an ambiguous word.

1. **F**ourthly, From questioning and chiding, he at length comes to some matter, and will give account why the Popes Legates might omit to oppose the reason there given for the collation of the *Πρεσβεία*. And for his groundwork he first lays this supposition, that the word *Πρεσβεία* signifies nothing but certain honorary, pompous or ceremonious privileges: which he will allow might accrue to some Church by the residence of the supreme secular power there.

2. Before I give answer to this, I must first ask, what he means by honorary pompous or ceremonious privileges? If only those that have no reality of jurisdiction joyned to them more then belonged to that city before, or abstracted from the collation of those honorary privileges, then his words may bear this sense, that the privileges of a Patriarch, as that differs from a Primate of a Diocese in the East or West (there being fourteen such into which the Empire was most anciently divided) were but honorary privileges, precedence in Councils, and the like without any accession of power or jurisdiction above that which belonged to them as Primates, and that these may accrue to some Church by the residence of the supreme secular power there. And in this sense, his words are most true, and applicable to the notion which I have of the Church of Rome from the Canon of Chalcedon, viz. that the Church of Rome, being *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* originally a Primacy (proportionable to the Prefecture of the City of Rome in the division of the Empire) by being the seat and first city of the Empire, became a Patriarchate, and the most honourable or first of the Patriarchates, and thereby had the first place in any œcumenical Council, and the like. But this was nothing but an honorary,

honorary privilege without any thing of jurisdiction (any further then the Province which belonged to her as *Primate*, extended) accruing to her by these means. And when the *Canon of Chalcedon* speaking of this, saith, she hath it assigned her by the *Fathers*, *διὰ τὸ βασιλεῖν τὴν πόλιν*, because she was the imperial city, the *Legates* did not, because they could not with any justice, oppose this reason: But *S. W.* I suppose, will have more to belong to Rome then this, and means more by *Romes Primacy*, even a supremacy of jurisdiction above all other *Primates* and *Patriarchs*, and that as coming down to her from *St. Peter*. And against both these I argued from that *Canon of Chalcedon*; And by *Constantinople* having equal privileges with *Rome*, i. e. first the power of a *Primate*, then the dignity or honour of a *Patriarch*, and the next place to *Rome* it self, and this upon this account of being the seat of the *Empire*, as *Rome* was, I conceiv'd, I had demonstrated 1. That *Rome*, in the judgement of that Council, had no such supremacy of jurisdiction; for that was not conferred on *Constantinople*; nor indeed could it be competible to any second if *Rome* had been thought to have had it, and so was prejudged by the decree for *Constantinople* having equal privileges with *Rome*. And 2. That what *Rome* had above other cities, *Antioch*, &c. it was not deemed to have by any right from *Peter*, but from being the *Imperial See*, and this by way of interpretation acknowledged by the *Legates* of *Rome*, by their not opposing this, when for other reasons, and not for that, they refused to approve that *Canon*.

3. And this might serve for answer to his supposition of the bare pomposness of these Privileges. But because he may more probably have another meaning in his words, that the Privileges here made equal and common to *Constantinople* with *Rome*, were but some pompons, honorary privileges, which notwithstanding, *Constantinople* fell much short of *Rome* in real power and jurisdiction, and so still *Rome* might have the universal Pastorsip, though *Constantinople* communicated with it in the ceremonious privileges: I shall therefore now farther examine the truth of this unproved suggestion, which indeed being thus taken out of the ambiguous words, and put into intelligible sense, hath not any the least appearance of truth in it. And having none, we may thence pass judgement, what *S. W.* will







6. In the next place upon this ground, that *πρωτεύειν* signifies no more but these honorary privileges, he thinks he can give account why the Popes Legates did not oppose the reason there given for the collation of these *πρωτεύειν*, Whereas, saith he, had the word *πρωτεύειν* signified Primacy, which was then as strongly and expressly pretended to come from Christs donation to S. Peter (as is evident in Pope Leo's Epistles, whose Legates presided in this Council) as it is now by the present Pope, then we should have heard another story] i. e. then the Legates would have opposed the reason there given for the collation of these *πρωτεύειν*.

- By Primacy I suppose he here means the Popes supreme power over all, & then the whole vertue of this argument lies in this, that Pope Leo, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon pretended this primacy of the Bishop of Rome to come from Christs donation to S. Peter. But to this semblance of proof, I answer, that S. W. having not produced any testimony of Leo's whereby we may discern his notion of Primacy, which is an ambiguous word, I must first demand the opinion of S. W. what Leo meant by Primacy? whether no more then that which belonged to the Bishop of Alexandria and Antioch, and some other Prime Metropolitans in their Provinces? Thus, 'tis certain he useth the Phrase in his Epistle to the Empress, tot Metropolitānorum Primatus — the Primacies of so many Metropolitans: and if this were all that he pretended to from S. Peter, such his pretensions were easily reconcileable with the Canon of Chalcedon, which neither robbd him of his Primacy, nor prejudged his having it from S. Peter, but (yet farther) supposed and yielded him the dignity of a Patriarch, and of the Prime or first Patriarch, and affirmed him to have ascended to this height by Romes being the seat of the Empire. But then, not to build on this possible notion of the word Primacy (which I must not deem S. W. his notion of it) nor yet on a second thing observable from those Epistles of Leo, which concerned this matter, viz. that he seems to interpret all the injury that was done in that Council of Chalcedon, to have been only a breach against the Canons of Nice, and the dispositions of Ecclesiastical affairs made there (never making the least mention, that I discern of any other) I answer 2. That 'tis most plain through those Epistles of Leo, that in them he neither

neither ever deduces his *Primacy* from S. Peter, for the bare mentioning the || authority of the blessed Apostle *Peter* by which he himself acted (and so it is certain that by the same Authority the Bishop of *Antioch* acted also) or S. *Peter's* founding *Christian Doctrine speciali magisterio* in *Antioch* and *Rome*, cannot be deemed the thus deducing it) nor takes notice of any the least injurie done to himself by that *Council*, but only to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and (especially) of *Antioch*, and other *Metropolitans*; which is a further testimonie of the truth of what I had said, that the deducing the original of the dignity of the *Roman See* from the greatness of that *Imperial Citty*, was never so much as quarrell'd at by the *Legates* in the *Council*, nor, as now I add, by the *Pope* afterwards, in this whole contest. And then still all that I said hath perfect truth, and it matters little what at any other time either *Leo* or any other *Pope* pretended, whether concerning the universality of their jurisdiction, or the tenure by which they assume to hold it from S. *Peter*. For thus they might pretend, without such reality of solid grounds, which would be sufficient to justify them in a *Council*.

|| Per authoritatem Beati Petri Apostoli. Ep. 55.  
|| Ep. 62.

## SECT. 5.

How Constantinople struck not at the Primacy. The Canon of Chalcedon doth more then strike at Romes supremacy. No advantage to Rome that the Canon is equally derogatory to Antioch. *ἡ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξουσία* not noting Supremacy, is no advantage to S. W. His injustice. Constantinoples greatness only confirmed by the Canon of Chalcedon. So the second place. The regularity of this Act, and the great force of it to conclude this debate. The Romanists collection of Canons.

1. **H**is first attempt is contained in these words, *The Dr. grants that this decree was as derogatorie to the authority of Antioch as of Rome; but it is evident that Antioch pretended to no Primacy over the whole Church; therefore evident it is, that ἡ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξουσία could not signifie Primacy of jurisdiction, nor consequently was that struck at by the tumultuous Constantinopolitans.*

2. Here now it is plain what he means by *Primacy*, that of jurisdiction, and over the whole Church. And this, saith he, is plain the Constantinopolitans struck not at. This is true in some sense. 1. That the Constantinopolitan See at that time pretended not to any such universal jurisdiction for it self. 2. That it struck no blow at it in Rome, nor indeed could it, not apprehending (that is discernable by that whole transaction) any such to be pretended to by Rome, any more than what properly belonged to it as a Primacy (of which there were many other in the East and West) only with the honorarie addition of the Patriarchate of the West, and the first or prime Patriarchate, and that upon the score of being the seat of the Empire. But then in another sense, which alone is to the purpose in hand, it is manifest, that this Canon of Chalcedon, that confirmed the *ἡ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξουσία* to Constantinople doth more then strike at the universal Pastorship of Rome, viz by necessarie consequence of their decree; for if Constantinople have equal priviledges, and so all the greatness that Rome hath, except only the dignity of the first place; and if all that

Rome

Rome hath above other *Prime Metropoles*, belonged to her only upon the account of being the *Imperial City*, then sure this not only strikes at, but destroys all her pretensions to the universal Pastorship from *S. Peter*.

3. What he here adds from me, as my concession, that the decree was as derogatorie to the dignity of *Antioch* as of *Rome* ] will little avail him in this matter. Not only because it is no affirmation of mine, but a conclusion, inferrd *ad homines*, from a suggestion of the *Romanists* (as is apparent in the || place) but also, and especially because it is confessed by me and inferred in this arguing, that it was only a *Patriarchal power*, and not a *Primacy* over the *Whole Church*, that was in that Canon adjudged to *Constantinople*. The truth is, *Antioch* only suffered real diminution by the exalting *Constantinople*, some part of the Province thereof being assigned *Constantinople* and both that and *Alexandria* sunk a little lower in dignity of place; *Constantinople* being now placed next *Rome*, and consequently above each of them. But what doth this avail *S. W.* or how can he with the least color conclude thence for *Rome* either having, or retaining the *Primacy*, as that signifies the *Supremacy* over the *Whole Church*? Certainly nothing at all.

Of Schif. p.  
99.

4. With what truth it is here suggested, that the *Constantinopolitans* were tumultuous, hath been shewed at large in the *Reply*, ch. 5. sect. 3.

5. To his 6. I answer, that I grant most willingly. 1. That the *ἡ πρώτη ἐκείνη* meant not the *Primacy* in his sense, for *Supremacy*: and 2. For the other *Primacy* which really belonged to *Rome*, to be the chief or first *Patriarchate*, I grant also that this was not concerned or taken from her by the decree, but remained untouched. But then what hath *S. W.* gained by both these? and yet these are the utmost that all his endeavour can bring in to him; for these notwithstanding the Council that gives *Constantinople* *ἰσὺ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ* equal priviledges with *Rome*, prejudices *Rome* having any such *Supremacy*; for that cannot equally be had by any other and besides, that *Primacy* that *Rome* is there said to have from being the *Imperial City*, cannot be the universal Pastorship which it (had not, but) pretends to have from *S. Peter*.

6. His 7. exception to me is very unjust, in making that my gross mistake,

mistake, and an evidence of my not fetching this testimony from the fountains (the Canons I had thought, and Acts of the Council were the fountains, and from thence I fetcht it immediately, see Reply p. 83, &c.) which was only my inference from the Romanists concession. The Romanists rejecting this Canon, add, though most untruly, that the Church of Antioch rejected it also, (when it is visible in the Acts of the Council, that Maximus Bishop of Antioch subscribed it.) However this is most true, that Leo then pretended it for his chief reason not to subscribe it, because it was to the Bishop of Antiochs prejudice, and so against the disposition of the Council of Nice, which he would not see infringed, never mentioning any injurie done to himself by it, or to the See of Rome. Hence (i. e. from this their concession) I assumed it was granted by them that Constantinople acquisitions by this decree of Chalcedon, were as derogatorie to Antioch as to Rome; and from thence again I further inferred, 1. That it must be confessed of Antioch that it had equal priviledges with Rome (for else how cou'd it be as derogatorie to Antioch, as to Rome, that Constantinople had those *ἰσα πρεσβεία* to Rome) and so 2. That Rome was no more but a Patriarchate, because it was certain, that Antioch was no more then a Patriarchate. 3. That all that Constantinople had wanted of Rome (I mean ever since it became a Primates seat, for of old it is acknowledged that Byzantium was much lower) was only the dignity of a Patriarchate without any ordinarie jurisdiction over other Churches. All this being thus evident, S. W. would fain pick some holes, and first suggests that the Dr. tells him *ἰσα πρεσβεία* signifies a Patriarchate, and the pomps attending it: I said *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal priviledges with Rome signified the dignity of a Patriarchate. And so much evidently it must, and no more; So much sure it must; for Rome was a Patriarchate, and none that was less, or under a Patriarch could have equal priviledges with Rome. And no more it could signifie: for supposing Rome to have had more than Patriarchal power (that of universal Pastorship) none other could have that equal to it. If Rome were the universal Ecclesiastick Monarch, Constantinople could not be adjudged to be so also.

7. Secondly, Saith he, Constantinople was a Patriarchate before, but.

but the fourth, and now pretended to be the second.] Some truth there is in this for the first part of it, but that such as is nothing to the prejudice of my pretensions, or to the advantage of my Disarmer. 'Tis true Constantinople was a Patriarchate before this Council of Chalcedon, first by a long continued custom, and then by force of the Canon of Constantinople, and accordingly I took not this at Chalcedon to be the first conferring of these *πρεσβεία* on Constantinople, but only a confirming of what formerly was deem'd to belong to that Church, and so the Fathers of Chalcedon expressly tell Leo the Pope, in their Epistle sent to him, and that what they now did, was but *βεβαίωσις τῆς τιμῆς*, the confirmation of that dignity by this Oecumenical Council, which before it enjoyed. And thus far S. W. said truth; let him make his best advantage of it. But what he adds [but the fourth] as if till the time of this Canon of Chalcedon, Constantinople had been but the fourth Patriarchate, but now became the second, there sure my Disarmer struck at adventure, and that none of the *καλὰς πληγὰς*, lucky blows, which Aristotle saies, they that wink or are blind, strike sometimes. For it is evident, that for this second place, the foregoing Canon of Constantinople was equally of force, as for the Patriarchal power. So the words of that third Canon are express, *ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ ὅτι αὐτὴν τὴν νέαν Ῥώμην*. It shall have the priviledges of dignity after the Bishop of Rome, because the City is new Rome; and so in the Epistle of the Fathers at Chalcedon to Pope Leo, it is voucht *ἐβεβαίωται τὸν κανόνα τὸν διασυνώνοντα μετὰ τὸν ὑμῶν ἀνώτατον* &c. Ἀπο τῶν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔχον. We have confirmed the Canon of the 150. Fathers, that assembled at Constantinople in Theodosius's reign, which decrees, or declares that after your most holy Apostolick See, the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the priviledges (of honor or first-place.) So when || Evangelinus speaks of this Act, he doth it exactly after the same manner. Judgement, saith he was given that the See of Constantinople, *διότι μετὰ τὸν Ῥώμης τετάρτην*. Was rightly placed, or ordered already after the See of Rome, that surely must be next after, & so not now first advanced from the fourth to this second place. And what hath S. W. gained by such adventures as these, undertaking to discover the gross mistakes of another?

|| See Repl. p. 83.

|| Concil. Tom. 3. p. 475. D. F.

|| lib. 2. in pre.



8. What follows of the *tumultuousness* and *irregularity* and *want of freedom* in this *Act*, had been suggested by the *Cath. Gentl.* (and proved to have no degree of truth in it. *Reply*. p. 82, 83. —) save only that tis here added, that it was *disavowed and rejected by the Patriarch of Antioch and those under him.*] Which is most absolutely false, the *Bishop of Antioch* subscribing, and defining in that *Council*, in the next place after the *Bishop of Constantinople*. (Μετριοῦς ἐπισκόπος Ἀντιόχειας ὁ ὡς ἐπίσκειν ὑπέγραψε) and the *Bishop of the Metropolis of Asia, Pontus and Thracia*, being called out in the *Council*, and examined before the *Emperors Proxies* or *Judges*, whether they consented *δικῆν ἑαυτοῖς* by their own will, and subscribing with profession *ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ*, before God, that they did it willingly, and yet these we know of all others were the most concerned in this matter. So that we may believe there was some truth in the *Fathers* words, that what they had decreed was, *πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ὅλων πάσης συζητήσεως, καὶ καταργίαν δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐνταξίας*, for the removing of all confusion, and the settling of Ecclesiastical good order.

*Concil. tom. 3.  
p. 475. E.*

9. And so now I hope by what hath here been added, to what is at large set down in the reply, I may assume that I have obeyed *S. W.* his charge, laid so heavily upon me, to vindicate the validity of this *Canon of Chalcedon*. And truly when that is done, there is little need of adding more testimonies in that matter, it being evident by that *Canon*, that all the *Greatness* that *Rome* had above other *Primates*, was, in the opinion of those *Fathers*, by being the seat of the *Empire*, not by any title of succession from *S. Peter*, and that beside only the precedence of place, other Churches had equal privileges and dignities with it, and so that *Rome* had not the *Universal Pastors*hip or jurisdiction over all Churches.

10. What he adds concerning the Power the Pope had to reject this *Canon*, as being head of the Church, is on his side a begging the Question, that the Pope is such, and withal is answered at large. *Repl. cap. 5. sect. 4.* and the truth of, || *Almaines* resolution cleared, both to the issue, and to the justice of it *merito Concilium (chalcedonense Leoni resistenti prevaluisse: the Council of Chalcedon prevailed against Leo's resistance, and that justly.*

|| *D. Ambrosius  
Lcd. 7.*

|| In

11 || In this place he tells us, this *Act* it self was not numbred among the *Acts* of the *Council*, till — And truly this was well remembred of him; for this is an indication, that it hath by *S. W.* his ancestors, been thought to be really preiudicial to the *Pope*. (Howsoever he would by many attempts now sooth over the matter) 2. It admonisheth us what care we ought to have in relying on the *Romanists* collections. For it is certain this *Canon* is in all the *Greck* copies both *Printed* and *Manuscript*, and from thence the copie of that council must originally be fetcht: And many of the *Romanists* confels there was such a *Canon* made, and the storie of the fact is by all the *Antients* agreed on; and *Leos* *Epistles*, and many other evidences put it beyond all dispute; and indeed *Leos* *Legates* resisting and not consenting to it, and complaining to the Judges, that it was done without them (when yet it was proved, that they voluntarily absented themselves) is an evidence still of the fact, that there was such a *Canon* made, and made by the *Council* (though without the consent of the *Legates*) and yet it is left out in *Charaxa's summa Conciliorum*, in the *Codex vetus Ecclesie Romana*, in *Dionysius Exiguus* his *Codex*, and in *Peter Crabs* large Edition of the *Councils*. I shall pass no further censure on these collectors, knowing in whose interest it was, that they thus did it.

## SECT. 6.

*The Ephesine Canon, what 'twas voucht to prove. Cyprus independent for jurisdiction as well as ordination. Cedrenus's mistakes. Justinianopolis. The Canon of Ephesus extended to all other Primates, as well as Cyprus. What influence this hath on Romes pretensions. The Abbassins, Britains. Romes Patriarchy limited. The Nicen Canon.*

1. **T**He second Section begins with a view of the Testimony, which I brought from the *Ephesine Canon*, and thus it sets out; *The Doctors next evidence, that the Pope is not head of the Church, is from a Canon in the Council of Ephesus.*

2. But before I read on, I must take notice of *S. W.* his constant art of deforming of arguments, before he adventures to Answer them, like the persecutors of old, that disguised Christians in beasts skins, and then brought them out to the Theatre, to be torn in pieces in those shapes. And none more ordinary with him then this, viz. having recited the *premiss* right, to affix some remote conclusion to it, as if it were produced by me for the inferring of that, and then to shew that it is unconcludent. Thus is it in this place. That which I vouched from that Canon, he duely recited, viz. that the *Independency* of Cyprus not onely from the Patriarch of Antioch, but from all others, was contested then, as from the Apostles times — But for the conclusion, which he pretends me to deduce from thence, he hath wholly changed it; for he that will review the *Tr. of Schisme*, Sect. 6. p. 100. will find that the conclusion, for the proving of which the *Ephesine Canon* is produced, is not the *Popes not being head of the Church* (that had been shewed, Sect. 5. by Antioch and Constantinople having ἰσὺν πρεσβείῃς, equal dignity with Rome, which manifested Rome to be no more then a Patriarchal See) but the reconcilableness of this kind of eminence (Patriarchal) in Rome, with the εὐνομία καὶ αὐτονομία and independence, the no subordination, or subjection of other Primates. For tis manifest that this was the last thing mentioned in the close of Sect. 5. and then Sect. 6. begins

gins thus: *This hath formerly been manifested. What this?* Why sure the immediate Antecedent, that that eminence is reconcilable. And this appears beyond all dispute, by the place to which I refer, where I say it had been manifested, the discourse of the Original, and power, and dignity of Primates and Patriarchs, viz. chap. 3: Sect. 21. where I had manifested this very thing (but did not so early attempt to manifest that which I had not then till chap. 4. so much as proposed, that the Pope was not head of the Church) And this, and this only, is it, which I there say is put beyond all controule by that Canon of Ephesus. And so certainly it is; for 'tis there determined that the Bishops of Cyprus shall *ἐκ τῶν χειροτονίας παίδων*, be ordained by themselves (i. e. by their own Metropolitan, the Bishop of Salamis, or which is all one, Constantia (*Κωνσταντία ἢ Κόνστα Ζάλαμος*, saith Stephanus) and his Council of Bishops) and so in that respect be independent from Antioch, though Antioch were the Patriarchate of the Orient of which Cyprus was a Province.

- 3<sup>d</sup> And whatsover S. W. suggests of a dependency of subjection to the Jurisdiction of another, though they never received from that other their ordination] 'tis perfectly *gratia dictum*; & if it had any truth in it, 'twere yet a pitiful refuge; For though all other jurisdiction be not particularly named in the Canon, yet in all reason it must be concluded from the story. that Cyprus was exempt from Antioch in that respect, as well as of ordination. For this, saith Severinus Binius, was the occasion of the Canon, *Johannes Antiochenus sibi Cyprias Ecclesias subdere moliebatur*, the Bishop of Antioch endeavour'd to bring the Cyprian Churches under him; and, *Decretum fuit ne Johannes Cyprias Ecclesias neve alii Episcopi alias Ecclesias invaderent*, It was decreed that John should not invade the Churches of Cyprus, and farther intended, that other Bishops should not invade other Churches, and this say both the Scholiasts on the Canon, by force of the \* Canon of Antioch and the ‖ Apostolike Canon, which forbids Bishops to usurpe ordination *ἐν ταῖς αὐτοχειρίας αὐτοῖς ἐκουσίας*, on provinces which are not subj<sup>d</sup> to them, supposing Cyprus not to be thus subj<sup>d</sup> to Antioch, and therefore that this was an invasion to require to ordain the Bishops there, and accordingly Balsamon ca'lls the Archbishop of Cyprus *ἀὐτοκράτωρ* (αὐτὸν μὲν

\* Concil. Tom.  
2. p. 670. A.

\* Can. 3.  
Can. 35.

Resp. de Pa-  
triarcb.

των ἡν' αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀρχιεπισκόπος, τὸ Βασιλεῖον οὖν, καὶ τὸ Κύπερ) one that was head to himself, no more under *Antioch* for jurisdiction then for ordination. And it visibly appears by some contests of this kind, which soon after followed: as when *Dofcurus* Deacon of *Antioch*, to gratifie *Peter* then Bishop there, prest vehemently at *Constantinople*, that the Bishops of *Cyprus* should be subiect to *Antioch* (See *Nurinus* die 11. Janii; and *Baronius* c. 6. an. 485. n. 63.) By which it is as evident that all other *Archiepiscopis* and independency from *Antioch* remained intire to *Cyprus* as well as that of ordination, viz. that that Island having not been converted from *Antioch*, but by *Barnabas* his preaching immediately, should remain dominical under its own Primacy: And then what was thus defined in respect of *Antioch*, did certainly exclude all imaginable pretensions to the like of any other Patriarch, no cause being conceivable, why that which was free within it self, and so not dependent on *Antioch*, the Patriarchate of the Orient, should fall under the power of any other Patriarch, which had no more power then *Antioch*.

4. 'Tis true indeed *Cedrenus* saith, that in *Zeno's* time being taken from *Antioch* it was put under *Constantinople*, ἐπεὶ, saith he, γέγονε μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡ Κύπρος, καὶ τὸ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχειας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, From that time *Cyprus* became a Metropolis, and was not under *Antioch*, but *Constantinople*. But there are more errors then one in those few words; one mistake there is, in making the Island the Metropolis; he should have said *Salamis*, or *Constantia* the chief City of that Island: a second, that in *Zeno's* time it commenced a Metropolis; which was so long before at the Council of *Ephesus*: nay even ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the first conversion; a third, that it now ceased to be under *Antioch*, which as appears both by ancient custome and Canons, mentioned in the Council of *Ephesus* long before *Zeno*, was never under *Antioch*; and a fourth beyond the size of all the former, that being taken from *Antioch*, it now was put under *Constantinople* (which could not have been done without great injury both to *Cyprus* and *Antioch* too) whereas it is clear, that it was at that time vindicated to its αὐτοκρατία, and so after confirmed by *Iustinian* (both which are taken notice of by

by Nicephorus, *Hist.* 16. c. 37. though mixt with some other manifest mistakes) and when the Archbishop of Cyprus was driven thence by the Barbarians, and betook himself to Justinianopolis, he there retained the same liberty, that he held by the Ephesine Canon, as may appear by the sixth Council in Trullo, Can. 39 which decrees το παρ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ - τῶ δὲ δέον τὸ παρακολουθεῖν ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐκείνην ἀναγομένην παρακολουθεῖν, that the privileges confirmed to that See by the Ephesine Fathers, should be preserved to him intire: ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν Ἰουστινιανού τοῦ δὲ Νικαίου ἐξέρχεται τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, so that new Justinianopolis to which John Archbishop of Constance was now removed, shall have the right of Constantinople, i.e. be as free and independent in his own Province, as the Bishop of Constantinople is in his; unless, as Phil. Berterius conjectures, it should be rather read τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, that the Bishop being thus removed shall retain the privileges that belonged to that former city the Metropolis of Cyprus, Salamis or Constantia. But this by the way, as a digression, not to satisfy any importunities of S. W. but to prevent mistakes.

5. Mean while what was thus defined there in behalf of Cyprus being by that Canon expressly affirmed to extend to all other Churches in like manner (the thing being lookt on as κοινὴ νόσος, a common disease, and τῆς πάντων ἐκδοτέας ἱκόμενοι, that which concerned the liberty of all, and proportionably care taken for the cure of all, τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν περιτῶν παρακολουθεῖται, the same shall be observed in the other Dioceses (that was the word that then belonged to the fourteen divisions of the Empire, of which Rome was one) and all the Provinces every where) must in all reason be of equal and full force to the vindicating of the liberties of all other Primates, as well as of Cyprus, and an evidence that the Preeminence of a few Patriarchs is no prejudice to the freedom and independency of the many Primates and Metropolitans in the world, which being so, it is clear that what I pretended to prove from the Ephesine Canon, was really proved from it.

In conclusion of that 6. Sect. upon mention of that order given in that Canon indefinitely against all invasions for time to come, in whatsoever Diocese, that no Bishop shall usurpe a power



where from the Apostles times he had not enjoyed it, I add [which beow directly is prejudges the pretensions of Rome, as well as Antioch, is so manifest that it cannot need farther demonstrating. Here saith S. W. Dr. H. supposes it a first principle evident by the light of Nature, or begs it gratis, that the Pope hath thus incroached, though that be the onely thing in controversie] and there is a Syllogism formed to shew the grossness of my arguing, and on this there is great rilycing.

- But to this I answer, 1. That there be divers things (beside  
 7. first principles, evident by the light of nature) which need no farther demonstrating; such are those that are sufficiently testified already, such are matters of fact, obvious to every mans observation. And of this nature is that which I here speak of, that Rome pretends, and so usurps a power, where from the Apostles times she hath not enjoyed it. The power which Rome pretends to is universal over all the world of Christians. And is it not visible that this hath not been enjoyed by her through all time *ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων*? The Abyssenes sure are a very considerable part of the world, and yet were not from their first plantation, *καὶ τὸ πῶς ἔχει*, under the hand, or power of the Bishop of Rome, *ἢ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ*, or of his predecessors in that See. The Histories of those Ethiopick Christians tell us, that they were very early *Primi, vel inter Primos*, the first or among the first of the Gentiles converted to the faith, first by Indica, the Eunuch whom Philip baptized, Act. 8. then more fully by Saint Matthew, *qui distributo Apostolis Orbe Ethiopiam sortito obtinuit*, who in the division of the world among the Apostles, had Ethiopia for his Province; that by the Arabick *Canon*s, their chief Bishop is called *Catholicus, & loco Patriarchæ*, but hath not the power of Patriarch for Ordination, &c. but is under the See of Alexandria; that they \* use not the *Romane Rites*, but are averse from them, *|| fast exactly on Wednesdays and Fridayes; and fast nothing till Sun set*, and many the like; *|| have kept no kind of Communion with Europe*, till by the Portuguese navigation thither, David their King was inclined to desire the friendship of Emmanuel King of Portugal, and wrote to Pope Clement the seventh, that he acknowledged the Bishop of Rome Pastor of the Universal Church: yet when upon this, soon after, Pope Julius the

Godign de  
 reb. Abat. l. 1.  
 1. c. 18.

|| Nicen. Can.  
 36.

\* Codig. l. 1.  
 c. 22.  
 || b. c. 19.  
 || Aug. Mir. e.  
 Not. Epif. op.  
 l. 1. c. 21.

the third sent *Iohannes Nonnius* to be their *Patriarch*, *Claudius* the successor of that *David* rejecting him, the design *vanisht*, and came to nought. And so still the power of their Ecclesiastical affairs remains in their own *Patriarch*, saith *Damian a Goos*. I shall therefore onely ask *S. W.* whether from Saint *Matthews* time to this, the *Bishop of Rome* hath enjoyed a power over the *Ab-ssines*? and if not, whether without breach of the *Ephesine Canon* he can now pretend to have any such power, or whether this need any further demonstrating?

8. Or if he be unwilling to go so far off, for the perfecting this demonstration, I shall need draw him no farther then these *British Islands* of ours (the matter of our present controversie) and desire him to shew me any evidences, which may clear the *Bishop of Romes* pretensions to the supreme jurisdiction over these Churches at the time of the *Ephesine Council*, and ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναστέον from the time of planting the Christian faith here, till then: If he can, I desire he will produce them, and shew us, what *Bishops* of *Rome* they were which exercised it. If he cannot, then the *Canon of Ephesus* defines μὴ κατὰ δὲ καὶ, that he shall not assume any such power, or if he have assumed, that he shall ἀποδῆναι make restitution, quit, and disclaim that power. And so this, I hope, needs no further demonstration.

9. Secondly, That what I say, needs no farther demonstrating, is not by me supposed, or begged as a Principle, but as a conclusion so far formerly inferred, that on this occasion, *loco non suo*, it needed not be farther demonstrated. The interposition of the word [farther] prevented all this triumph of his. For to omit all that had been said in the former chapter, which I must be allowed to think, had so far disproved the *Popes* pretended Universal jurisdiction in the very fountain of it, the universal Pastorship of Saint *Peter*, that I should not be bound under the pain of begging the question, to prove it anew in every Paragraph of the ensuing discourse, to omit this, I say, the Section immediately precedent had manifested, that *Rome* was no more then a *Patriarchate*; and then looking upon it as such and no more, the conclusion was irrefragable, that *Romes* present pretensions are incroachments, and most directly not onely prejudicial, but destroyed by that *Canon*: For 1. as a *Patriarch*, tis not imaginable that the

*B. Plot.*

*Bishop of Rome* can have any authority farther then his own *Patriarchal Province*, and that is not the whole world, because there be other *Patriarchs*, and each of them hath his distinct assignation of *Province*. And 2. A *Patriarch* hath no jurisdiction over the *Primates* in his own *Province*, the Authority of *Primates* and *Patriarchs* being the same, as hath been shewed out of *Anacletus*, Tr. of *Schism*, p. 58. And 3. Some *Metropolitans* were exempt from the power of the *Patriarch*, as is evident by the *Ephesine Canon*. And so still this is destructive to *Rome's* pretensions to *Universal jurisdiction* upon this account which had formerly from the *Canon of Chalcedon* been proved to belong to it, of its being a *Patriarchy*. And 4. the *Ephesine Canon* referring to ancient and original *Canons* and *customs*, it must be supposed to agree to the sixth *Canon of Nice*. Now in that *Nicene Canon* tis plain, that there are bounds and limits supposed to belong to every *Patriarchate*, and order given that they shall be observed; that order expressly given for *Alexandria*, that *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis* shall belong to that, and the *Bishop of Alexandria* πάντων τούτων ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν, to have the power of all them; and the reason given for the observing those bounds, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐποικίοντο τῷ συνόδοις ἐστὶ, because this also is customary to the *Bishop of Rome*. Where unless the *Romane Diocese* were limited, it could not possibly be a copy, and reason of the limiting of the *Alexandrian* (sure twould never be deemed reasonable to say, *Alexandria* must have limits, because *Rome* hath, if it were possible to affirm that *Rome* had none) which yet that it was (besides the evidence of the words themselves) tis the express affirmation of one of their own *Popes*, *Nicholas* 1. *Epist.* 8. *Nicene Synodus Romane Ecclesie nullum contulit incrementum, sed potius ex ejus forma quædam Alexandrina Ecclesia tribueret, particulariter sumpsit exemplum.* The *Nicene Synod* conferred no increase on *Rome*, but rather took from *Rome* an example particularly, what to give to the Church of *Alexandria*. And then if at the making of the *Nicene Canon*, *Rome* had bounds, it must needs follow by the *Ephesine Canon*, that those bounds must be to all time observed, and so that will be most destructive to the *Universal* (for that is boundless, unlimited) *Pastorship* of that See. So that having now joyned the force

of the *Nicen* and *Ephesin Canon* into one, I shall flatter my self, that it will not be easily broken asunder by *S. W.* And so though much more might be fitly added to this purpose ( and somewhat hath been said in the *Reply*, *Ch. 5. Sect. 5.* ) this shall suffice at this time, till *S. W.* shall undertake to reconcile a *limited Diocess* with *universal Pastorship* ; or shew that by the *Nicen Canon*, the *Roman* was not then *such*; or that being such then, it could commence so afterward, without violation of the *Ephesine*.

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SECT.

## SECT. VII.

*Justiniana*, *Ἀυτοκράτορος*. Receiving the Pall, no sign of subjection antiently. Since it hath brought in gain and power to the Papacy. Supremacy in his own Province not reconcilable with subjection to the Pope. A Manuscript chidden for being old, and of no antiquity. All Primates supreme in their Province. The dignity conferr'd by the Emperour, not the Pope. *Locus Apostolica sedis*. τόπος, for dignity. *τοποῖς ἐχεν φιλανίαν*. All the Popes submitters are not his subjects. Subjection for Ordination must be subjection. Ordination of Primates by their own Council. Of inferior Bishops by Primates. Few independent Archbishopsricks. All Primates such. Independency of Primates is no denying the Catholick Church. The Government whereof is not Monarchick. The Doctrine of the Councils, which the Pope vows to maintain, unreconcilable with universal Pastorship. The Milevitan and Constantinopolitan Canon. The Canon of Nice cited by the Pope, but not found in the Authenticks.

1. **W**HAT he adds in the latter part of this 2. Sect. concerning *Justiniana Prima*, hath in part been prevented in the *Reply*, ch. 5. sect. 6. But some things are said by S.W. which were not there tendred, and therefore a few words may be thought due to them : First, saith he, *Justinian's constitution is no decree of a Council* ] Neither said I it was; yet being the constitution of a Christian Emperour, and formally in'erted into the body of the Law, and never checked at ( that we discern, or is pretended ) either by any Council, or by the Bishops of the Church then living, or noted as irregular, or intrenchment on the Priviledges or Jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, or any other, and yet inflating on that City all Ecclesiastical censure, supreme Priesthood, supreme dignity, it is a competent evidence, that this might lawfully be done, and consequently that the Church of a City and Province under it might be exempt from all foreign Jurisdiction, *ἀποκρίσις* & within it self. And then that is all that it was produced to testify.

Secondly

2. Secondly, saith he, *Justinians fact (in case he had pretended it)* is not able to invalidate that sacred dignity of head of the Church, had any such been constituted by our Saviour. But here is a begging the question, that the Pope was by our Saviour constituted head of the Church; and it matters not what *Justinians* constitution would have done in that case, when it is so far from granted that this was the case. It is much more reasonable to assume, that he was not in that age deemed head of the Church, or universal Pastor, by *Christs* constitution, when this act of the Emperor, which supposes the contrarie, was yet entred into the Law, and stood in full effect, and never appears to be by any in that time lookt on as an injury or innovation.

3. Thirdly, saith he, *Justinian* never intended to crop the aspiring growth of Rome, as the Dr. imagines, which is manifest by his sending to Pope Vigilius to bestow a Pall upon his new Archbishop. And truly I never said *Iustinian* intended it; he intended only kindness, and to expels that, honour and power to the place of his own birth, *Achrida* a City of *Bulgaria*, making it an Archiepiscopal See, and subjecting many regions to it, but leaving it subject to none, an image of his own *αὐτοκρατία* or independent power. And this was no kind of diminution of that Patriarchal power, which *Rome* then had, the absoluteness of Primates being, as was shewed, reconcileable with that; and this that *Justiniana* now had, being no more than such. And at this time, whilst *Iustinian* reigned, the Bishop of *Rome* had not ascended to any greater sublimity then that of the first Patriarch, the title of universal Bishop, which signifies that unlimited power, and Pastorsip, which is now pretended to, being the concession of *Phocas* to *Boniface*, after the reign of *Iustinian*. And therefore it signifies very little, what is here added for an evidence on S. W. his side, viz. Pope Vigilius his sending him a Pall. That was an honorarie ornament, which the Emperours first gave the Patriarchs, and the Patriarchs sent to Arch-Bishops and Metropolitanes (but was in the East, common to all Bishops) and was then far from what since it hath been taught to be, a sign of subjection to him that sends it. The ancient custom was for the new Arch-Bishop to make his profession of the Christian faith before his Patriarch, and from him to receive the Pall, as appears



¶ *Fidem tuam  
sanctæ sedi  
Apostolicæ  
exponere, u-  
sumque Pallii  
expetere &  
excipere. Corp.  
Iur. Decret.  
part. 1. Dist.  
100. c. 1.  
\* Ep. ex Re-  
gift. l. 4. In-  
dist. 13. Ep.  
55 Et Corp.  
Iur. Decret.  
par. 1. Dist.  
100. c. 3.  
Novit sancti-  
tas tua quia  
prius pallium  
nisi dato com-  
modo non da-  
batur.  
¶ Epist. 15 and  
Corp. Iur.  
Decret. par. 1.  
Dist. 63.  
Quia.*

by the words of || *Pelagius* in the *Canon Law*; But latter *Pope* have made this matter of *gain* first, and then of *Power* to themselves: Of *gain*, as appears in \* *Gregories Epistle* to *John Bishop* of *Corinth*, where he notes this in his *Predecessors*, but saith an *Act* of *Council* had lately past against it. As for some *Xenia*, gifts or presents, though he tells the *Arch-Bishop* of this *Justiniana*, that he would not have received such a *prædatis & assuetis fratribus* from pillaged and distressed brethren (which seems no relieving them from others) yet upon remonstrance, that they were sent as an offering to God, he receives them from him. As for power and gain both, *Pope Hildebrand* laid the grounds, who required that every *Archbishop* should personally come to *Rome* (bringing presents was a consequent to that) and receive the *Pall*, which formerly had used to be sent; and *Paschalis II.* that soon followed him, made a decree that they that asked the *Pall* should make an oath of fidelity to him; And so now the receiving the *Pall* may be an argument for *S. W.* to witness subjection to the *Papal power*, but signified no such thing in *Vigilius* his time, and so is no prejudice to the *ἡλικὸν ἐξουσίαν*, and *summum fastigium*, the independent power (as of a *Primate*) which *Iustinian* conferred upon him.

4. Fourthly, he will hope to get some advantage by our answer to this question, Whether all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, supreme Priesthood and supreme honor must mean a supremacy over the whole Church, or only in his own particular diocese? and supposing with reason that the former will not be said, he fastens on the latter, and then, saith he, he might be supreme there, and yet subject to the Pope too. ] But to this I answer that acknowledging it to belong to him only in his own Province, now assigned him by *Iustinian*, it must yet necessarily exclude the *Popes Jurisdiction* over him. For he that is supreme within himself, and hath power finally to conclude all differences, within his own Province, so that there shall be no resort to any other, is certainly so supreme in his own Province, that he is not subject to the Pope. And this was the express privilege of *Justiniana*, in the Constitution let out by *Gothofred*, *Dirimant, finem imponant, ne ad alium quemvis eatur*; and if other *Primates* may have the same privilege, and exemption from all forraign Jurisdiction, I have

have little more to ask of *S. W.* for the *gaining* the whole *Controversie*; for then our *Primates* shall have *final, conclusive* power within their own *Provinces*, and the *Bishop* of *Rome* have nothing of jurisdiction here, which was all, (if not somewhat more) that by this instance I designed to demonstrate.

5. It was therefore but *necessarie*, that the witness that adventured to speak so *contrary* to *S. W.* his interest, should in the next place, be *defamed*; *The testimonie*, saith he, is *from an old mouse-eaten Manuscript* of *he knows not what authority*; and yet after he hath called it *old*, &c. he adds, it is of *no antiquity nor humanity*, and yet after all this, he saith most truly, that *he hath not seen the Book, and it is hard to be found.*]

6. I wish his *memorie* would serve him from the *beginning* to the *end* of a *period*, or that he would teach us the new art of *discerning*, how that is *old*, which is of *no antiquity*; or how he can affirm that to be *mouse-eaten*, which he confesseth, *he hath not seen*. But the short is, the *weakest* answers may by being well worded be much *improved*, and accordingly the *authority* of an *ancient Manuscript*, published by a *learned man*, and ready for all men to *view*, that can but read, may be *invalidated*, and put off with the bare scorn first of *old* (which seriously spoken were the greatest honor to it; sure *new Manuscripts* are not like *new clothes*, but like *new wine*, and *new friends*, the *old* are infinitely better) and then of *hard to be found, and Mouse-eaten*, which are equally *pertinent*, and *true*, and for want of more *evasions*, the *Latine* must be said to have *no humanity nor antiquity* in it; and but one thing really *wanting* all this while, all degree of care that there should be any the least *colour* or *appearance* of truth in all this.

7. And when his *conscience* could not but tell him this, and how discernable it was, he must then still *proceed*, and add, that *this testimonie* is still *nothing to the purpose*.

8. And can any man imagine him to *think*, what now he saith, who would call in, and make use of such *strange prelusorie* arts to divert it? Sure if the force of this instance had been *avoidable*, and he had heartily thought it so, that would have been *earlier* said. he would not have put himself upon the so much *harder* and less *creditable* task of *reconciling contradictions*.

9. But wherefore is it not to the purpose? Why, saith he, here is nothing said which was not common to the Patriarchs, and such Metropolitans as Cyprus was, to wit that they had no ordinary appeal further, which, saith he, no way hinders but that extraordinary cases, which could not be ended among themselves, should be carried to Rome: and so (he concludes) this leaves this Bishop as subject to the Pope, as any of the Patriarchs, or any out of the Patriarchate of the West was. And truly I can grant this conclusion, and yet receive as much benefit by this testimonie, find it as much to my purpose, as I ever designed it to be. For I that conceive (and have shewed) every Patriarch to have *ισα ἀποστολῇ*, equal power and privileges with the Bishop of Rome (place only excepted, and the honorarie consequents of that) and 2. Every Primates power to be equal to a Patriarchs, and to be absolute and independent from him, shall most willingly grant that neither Justiniana nor Carthage, after their exemption, ascended any higher then these; and yet am thereby competently secured, that Rome had no jurisdiction over it, either *ordinarie* or *extraordinarie*; for so certainly the *summum* signifies, and the *finem* impnant, and the *nec ad alium quemvis eatur*, the supreme power, conclusive, and exclusive of all others, unless either there be higher than the supreme, posterior to the last, and some-body who is no body, and the Bishop of Rome be all these.

10. There is no other force in this argument, but that which is willingly yielded to S. W. that what thus appears to have been the state of Justiniana, is really the state of all Primates; and then when it is his own conclusion, I hope he will not chide me for assuming it, that in very deed every Primate, and so the Bishop of Canterbury in this Nation, hath the supreme Priesthood, Dignity, Jurisdiction belonging to him, within his own Province, that he hath power of defining all controversies finally, without farther resort or appeal *ad alium quemvis*, to any other. And that is all S. W. hath as yet acquired by this answer.

11. A next Attempt he makes out of my own Testimonie from Justinian, Nov. 13 i. c. 3. which he resolves will determine it for him after all this. The words are, he shall have *locum Apostolica sedis*, which he will render, he shall be in all that Diocese the Popes Legate, and after, he shall have the place or lieu of the Apostolical seat,

seat, or be the Popes substitute, asking me where I have read the Greek τόνος explicated for honour or dignity. ] To this I answer, 1. That it were to be wisht that he would provide him some testimonies of his own, and not so wholly, and so constantly rely on the advantages which his arts and dexterities can extract out of those which I have produced against him; he must be a greater Master then S.W. yet appears to be, that can come thus weaponless into the field, and yet undertake to be a Disarmer: Mean while tis visible where his confidence (not his strength) lies: it is pure slight of hand, that must work his victories, and supply all his want out of his enemies Magazin. How well this trust hath yet succeeded to him, hath formerly appeared, as oft as it hath been depended on, and now it is as visible as ever. To evidence it, I shall but demand, who it was that gave the Archbishop of Justiniana this privilege (and that not personally to the first, but to all that should succeed in that See) was it the Pope or the Emperour? If it had been the Pope, there might have been some colour for S.W. his affirmation, for then he might reasonably be yielded to make his own Legate or Substitute, and perhaps to do it to a whole succession, to affix that honor to a particular See. But it is plain my Testimonie was fetcht out of Justinians Novell, not out of Vigilius's Epistle, an extract or copie of the Emperours (διάταξις) constitution, not of the Popes deputation. And I hope the Emperour is not so much Master of the Popes Acts and will, as that he can decree, to whom (to all posterity) the Pope shall give his Deputations. If he be, this is as much as I shall demand at this time, and that I am sure the Novell will give me, that whatsoever is meant by this locum Apostolica sedis, the place of the Apostolical See, it was not by the Pope, which ordain'd the first Bishop of Justiniana (yet none of the succeeding) but by the Emperour, who raised that See to that summum fastigium, supreme height, conferrd upon him.

12. In this matter it is possible S.W. may have a little mistaken my meaning, and therefore to cure it in him, or to prevent that possibility in others, I assure him I mean by the phrase locum Apostolica sedis, the same that he would have me, the place of the Apostolick, as that signifies the Roman seat. And though the

particle [an] instead of [the] may seem to prejudice that sense, yet I never made that use of it, but contrariwise in the Reply, added the Greek words, which take away all ambiguity, *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀποστολικῷ Ὁ θρόνῳ*, that he shall in the Provinces subject to him, hold the place of the Apostolical throne of Rome; But still this is far enough from favouring S. W. his pretension, of his being no more but the Popes substitute. For as that is already prejudged by the Emperors giving him this place, so other circumstances concur to avert that interpretation. 1. The express words of || *Julianus Antecessor, Nov. 109. Archiepiscopum Iustiniana Prima eadem jura super Episcopos sibi subiectos habere, quae Papa Romanus habet super Episcopos sibi suppositos*, that the Archbishop of Iustiniana shall have the same rights over the Bishops that are under him, which the Pope of Rome hath over the Bishops that are under him. This gives him as clear an example of my interpretation of *τόπον*, and as full an answer to his question, as he could have wisht; He asks where I met it for honor and dignity? And I answer, I rendred it place or dignity, and here it signifies that, yea and more added to it, the power and jurisdiction over those which are under him, equal, because the same with those which Rome had over her subjects. And if he desire more testimonies for this notion of *τόπος*, I shall not omit to satisfy his curiosity in that also, though it be now very impertinent, and superfluous. || Of Alexandria, *Dion. Chrysostom* hath these words, *ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πλείον ὅσον διαφέρει, καὶ περισσώτερος ἀποδείκνυται δευτέρα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον*, for your City doth very much excell both in greatness and place (sure that must be dignity, attending that greatness) and is illustriously demonstrat to be the second of all under the Sun, i. e. next unto Rome in dignity. So when *Iosephus* saith of Antioch, *τρίτον ἀσθενέστερον ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐμμένει ἔχει τὸ πῶν*, it hath the third place in the world which is under Rome, he expresses what he means by *τόπον*, *μεγέθος*, *ἐνδοξία* καὶ ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας; such as belongs to it in respect of the greatness, and other felicity, that sure is the dignity of that City. And what thinks he of the words of *Ausonius, Ambarum locus unus*, they have both of them the same place; that sure must be the same dignity. And if S. W. will but have patience to spend a very little necessarie time in Books, I believe he will soon be able

vid. Phil.  
Beter. Puth.  
l. 2. c. 3.  
Auber. Mira. ū  
Not. Episc. l. 1.  
c. 9.

Or. 22. ad  
Alexand.

De Bell. Iud.  
l. 5. c. 3.

able to throw in more *examples* under this head.

13. Lastly, *S. W.* must learn a difference betwixt τόπον ἔχειν ἐπ' ἑαυτῷ, to have, to hold a place, on one side, and τόπον τηρεῖν, φυλάττειν, διέσσειν, to keep, supply, and minister a place, on the other side. The latter of these indeed doth constantly belong to a *substitute* as of the *Pope*, &c. his τοποτη. ηῖς, or *place-keeper*, which the *Law* deduces ἐκ τῆς τηρεῖν, ὅς ἐστι φυλάττειν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τὰς τόπους τῶν ἐλλόντων αὐτοὺς from keeping or supplying the places of them who send them, as is frequently to be met with in the *subscriptions* of *Concels*; But to τόπον ἔχειν or ἐπεχειν, to have or hold a place, (as when they are used of having the first or second place) that sense of *substitution* or *vicegerency* is not applicable, but this other of having, or possessing such a dignity, as ones own, in his own right, I shall not need to seek instances of this, the thing being fully cleared, as far as concerns the business in hand, by comparing the words of *Julianus Antecessor*, even now vouched, with these in *Iustinians Novel*, both speaking of the very same thing, and one expressing it by τόπον ἔχειν, *locum habere*, to have the place, and the other by *habere eadem jura*. or δίκαια, to have the same rights or powers, which evidently proves the matter in hand, and satisfies his demand, that τόπος place doth, and doth in this *Novel*, signify dignity, and that the place of the *Apostolick Seat* of Rome, is the same power in his, that the *Pope* hath in his *Diocefs*, which was the thing incumbent on me to be proved.

*Vid. Z niam in Praef. ad Concil. Caribag. p. 384.*

14. And having thus far attended him, One farther mis-adventure there is yet in this *Answer* of *S. W.* (and there could not have been more expected in one paragraph) For having resolved from the words of the *Novel*, that this *Bishop* was the *Popes Legate* in all that *Diocefs*; he concludes it thence clear that his *Diocefs* remained, notwithstanding all these privileges, subject to the *Pope*.
15. How clearly this is hence deducible, will soon be discerned; That the *Pope* may chose one of his subjects to be his *Legates*, I willingly grant; but it follows not from hence, nor from any other medium here tendred by *S. W.* that this holds in conversion, that whosoever is his *Legate*, is his subject. And yet this is absolutely necessarie to the clear inferring his conclusion from this medium,



dium, it being certain that he which by being the *Popes Legate* is not made *free* from his *subjection*, may yet be upon some other account; such is the *Emperors* giving him here the *summum fastigium*, and the *final, conclusive, and exclusive* power forementioned.

Page. 359.

16. Now that the *Pope* may have a *Legate* or *Substitute*, who is not his *subject*, may 1. appear by the *testimony* of *Balsamon* in his *preface* to the *Council* in *Trullo*. Where both from the *nature* of a *Legate de latere*, that it is one that must *ὁ τε δέσμιος παρὰ τὸν δεσπότην*, represent his person, when it is needful, and from the *Bishop* of *Thessalonica*, *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Crete*, *Patra*, and *Ravenna* and others thus representing him, over whom, saith he, the *Pope* hath no *δικαίον χειροτονίας*, right of ordination, he concludes, *ἐκείνους εἶναι τῷ Πατρὶ ἀρχιερέως ὅς ἐστι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὰς ὑπεροχὰς ἐπισκόπου ἑαυτοῦ*—That those are the *Popes Legats*, whom he hath particularly chosen, but yet that they are not all within his bounds under him, but that this of having *Legates* was invented because of the length of the way, not as of his *subjects*, but as of those that were neereſt at hand, to represent him the more easily.

17. If *Balsamons* judgement be not here thought fit to be taken, as being no friend to the *Romane* greatness (though I know no obligation lies on me to rely on no body but *S. W.* his friends, as long as he is so careful not to believe, or be concluded by his enemies, that in this, and generally in his affirmations, he makes use of no other but his own testimony) I shall offer this confirmation of it. A superior (or an equal) may have the proxy of an inferior, and be substituted by him, as is evident in the *Guardian* substituted by the *Pupil*, and acting for him. And so a *Bishop* may in *Council* have the proxy, and so represent the person of another *Bishop* from whom he hath no dependence, or subjection. *Philippi* was a *Metropolis* of a *Province* of *Macedonia*. Besides the words, *Act. 16. 12.* ὁ πόλις πόλις τῆς ἐκκλησίας, a first or prime City of that portion of *Macedonia*, || *Photius* is clear in it, ἡ Φιλίππων πόλις τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπαρχίας μετροπόλις ἔστι, the City of *Philippi* the *Metropolis* of a *Province* of *Macedonia*, and by being such, it is secured from being under any other (no more then) *Metropolis*. Yet in the great *Council* of *Ephesus*, *Flavianus* of

Ep. 247.

of *Philippi* supplied the place of *Rufus* of *Thessalonica*, and so was his *Legate*, had his *τόπος* place, in *S. W.* his sense. And I suppose nothing is more ordinary in *Councils* than this, that one *Metropolitane*, that is present, shall receive the proxy, and supply the place of any other *Metropolitan* indifferently, without losing his liberty, or becoming his subject, or inferior, whose place he supplies: and if in those parts, the *Bishop* of *Justiniana* were by the *Pope* thus delegated, and made his perpetuall substitute (as by the *Novell* 'tis plain he was not, for whatsoever was meant by it, 'tis evident that from the *Emperour* he had it, not from the *Pope*) yet would not that conclude him subject to the *Pope*, when the *Emperour's* so liberall donations had explicitly exempted him.

18. His next answer, or endeavour (again, after his old manner) to shew me doing against my self, and by a *Testimony* out of *Nicephorus*, convincing, as he suggests, all my proceſſe of nullity, was made use of before him by the *Cath. Gent.* and is answered in the *Reply*, sect. 5. n. 5. &c.

19. But we are not yet at end of this matter. For beside that from the *Pope's* ordaining the first *Bishop*, he will needs conclude, that he consented to his erection (which I shall willingly grant (so he means not authoritative consent) assuring my selfe the erection was an act of the *Emperour* onely, wherein the *Pope* had nothing to do) and so somewhat again, from his giving him the *Pall*, though he know not well what; It was, saith he, a signe of superiority, and a kinde of benediction, and at least an honour, if not a jurisdiction (and if it were thus, then perhaps it was no jurisdiction, and I have accounted for this of the *Pall* already) beside these, I say, he proceeds in these words, In the next Paragraph the Doctor tells us, that this particularity that his Successors were to be consecrated by their Counsel of *Metropolitans*, is a second instance of the point in hand; and (saith he) I do not deny, but sometimes to be subject for ordination, was a signe of subjection, but not alwaies: The *Bp.* of *Ostia* hath the priviledge to consecrate the *Pope*, yet the *Pope* is not held to be his subject.—]

20. Here be some considerable frailties discernable; first, in his intellectual faculty, which had made this particularity, that his Successors were to be consecrated by their Council—to be a second instance

instance of the point in hand, whereas 'tis most evident in the place, that the whole precedent discourse of the erection, and independency of *Iustiniana Prima*, and not onely this branch of it, was the second instance, as the priviledges of the Archbishop of Carthage had been the former, p. 101. but this was but a slip. What then was the second, that to be subject for ordination was sometimes a signe of subjection, but not alwaies. In propriety of speaking indeed, being subject cannot be a sign of subjection, either alwaies, or sometimes; but yielding him that impropriety also, what shall we say to this part of the proposition, being subject for ordination is not alwaies a sign of subjection ] This is something like the hard headed respondent, that satisfied himself, that a Goose-py was not a pye; for none but that sort of Logick can ever conclude, that he that is subject for ordination is not subject.

21. But sure *S. W.* had here some good meaning also, that subjection for ordination doth not argue all kinde of subjection, or that he may be subject for ordination, that is not subject for jurisdiction: But 1. this is no way proved; 2. it can by no means be assistant to *S. W.* unlesse he could prove *è converso*, that they that are subject for jurisdiction, may yet not be subject for ordination, for that onely can answer my argument of *Iustiniana's* not being subject to Rome's jurisdiction, because 'twas not subject to it for ordination, the Bishop being to all succession allowed by *Iustinian* to be ordained by his own Counsel of Bishops.

22. As for that which he saith in the instance of *Ostia*, that that Bishop hath the priviledge to consecrate the Pope, yet the Pope is not held his subject ] it might easily have been seen through by *S. W.* his Optick. For no doubt the Pope may be consecrated by him, without being subject to him for ordination, as the Patriarch of Constantinople was wont to be consecrated by the Bishop of Heraclea, one of his Suffragans, or as the Kings of England have generally been crowned by the Bishop of Canterbury, without any subjection on either side, either for ordination, or coronation. And so all Primats are, I suppose, to be consecrated by the Counsel of their own Bishops, and there is no shew of subjection in all this, for it being impossible that a Primate shall become such, without being consecrated, it is necessarily consequent to his *αὐτονομία* or independence from all other Superiors, that his

own Bishops should consecrate him, but this without any note of subjection herein; But if the case be put of a Bishop which is subject to the jurisdiction of some superiour Bishop (as S. W. must suppose the Bishop of Justiniana to have been) Metropolitane, Primate, or Patriarch, I shall then demand, whether subjection for ordination would not be that Bishops portion, as well as any other kinde of subjection? To this case he knowes his instance of Ostia belongs not, and as little that other which he brings of the decree of the Council of Sardica, that the next Province shall give Bishops to a Province that wants, for this is visibly but an act of charity to those that want that almes; And when that Province is once furnisht, I shall suppose for the future, it may lawfully give Bishops to it self.

13. As for his other two instances of Alexandria giving the Indians Bishops, and consecrating the Patriarch of Constantino-ple, 'tis notorious that that Patriarch was customarily consecrated by his own Suffragan, the Bishop of Heraclea, and for the Indians, all that is pretended is, that the Patriarch of Alexandria gave them Bishops, when they wanted, and so that falls under the other forementioned head of mercy, which is distant from all colour of jurisdiction; or if it did not, I am no way concern'd to vindicate the Indians liberties, or non-subjection to that Patriarch; so that still it remains most firme, that if Justiniana prima had been subject under the obedience of the Bp. of Rome, the Bps. of Rome would have continued to ordain him as a Primate, or Patriarch ordaines all that are under their subjection, and this being part of Justiniana's priviledge, that the Archb: be ordained by his own Counsel, as all other independent Archbishops (of which the store is not great) and all Primates and Patriarchs are, this is a strong prejudice to the Pope's having any jurisdiction over him.

14. What here next followes, is by asking *Who can tell what the Doctor meanes, when he saith the Emperour did all this onely by making Justiniana a Primate's or chief Metropolitan's See, & that Carthage's being the prime Metropolis of Africk, is expressed by having the same priviledges with prima Justiniana, pretending that this is nothing else, but to mock my Auditory, and that as farre as he understands, these words signifie that the Emperour said onely, be thou a Metropolis, and in so saying, gave all these priviledges.*

ledges.] 'Tis much his *understanding* should be rendred so *incapable* in an instant, which hath served him so *faithfully*, and sure pac'd for very *pregnant* and *piercing* all this while. It is as if a man should say to himself, *γὰρ ὁ οὐκ ὁρᾷ, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ὁρᾷ*, Doe not see what is before thine eyes, and then let him look never so *intently*, he shall be able to *descry* nothing; Otherwise sure the words are plaine, and the sense as *discernible*, as of any period in the Book, that every *Primacy* is really thus *independent*, as a *Primacy*, (but that is not all one with a *Metropolis*, as he would set it. *Justiniana* had six *Metropolies* under it, saith \* *Miraeus* from *Nectarius* Bishop thereof:) and so that all *Justinians Privileges* bestowed on *Acrida*, the place of his birth, are no more than what every *Primate* by right enjoyed, and consequently that when *Carthage* was raised to this *Privilege* of *Independency*, or *Primacy*, being but an *Arch-bishops* See, and every such not being necessarily a *Primacy*, the *compendious* method was, to give it the *Privileges* of *Justiniana*, which being but an *Arch-bishops* See, had yet the *Independent exemptions* of a *Primacy*.

\* Not Episc.  
l. i. c. 9.

25. Here is no *subtily* to torture *S. W.* his *understanding*, but grosse matter of *right*, and of *fact*; the former of which he might have seen *deftically* laid before him, in *chap. 3. sec. 21. &c.* if he had not *fastidiously* overlookt it, indeavouring to perswade his *Reader*, that there were not *five* words in that *Chapter* which could in any way be *preparative* to the question before us, whereas indeed nothing can be more to the purpose, than the due stating the *originall* and *rights* of *Primacies*, which was there handled.

26. But perhaps there was some *obstruction* in the way, which thus made *plain* sense so *unintelligible* with my otherwise *quick-sighted* *Disarmer*, &c if we may believe him, 'twas this, that all the *Doctor's* labour and the *texts* by him cited, wherein every *privilege* is set down so particularly, had infused this prejudice into him, for, saith he, they make it manifest that there were none, or not eminent examples of any such *Cities*, or *Bishopricks*, and therefore so many particularities were necessary to be expressed, and it be made an example to others. Yet upon this relieth the *Doctors* main evidence, and demonstration, though if you will believe him, the conclusion of it self

is most certain, and might otherwise be testified by innumerable evidences, which he ought to suppose the Doctor omits for brevity sake.

27. If there be now any sincerity in this Disputer, here will be a triall of it: for this prejudice, and misapprehension of his owne, being once removed, the matter will be so cleare before him, that he will not be able to escape the apprehending of it.

28. First then he is to know, that every Archbishop's See is not independent, Nay, that of such there are but few examples, viz. Justiniana, and Cyprus, and Carthage, and Ravenna, and the Metropolis of Iberians, now called the Georgians in Asia (as Miraeus concludes from the Council of Antioch) and so he sees the reason, why four \* the most famous, of these were the chosen instances to be insisted on, viz. of Archiepiscopi<sup>c. 9.</sup> all Sees, that were αὐτοκράτες, heads to themselves, subject to no other, whether Primate, or Patriarch, nor consequently to the Bishop of Rome.

29. Secondly, That all Primates are of this independent nature, no way differing from Patriarchs, but in respect of place or order, having, what Justinian gave Achride, Summum sacerdotium, summum fastigium, summam dignitatem omnem Ecclesiasticam Consuetudinem, the highest Priesthood & Dignity, all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, power of deciding all Controversies within their Province, and doing this ultimately, so that it is not lawfull to retort or appeale to any other, and so also he sees that there be as many evidences against the Pope's Universall Pastorship, as there are evidences in bookes of the Independent power of Primates: those I was bold by S. W. his good leave, to call innumerable evidences, not knowing any certaine way to help me or him to the certaine number of them. And so this great posing riddle is explained, I hope, to S. W. his capacity: and that he may not thinke my ungrounded affirmations have helpt it to this perspicuity, I referre him to the Council of Ephesus, where what was adjudged to Constantia is extended to all other, διοικήσεις or Provinces, that the Primate thereof, he that had beene so ἐξ ἀρχῆς from the beginning; should be independent from all others, or, if he will, to the



the constitution it selfe, wherein *Justiniana's* independent power is set down, Νεαρ: Διαλαξ: ρλα. For there, as it followes immediately, καὶ ὁμοιον τρόπον—that the *Archbishop* of *Carthage* shall have this δικαον ἀρχιερωσύνης, this privilege of the *Chiefe Priesthood* in the like manner, that *Justiniana*, so it concludes. Καὶ ἄλλαι ὅ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἐπίσκοποι οἷς ἐν διαφόροις τόποις μετροπολιτικὸν δίκαιον παρεχέσθῃ, τῶ τοιούτῳ προνομίῳ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον; Σπουδαύεσθαι, And other cities, and the *Bishops* of them who in several places have *Metropolitick* jurisdiction allowed them, shall for perpetuity enjoy the like prerogative. The τοιούτοι the like] must surely refer to the precedent examples of *Justiniana*, and *Carthage*, and then the conclusion is evident, that all *Primacies* shall enjoy the same (for so I conceive 'tis necessary the place must be interpreted of *Prime Metropolies*, or *Primacies*, and not of every lower *Metropolitick* See, for such had not that *supreme Priesthood*, &c.) which was adjudged to *Justiniana*, there being six *Metropolies*, as was said, under that, and many under each *Primate*.

30. But there is yet one reserve behinde, and that he promises, will make any sensible man understand my former discourses, that they were all vain and wicked, viz. that this my reasoning from the independent power vested in each *Primate*, is the denying of the *Catholique Church*, of which we ought to be members. And this he thus inferres from my discourse, You say, saith he, every chief *Metropolitane* was independent from all others, they made therefore so many absolute Churches, therefore made not any one Church, where then is the *Catholique Church*? many houses to be one house, is as fairly contradictory, as many men or horses to be one man, or one horse, and so of many Churches to be one Church: Adding from *S. Cyprian*, that a Church is a People united to their *Bishop*: if then, saith he, there be a *Catholique Church*, there must be a *Catholick Bishop*, & taking away the obedience of one *Bishop*, you cannot save one Church] What solidity there is in this last refuge will be soon discernable, by going along with him step by step: For, 1. The affirming an independent power to be vested in each *Primate*, is far from denying a *Catholique Church*, All those *Primates* are eminent *Governours* of so many divisions; or divisions, of which the world first, and now the *Catholique Church* consists.

2. Nothing

31. 2. Nothing here produced by *S. W.* hinders in the least but that every such *διοίκησις* diocesse in the antient notion of that word, for that which contains many *Provinces* under it, may be an *absolute Church*, *Independent* from any Superior on earth, under no others *jurisdiction*, but that of its own *Primate*.

32. For Thirdly, when from thence, i.e. from the *absoluteness* of all the *Primacies*, he concludes, that therefore they make not one *Church*, there is no consequence in that, Many particular, or nationall *Churches*, each of them independent from any Superior, may yet fraternally be connected one with another, & make up the *Catholique Church*, as many nations of the world, no one subjected to another, but each independent, and *αὐτοκράτωρ* may make up the *World*, or *Universe*, and yet these, as now 'tis evident, be under no one *Governour* on earth, *Emperour*, or whatever *Monar-bicall* supreme power. And so still his curiosity is satisfied, he sees, where the *Catholique Church* is.

33. 4. Though many houses cannot be one house, any more than many horses, or men, can be one horse, or man, yet many houses may be one city, many Cities one Province, many Provinces one Diocesse, many Diocesses one World, or one *Catholique Church*. And the word *Church* being both in propriety and vulgar use capable of as many significations, as there can be sorts of *Christianæ cœtus*, or assemblies imaginable, is thereupon an ambiguous word, and belongs to the larger, as well as narrower Societies, equally fit to signifie a *Parochial*, *Diocesan*, *Provincial*, *Nationall*, or *Universall Church*, and then many of these in the narrower, lesse comprehensive notion, may yet be but one in the larger, and more comprehensive. Thus we know many heaps may be put together, and make one heap, many rivers may meet, and make one river; And there can be no need of examples to illustrate this so obvious visible truth, that many *Parish Churches* among the *Romanists*, as well as us, make one *Diocesan*; many *Diocesan*, one *Provincial*; many *Provincial*, one *National*; and many *National*, one *Catholick Church*. And so still for all his colours of the house, the man, and the horse, we have not lost the *Catholick Church*: such thin *Sophismes* may be seen through by ordinary eyes, and so, many particulars be as competent as one could wish, to make up an *Universall*.

5. When

34. 5. When S. Cyprian saith, a Church is a People united to their Bishop, 'tis certain he speaks of a particular Church, and so of a particular Bishop. The place where S. Cyprian saith it, is not referred to by him, but I who had \* used the testimony, know where to turn to it, Ep. 69. where the Church is defined *Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo grex adherens, a People united to their Priest, a Flock adhering to their Shepherd*: and the circumstances of the Epistle make it cleare, that the Bishop there mentioned, is such as himself, the Bishop of Carthage, and every of the Coepiscopi with him, and consequently the Church there spoken of, the Church of Carthage, the exact parallel to the Church of Justiniana, now before us; and if you would know how that being a Church can joyn with other Churches, and remain a Church still, he will tell you in that Epistle, that individual concord and charity of all the members of the Church, is that *vinculum unitatis*, band of unity, by which all Churches over the whole world may conjoyn and become one together.

35. 6. When from this one testimony of Cyprian hastily cast down, he makes such full speed to conclude, that if there be a Catholick Church, there must be a Catholick Bishop; what is this but to inferre, because Carthage is governed by one Bishop, and every other Diocese by another, therefore the whole world is govern'd by one Bishop. Because Spaine is governed by one King, and France by another, therefore the whole world is governed by one also; which as it is *de facto*, visibly false, so the unproved asserting of it is founded on two Hypotheses, neither of which hath the least truth in it. First, that every the vastest body (for such is the Universall Church all the world over) must be under some one particular government; and secondly, that that particular government of the Church must needs be Monarchicall; whereas 1. the whole managery of the world is certainly transacted without being under any common governor on earth, and no doubt the affaires of the Church may be so too, a fraternall union and communion of all Patriarchs, or even of all Primæes, each ruling in their severall Provinces by the Lawes of Christ, may suffice for all ordinarie wants of all; *Eccce homo, ecce Carthago, ecce alie & alia civitates*, saith S. Augustine, in Plal. 44. *filia Regum sunt*, — & *ex omnibus fit una Regina*; Bold

\* Of Schism,  
P. 41.

hold Rome, saith he. behold Carthage, behold other, and other Cities, they are daughters of Kings, and of all of them one Queen is made. And 2. for extraordinary, an universal Counsel, or assembly of all these, may by way of Aristocracy, provide for, & administer them. And so still the Catholick Church is saved, and all our Phenomena preserved intire, without either talking (as he saith like a Saint) of Christ our head in heaven, or paying all our obedience to any one supreme Bishop upon earth, as to him that is by Christ thus delegated to preside (but will never be able to produce his commission) over the whole world.

37. This fifth Chapter of the Tr: of Schisme I concluded with some words of our Bishops, in Convocation 1537. (and the same are recited again in the Necessary Doctrine, Anno 1543.) and there was great evidence of reason in them, two things affirmed, the truth of which is to be contested by proofs, and if evinced on our side, the whole controversy now depending betwixt us is concluded, 1. That it was many hundred years before the Bishop of Rome could acquire any power of a Primate over any other Bishops, which were not within his Province of Italy. 2. That the Pope now professing at his consecration, that he will inviolably observe all the decrees of the first eight generall Councils, among which this is certainly one, that all causes shall be determined within the Province where they be begun, and that by the Bishops of the same Province; this absolutely excludes all foreign and so papall power out of this realm. Now for the former of these, I thought I had evinced it by the proofs preceding in that chapter, the Canons of Chalcedon, and Ephesus, and the Novel about Justiniana, as that was extended like the Ephesine Canon, to all Primates, and then it was no hurt, I hope, to recapitulate in the words of our Bishops. As for the second, it was both built on the same foundation, and also a visible matter of fact in each branch of it, 1. that such was the matter of those Decrees, most unreconcilable with Universall primacy; and 2. that the Pope professes, and voves obedience to all those decrees. And to all this he hath no least word of reply, but onely in lieu of that, is willing to mistake my procedure, and so to feign that I appealed to our Bishops as to witnesses, and then to answer me with a proverb or two. But to this I reply,

R

1. That

1. that as for this purpose I acknowledge them *incompetent* to be produced to *S. W.* or others of his *perswasion*, so I never laid any such weight on their *testimony*, but onely as what they said, had solidity of *reason*, and somewhat of *evidence* in it, and so would have deserved some *reply* from my *Disarmer*, if it had not been more for his *turn* and *temper*, to gibe than to *discourse*, to *divert* than to *answer arguments*.
38. 2. That what I set down as our *Bishops conclusion*, was by them, if he had pleased to have resorted to the *Book*, inferred by such *reasons*, as *S. W.* will not easily be able to *answer*, and so could not with justice complain of my brief *reference* to their *conclusion*, without setting down their *premisses*, which was *his*, not *mine* advantage. To clear this therefore, and because the *books* are not commonly to be had, I shall recite but *three* of their many *heads of argument*.
39. 1. From the *Milevitan Council*, where *S. Augustine* was present and *subscribed* it, which decreed *excommunicate* any *Clerk* of *Africk*, that should *appeale* to any *Bishop* beyond the *Sea*.
40. 2. From the *Generall Council* of *Constantinople*, decreeing that every *cause*, or *controversie*, should be determined within the *Province*, where the matter did lye, and that by the *Bishops* of the same *Province*, and that no *Bishop* should *exercise power* out of his own *Diocese*, or *Province*, this being also the mind of *Cyprian*, and the other *African Fathers*, before the time of any *Generall Council*.
41. 3. From the *story* of the *sixt Great Council* of *Carthage*, whether the *Bishop* of *Rome* sent his *Legates* to *allege* and vindicate his *Primacy*, and by that *title* to maintain the receiving of *appeales* made unto him of *controversies* commenced in *Africk*. And when in the debating of this, the *Bishop* of *Rome* alleged a *Canon* of the first *Council* of *Nice*, and the *Bishops* of *Africk* denied there was any such *Canon*; for triall thereof, *Messengers* were sent to the *Patriarchal Sees* of the *East* (*Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*) to make *search* for the *intire volume* of the *Canons* of *Nice*, and when they were brought from thence, there was no such *Canon* among them, as the *Bishop* of *Rome* had alleged (the truth of all which is now visible to any in

in the *Acts* of that *Council of Carthage*, and particularly in  
 \* their *Epistle to Celestine, Bp. of Rome.*) From this one instance  
 they thought they might conclude these two things, 1. that the \* *Vide Zonar.*  
*Bp. of Rome* had no challenge of such *Primacy*, by any words of p. 521.  
*Scripture*; for if he had, he would then certainly have alleged  
 it on so important an occasion; and besides, the *African Fa-*  
*thers* were so learned in holy *Scripture*, that they could not  
 have bin ignorant of it; & so vertuous, that if they had known it,  
 they would never have made any *Act* to the contrary, nor after  
 so earnestly have refused it. 2. That the *Bishops of Rome* have  
 no such power given them by any *ancient Generall Council*; or if  
 they had, they would then have alleged it, rather than have  
 vouched a *pretensed Canon*, which upon search, could never  
 be found in the *Authenticks*. And these two conclusions thus  
 deduced, might well set a period to this *controversie*. As it is,  
 I shall, I hope, need adde no more reply to his *second Section*,  
 for the *vindicating* of my *fifth Chapter*, and refuting the *Roma-*  
*nists second Plea* drawne from the *Pope's succession* to Saint  
*Peter*.



## CHAP. V.

*A Defence of the sixth Chapter of the  
Tract of Schisme.*

## S E C T. I.

*The Romanists Plea from conversion. Phil. Scot. The expressions of our real Gratitude to Rome. The Testimony of the Annals of Gisburne. The occasion of producing it. The planting of this Church before Augustine, and surviving Dioclesians persecution. The Pope's power in Ordination. The customs of making profession to the See of Rome. Receiving the Pall without it. Carus  $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\kappa\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda$  &c. Independency from Canterbury implied it from Rome also.*

- I. **I**N his third Sect. of this his second Part, he proceeds to a view of my 6. Chap. and the subject of that, being an examination of another plea of the Romanists, from the Pope's having planted Christianity among us, he begins with great displeasure, that I should deem this any plea of theirs, and so pronounces this ground of the whole chapter to be absolutely false, and forged upon them, asking what Catholick Author ever affirm'd—
2. That S. W. as the Catholick Gentleman before, do indeed renounce this plea, I have no need to repine, or regret, for then their other onely plea from Christs donation to S. Peter, and the Pope's succession to that legacy, being, I suppose, competently invalidated, there remains no more for me to contend in this matter, save onely to render my account how I fell into this gainlesse misprision, even by that charity that makes me still apt to think men believe, and advert to their own discourses, and confe-

consequently that this was due to the *Romanists* disputings against us, for from thence it was undoubtedly, that I was deceived into a *perswasion*, that they laid some weight on this *plea* from our *conversion*.

3. To omit the *Catalogue* of those *Romanists*, that have insisted on it, I shall onely mention the reall *occasion* of my taking in this, for one of their *pleas*; A very little while before I set upon that *treatise* of *Schisme*, a little *Book* bearing this title, *A Treatise of the Schisme of England* by Philip Scot, *Permissu Superiorum*. ] was conveyed to me from what hands I never knew, but had some reasons to think, that it was from a *Romanist*. Of this therefore (after I had read it with no kinde of *satisfaction*, and found that Mr. *Hobs*, and another discourse, with which he proposed to combat, were such as I no way inclined to defend, or vindicate) I resolved so farre to serve my selfe, as to take notice, what *pleas* it chiefly insisted on, to inferre what he had undertaken, the *Schisme* of this *Church* of ours. To this purpose I found him concluding p. 163. that the *case of the Bulgares*, ought to be drawne unto us, to wit, for the title of *conversion*. And p. 165. speaking of the *subjection* of *England* to *Rome*, it was acknowledged, saith he, ever by our *lawes* even from the *conversion* of the *Country* under *St. Gregory*: and p. 167. much lesse this *Island* ought to separate from the *See* of *Rome*, by reason of the title of *conversion*, not onely under *Gregory* the first, but long before, under *Pope Eleutherius*, &c. This I supposed sufficient (if I had wanted other motives) to direct me to this branch of my *method*, to consider this title of *conversion*, and so *S. W.* discernes, to whom the *crimen falsi* is due, and I am onely to ask pardon of *Ph. Scot* and his *superiours*, that I gave so much heed to them, as to bring this *rebuke* upon my self.

4. As it is, I shall most willingly acknowledge my error, and now proclaim from these greater authorities of the *Catholic Gentleman* and *S. W.* that we are manumitted, and, by consent, set free from all obligation of *subjection* to the *Pope's Primacy*, which we causelessly feared might come upon us by this title of *Conversion*, and are now onely to make good our gratitude for the *benefits* which we received from that *See*: And that, let me assure him most seriously, we shall indeavour to do, in any way,

that may be most proportionable to very great obligations, and never go about to divert, or make quittance, by putting into the counterpoise either the severity and bloody rigours which the British inhabitants, the 1200. devout Monks of Bangor in the front, and then the rest of that numerous Army suffered from Edilsfred, King of Northumberland, as the fruit of Augustine's menaces, or some other unkindnesses, since received, which have not been of the complexion of that paternal sweetnesse, which is said to have moved Gregory's charity to our Saxon Ancestors, but return our ἀρετὰ ἀγάδᾳ, our purest and most uncompounded offices of all Christian affection, our utmost effusions of that most ethereal charity, our prayers and our tears poured out towards Heaven, that God will out of his richest treasure supply all their wants, and by the power of his grace, work those changes, which he discernes most necessary to be wrought in them, that the successors of St. Peter may timely imitate the repentance, and faith, and zeale of S. Peter, and the eminence of that See joyned again at last, as at the first, with the purity of all Christian profession and practice, become the real, effectual prover of Ecclesiastical unity and communion, and attain that highest title, which can belong to any Church on earth, to be στήλη καὶ ἐδικοῦα a pillar and stabiliment of all saving truth, without any alloy or mixture of error, to abate that glorious felicity, which from my soule I wish to it; If this be not the short image of that gratitude which S.W. is willing to minde us of, together with the most passionate desire to minister to them in the bowels of Christ, by indeavouring not to suffer sinne upon our brethren by admonishing them in the spirit of meeknesse (and not vomitting out, as he saith, any one venomous spitefull expression, but heartily and humbly retracting all such language, that hath ever proceeded from us) by heaping none but such coales of fire upon their heads, which may in Gods good time, be most effectually to the melting of them; If, I say, this be not it, and if any Romanist of a more happy temper, than my Disformer hath yet exprest, will direct me to any other method of discharging this obligation of the most exact refined gratitude, I shall be most thankful for the advertisement, presuming that nothing of injustice, or sin against a duly instructed conscience, can ever be ingredient

gradient in it, and then hoping for so much *mercy* from *God*, that no true son of this *Church* of ours, will ever be wanting in any other way of expressing it.

5. The rest of this third *Section*, concerning holding by two titles, and the conversion of this *Island* (whether of *Britanes* or *Saxons*) was in substance proposed by the *Catholick Gentleman*, and is accordingly superseded in the *Reply*, p. 100. &c. And so likewise the *Abbat* of *Bangor's* answer to *Augustine*, was vindicated in the account of *H.T.* his *Appendix*.
6. Onely the testimony out of the *Annals* of *Gisburn*, which had not formerly been taken notice of, is here a little considered, and the parts of the testimony being two; 1. that the *Bishop* of *S. David's* was consecrated by his own *Suffragans*; and this 2. without any profession or subjection to any other *Church*; He is willing to invalidate both these: the first, because, saith he, the *Pope*, may be head of the *Church* without consecrating all the *Bishops* in the *World*; the second, because, saith he, the custome of making a profession, or exhibiting subjection to the *See* of *Rome*, when the *Bishops* were consecrated, was not then in use; and besides, the words being alteri *Ecclesiæ*, not specifying *Rome* in particular, affords nothing to my purpose, but may beare the interpretation of the *Bishop* of *St. David's* being independent of any *Within* that continent, or of any private *Patriarch*, with which may consist a subjection to the *Pope*, as the *Universal Pastor*.]

7. But here first *S. xx.* must be advised to permit testimonies, brought to infer a conclusion, to connect with the conclusion, to which the producer applied them, and not still out of jealousy of his own *Helena* to feign every thing that is said on any other subject, to be designed to the impugning the *Popes* Supremacy. 'Tis evident to what that whole fourth *Section* belongs, viz. to demonstrate the planting the Faith here long before *Augustine* the Monk, and its surviving the slaughters of *Dioclesian*. Among other evidences of this (to which I now add the expresse words of \* *Bede*) comes in the early mention of three

\* Ubi turbo persecutionis qui

eris in publicum, fideles Christi, qui se tempore discriminis silvis ac desertis abditisque speluncis occultaverant, renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destruitas, Basilicas sanctorum Martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac veluti vitæ signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant, sacra mundo cor-

Me-

de atque ore confutans, manifestque hac in Ecclesiis Christi, quæ erant in Britannia pax usque ad tempora Ariana uersantia. l. x. c. 8. What is there added of infusing this poison, and every other Heresie in this nation, and the great levity and inconstancy in the faith, the Reader may observe to be an *inversion* in the *Latine* copy of *Bede*, which *A. frid's* Saxon Paraphrase hath no word of, and as it might be evidently refuted, as far as concerns the *Arian Heresie*, so as to the *Pe-lagian*, 'tis disclaimed by *Bede*, l. i. c. 12, 13, the words are set downe in the *Reply*, pag. 103.

*Metropolitanes*, and among them of the *Bishop* of *Caerusk* (and his Province *Britannia secunda*) afterward in *King Arthurs* time translated to *S. David's* (and this we know fifty years before *Augustine's* coming) where it continued an *Archbishoprick* 500 yeares more, without dependence on any, till in the reign of *Hen. I.* it was subjected to *Canterbury*, which how fit it was to concur with other evidences, to prove the point then in hand, I leave any man to consider, and then there is no more required of me for the vindicating that testimony.

8. Yet secondly, when 'tis remembred, that though the *Pope* oblige not himself to consecrate all the *Bishops* in the world, yet as far as his jurisdiction extendeth, he takes upon him to dispose all ordinations, and accordingly (as appears by the expresse words of his *Epistle*) *Pope Gregory* appointed *Augustine* to ordain the *Metropolitanes*, of *London* and *York* (though not all the *Bishops* under them) and for the future, provided for their ordinations by their own *Synods*, by sending each of them a *Pall*, as the same *Epistle* expresseth; it is hence visible, that his first Answer hath no force in it, but leaves a visible difference betwixt the *Metropoles* of *S. Davids*, and the two other *Metropoles* in respect of ordination. And

9. Thirdly, *S. W.* his fair confession, that the custome of making profession, or exhibiting subjection to the See of *Rome*, was not then in fashion] must be lookt on as some degree of liberality, which I must suppose he had some motive to extort from him, and sure concludes that the introducing this fashion since, is an innovation.

10. Fourthly, that when 'tis remembred, that at this time *Gregory* sent the *Pall* to *Augustine*, and promised the same to the *Bishops* of *London* and *York*, it must be inferred by force of his second answer, that the *Pope's* sending a *Pall* had not alwaies annexed to it an exhibition of subjection to his See, from him that

recei-

received it, and then how could *Justiniana's* subjection to *Rome*, even now, be inferred from the *Pope's* sending a *Pall* to the *Archbishop* thereof?

11. Fifthly, That *S. Davids* making no such profession, exhibiting no such subjection for the space of 500. yeares, and so long after *Augustine's* coming, viz. till the reign of *Hen. I.* and not so much as receiving a *Pall* from *Rome*, and yet holding the dignity and power of an Independent *Archbishop*, consecrated by his own *Suffragans* (as the *Bishop* of *Cyprus* was) and thereby evidenced to be *αὐτοκράτωρ*, is still, by force of his second answer, a farther proof, that the present *Romish* practises are usurpations, and innovations, and a prejudice to the pretended universall acknowledgement of his *hearts*hip.
12. Lastly, When 'tis so well known by the forementioned \* *Epi-* \* *Tua fraterni-*  
*scite*, that this whole nation, and all the *Bishops* of *Britaine*, were *tas omnes Bri-*  
 by *Gregory* required to be subject to the See of *Canterbury*, *tannia sacerdo-*  
 where *Augustine* sat, and yet by this testimony of those *Annals*, *tes habeat sub-*  
 and by evidence of the fact, through all *History* of those times, *jectos.*  
 it appears that the *Archbishop* of *Caerusk*, or *S. Davids*, was independent from all other power (a *Metropolitane* long before *Augustines* coming hither) and never subjected to *Canterbury*, nor consequently to *Rome*, for so many hundred yeares, till *Hen. I.* It is from thence most manifest, that *S. W.* his answers, are of no force even to that, which he doth so solicitously ward by them, this of consecration by his own *Suffragans*, not held by any *Pall* from *Rome*, and the making no profession or subjection, *alteri Ecclesia*, to any other Church, be it but, as *S. W.* would have it, to any within that Continent, particularly to *Canterbury*, being as full an evidence as could be wished, that he acknowledged no subjection to the *Pope*, who had subjected all the *Bishops* of this Island to *Canterbury*. And this is all that can be due to be replied to his third Section.



## SECT. II.

S. W *his Arts. St. Paul's chaire at Ephesus, &c. Conversion of Britany before Peters coming to Rome. Exemption from the Pope's Jurisdiction a prejudice to his universall Pastorship. Car hage's Contestation before Justinian's time. Justinian's Act approved, a President to England. The questioning it.*

1. **H**Is fourth Section begins with one of his *dexterities*, of which we have had an instance or two formerly. To invalidate the title from conversion, I had regularly proved these two things: 1. That the *Britains were not converted by them*. 2. That for the *Saxons*, which were converted from Rome, that title of conversion was of no force; And these two together, were the full proving of my conclusion, which the former single did not pretend to do, yet had enough of prejudice to the pretence for universall Primacy, for one exception was destructive to that; and the *Dominions of Wales* as much so, as all *England* would have been.
2. Now S. W. his art was, to divide these two branches, and to make answer to the form *r* of them, taken alone, Sect. 3. and by that meanes to gain opportunity of rejoycing, that I have left myself and my fellow Englishmen in the luds, and onely proved the *Welsh* no Schismaticks (adding onely, that now the *Welsh* are so subjected to the English Bishops, that they must be involved in the same Schism) & so he triumphantly ends that Section, beginning this fourth with a view of the branch which belonged to the *Saxons*, as of a second part of my text (as he calls it) by this imposing on his Reader, who if he had foreseen that there was any thing said to that of the *Saxons*, or could carry it in his memory from one section to another, must needs discern, that what was before said of leaving the *English* in the luds, had not the least degree of truth in it. For if indeed I equally proved it (though not by the same medium) of the *English* and the *Welsh*, how could it ever, with truth, be said, that I proved it of the *Welsh* onely?

only? Such arts as these, which receive all their force from a hope, that the Readers memory cannot hold out from the end of one Section to the beginning of another, are one of S. W. his Master-pieces, which have rendred him so much a brewder man, than the Catholick Gentleman.

3. What follows, 1. of S. Paul's Plantations, and the independency thereof, both from the See, where S. Paul sat at the time of conversing them, and more especially from the See of Rome: And 2. of the independency and absoluteness of Timothy, and Titus in their severall Provinces, hath been briefly vindicated in the Reply, cap. 61 sect. 3, 4. onely when S. W. here asks *what I intend by the chaire where S. Paul sat*, adding, that it was *meerly a fiction*, that S. Paul ever sat in any chaire, or was first Bishop in any place, but at Rome onely with S. Peter. I answer, 1. That this ought to have had some offer of proof annex to it, and not onely be so magisterially affirmed by him: 2. By *chaire* I mean a place of his particular residence, and ruling (after he had planted) for some time, before he left a Bishop in one, and went to some other place; And thus 'tis sure he resided in many cities and Provinces as properly as at Rome he can be affirmed to have done. At Rome, he so resided not, as not to make excursions very farre from thence, to plant and confirm Churches, and in the like manner he resided at Antioch for one season, at Ephesus, and in all Asia, under that Prime Metropolis, for no lesse than three yeares, and so at Corinth, at Philippi, and at Thessalonica, and all these before ever he saw Rome, and to no one of these were all other Churches (where at that time he wrought conversions, founded and settled Churches) subjected by him, any farther than this, that the Churches of the Regions were subjected to the City-church, the Churches of inferiour cities to the Metropoles, and those united again in the Prime Metropoles of each Division. And so this was a competent instance of the point in hand, and Timothy and Titus cleare evidences of it, both those demonstrated to be clearly independent from Rome, whether upon the score of Peter's, or of Paul's presiding there (not by force of my negative, insufficient proofs, as he calls them, but) upon this irrefragable evidence, that those were placed Bishops at Ephesus, and Crete, before either of these were yet so much as

come to that *imperiall city*. And the like upon the same account might, if we can believe story, be resolved of this *Island* of ours, where (saith *Gildas Brito*, or *Badonicus*, anciently styled *Sapiens*, *Gildas Albanicus* in his *Book*, of the victory of *Aurelium Ambrosius*, and the *Vatican M. S.* in *Baronius*) a Church was planted before the end of *Tiberius's* reign, and that manifestly before *S. Peter* was come to *Rome*, *secundo Claudii*, as might be shewed by unquestioned records, if this were a place for it.

4. The next particular of the power of Princes to erect or translate Patriarchs, hath also been vindicated, *Repl. c. 6. sec. 4.* and there it appears how little reason he hath to affirm, that this is the begging of the question, viz. that the Pope's power is merely Patriarchal, when that on which my proofs proceed, the independency of those prime Churches, which have been erected by Emperours, is as destructive to the Pope's pretended title of universal Pastorship, as to the immoveableness of his Patriarchal power; the exempting any from his jurisdiction being as contradictory to the universality of his jurisdiction, as any thing could be supposed to have been.

5. Next, when of one of my instances, *Carthage*, he concludes from my own words, that all that the Emperour did, was to restore it to its Primacy, after the Vandals were driven out, and so only an act of preserving the Canons inviolate, which every good Christian Emperour ought to doe] this is but a catching of any thing that comes, though it be but like *Hierocles's Scholasticism*, that in the shipwreck caught hold on, and meant to save himself by the anchor, which served onely to discover his feare, and ascertaine his perishing. For 'tis certain, that before the Vandals inrode, *Carthage*, though within the Patriarchate of *Rome*, had refused to submit to her jurisdiction, or to allow of any appeale thither. The contest set down from the *African Council*, in the close of the fourth Chapter of this Reply, is an evidence of that; and he that knows any thing in Church story, cannot be ignorant of it. And if *Iustinian's* restoring of that, after the expulsi<sup>o</sup>n of the Vandals, and (which is somewhat more, and yet was there subjoyned) his annexing two new Provinces, which had not before been under that Bishops jurisdiction, be that, which every good Emperour, not onely may, but ought to doe, then shall I never de-  
fire

fire any more to inferre my *conclusion*, 1. that *Hen. VIII.* in restoring that *independency* to the *Church of England*, which it had before *Augustin's* coming hither, nay, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the first conversion, of this nation, and so ought to retain it by the *Ephesine Canon*, was but the preserving the *Aëts* of the *Church* inviolate, and no more than every good Prince may, and ought to doe. 2. That by *S. W.* his acknowledgement, *Justinian* in this matter of *Carthage*, did but as a good Prince ought to doe, and then doing no more in the erection of *Justiniana*, than in the restitution of *Carthage* he had done; it must likewise follow, that herein also he no way misbehaved himself, and yet upon the presumption that he did, his whole answer depends, which next followes to my instance of *Justiniana*.

6. For though upon a former mention of this matter, he had never attempted to asperse *Justinian*, but in this second part, sec. 2. gave very plausible answers, that *Justinian* never intended to crop the aspiring growth of *Rome*, but sent to the Pope for a Pall for his new Archbishop, and a great deale more to the same purpose; yet now upon another incidentall glance on the same instance, as if the *Catholick Gentleman* and he had divided the cup of *Lethe* betwixt them, he now questions the power of *Justinian* to do what he did, and the legality of the act, and compares it with the Act of the late Parliament in taking away Bishops, having no power to take them away.
7. Thus every the most contrary colour (of answer) becomes *S. W.* as well as ever it did *Aristippus*, but this slip having befallen him by following the footsteps of the *Cath. Gent.* I have spoken sufficiently to it there, *Repl. c. 6. sec. 4. n. 11. 12.* and fully manifested the legality of *Justinians* action, without any delegation from the Pope to do what he did. n. 13.

## SECT. III.

*The Privilege of Ravenna. The Authority of it. Hieron. Rubeus, no partial Writer against Rome. Baronius's Dislikes. S.W. his Objections to the Privilege answered. In nomine Domini, a Style of Donatians. Edicts of one Emperour without the name of the other. Valentinian's peculiar respect to Ravenna. Valentinianus Major Imperator. Mediolanense Concilium. Regum Placentia, &c. Brixillis, not under Milan. The Pall. Cæsareum Paludamentum, not the Pastoral. The Pope's Consent, not Authoritative. The Pope's Vision about P. Chrysologus. The duration of Ravenna's αὐτοκρατία. The Contest betwixt P. Gregory, and John of Ravenna. The no proof of their Schisme. P. Gregory's dislike of the title of Universal Pastor.*

1. **H**Is next attempt is against the Instance of Ravenna, and he sets out with a special piece of wit, that when I say, the *Emperor Valentinian did by his Rescript constitute Ravenna a Patriarchal seat, I quote no Author but Ann. Dom. 432.* where 1. 'Tis strange, that he that hath yet (to my best remembrance) produced but one citation of his own, and withall, hath oft reproacht my unnecessary citations should yet now exact of me the producing of *Authors* for every period; and yet more strange, that when I quote the *Emperours Rescript*, wherein it was thus constituted, he should yet say I quoted no *Author*: The *Emperour* himself was vouched as my *Author*, and his *Rescript* the *Testimony*; and yet upon the *Catholic Gentleman's* doubt of this, I produced the *Author*, which conveyed this record to us, one very fit for the turn, the writer of the history of that city *Hieronymus Rubeus*, who sets down the words of this privilege out of as most ancient record, which saith he, *in tabulario Urliano adhuc servatur*, is still kept in the *Archives* of that city.

city. Of this *Author* who produces it, it may be considered, 1. That his *History* was at a second publication of it, 17. yeares after the former, dedicated to the Pope Sixtus V. by the Senate of Ravenna (who testify that it was collected *ex tabulariis potissimum civitatis*, out of the Records of the city;) And 2. that it was by himself dedicated to their *Archbishop*, a *Cardinal*, appealing to his knowledge, that he had been in antiquitate investiganda satis accuratus, sufficiently accurate in the search of antiquity: And 3. to remove all suspicion of partiality to his own city against Rome, he hath approved himself to be as great an admirer of the Papacy, as any, calls it in his Preface, *sedem de celo in terras demissam*, a See sent down from heaven to earth, for Learning most divine, for Religion most holy, for Empire most sublime. And in this very matter of Ravenna's contending with Rome, de Principatu, he is very bitter against his own Countrey mens temerity, and perfidiousnesse, together with insolent pride, affirming the Popes to be Vicars of Christ; in Ecclesia Universalis administratione, in the administration of the Universal Church. If these be indications of the Preposterous love of his countrey, which Rubens is blamed for by S. W. it will be very hard to gain his favour; And 4. to conclude, his authority with the Romanists is such, as Baronius, the principall Author, hath questioned this privilege, makes use of his testimony with confidence, when it is for his turn, (though in a matter much more liable to mistake the relation of a vision) himself also confessing, that the Rescript is very ancient, and acknowledged by severall writers.

2. And truly that Annalists and his followers disputing against it by those little probable arguments, which S. W. hath here transcribed (as nothing was ever really done, but some light colours might be brought against it) as it signifies no more, but that this act of the Emperour's was repugnant to the interest which that learned Annalist had professedly espoused, the absolute Universal Dominion of the Romish See, so is it an evidence irrefragable, that that privilege which Ravenna is pretended to have had, was not reconcileable with the pretensions of Rome, which yet was in effect, no greater, than those which without doubt were soon after conferred on Justiniana and others, by  
other



other Emperours, before either of these, and to which the Council of Chalcedon had laid the foundation, that the *τάξεις* order Ecclesiasticall should follow, and beare proportion with the *πολιτικοὶ τύποι* the imperiall acts of building, or repairing, or enlarging, and dignifying of cities.

3. As for the objections against the authenticknesse of that decree, I shall need say no more, but that they are very unproportionable to be put in the balance against the originall record and justification of the fact in the plain words of the *Edict*. First, saith he, it begins in a different manner from the constant tenor of all other Rescripts,] but he did not think good to tell us how it began, lest that might discover the vanity of the exception, nor to remember what was the subject matter of this Rescript which might fitly occasion and own this difference. It was the Donation of a Privilege to the Church, to the honour of God, and accordingly it begins in such a form, as most exactly accords therewith, and is the ancient, as well as modern style in such matters. In *Nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi*, In the name of the Lord God our Saviour Jesus Christ. This, as it had been lesse proper for some other secular matters, so was most agreeable to the matter of an Ecclesiasticall privilege, or collation. So in the Novels of the Emperours, which conferre, or confirm privileges, to the Church, there is nothing more frequent. The first of *Heraclius*, being of this sort, begins so,

+ *Jus Græco-*

*Rom. l. 2. p.*

50.

\* P. 77.

+ P. 83.

\* *lb. l. 8. p.*

521.

+ *ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν*, *Ἡεράκλειος*— In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ our God, *Heraclius*— to *Sergius*— And so the \* second, and the + fourth. So begins *Justinian's Edict*, de fide *Orthodoxâ*, \* *ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ*— In the name of God the Father, and of his onely begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the holy Ghost. I shall trouble the Reader with no more examples. And then, what could have been objected more unseasonably, or untruly, than that this manner of beginning differs from the constant tenor of all other Rescripts?

4. Next, saith he, The decree is singular, and consequently to be suspected in this; that all the other Rescripts made in the reign of the two Emperours, though constituted by one of them onely, yet were ever authorized by both their names, whereas the name and authority of the Emperour *Theodosius* was wanting to this.] But there

is as little *truth* in this, as in the former *suggestion*. In the *constitutions* of *Heraclius*, the first indeed begins with the *names* of both the *Emperours*, 'Ηράκλειος, καὶ 'Ηράκλειος υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου, πιστοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖς, and to the *fourth* after the like manner. But then in the *second* the style is *singular*, 'Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Φλάβιος 'Ηράκλειος — and the *third* in like manner, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, *Heraclius* alone without naming the *other*. 'Tis strange such matters of *ordinary* visible practice, should be so confidently *denied*, to gain a poor, pitifull, *probable* argument against an *Edict*, that is irrefragably testified by the *Records*, and is no way concerned in such *Topicks* as these, if they had (as they have not the least) *truth* in them: But besides, if it were reasonable to conclude a matter of fact by *reason*, 'tis cleare there is *reason* of this also. *Valentinian* was born in this city, as before \* *Rub. Hist. Rav.* (as *Honorius* had long done, ever since *Alaricus's* coming into l. 2. p. 90. *Italy*) and accordingly makes that a special *motive* of giving this *privilege* (*Et maxime ubi serenitatis nostra prae-fulget praesentia*) in the words of the *Edict*: And of him particularly 'tis \* *Ibid. p. 98.* noted and cited from *Agnellus*, a *grave Author*, that he both *re-built*, and *enlarged* the walls of the city, and *constituted* it, after *Rome*, the *head of Italy*. All which being peculiar acts of his *kindness* to the city, and not common to *Theodosius* with him, as they make it reasonable, that they should beare none but his name in the front of the *Donation*, so without question they no way invalidate the *authority* of it.

5. The *third objection* is, that the *Inscription*, *Imperator Major*, is new, and unheard of, all the rest intitling *Valentinian Imperator Maximus*.] But the *Inscription* is, *Valentinianus fidelis Iesu Christi Major imperator*. *Aug.* The [*Major*] is not here sub-joined to *Imperator*, but to *Valentinian* (as *Augustus* to *Imperator*) and is, I suppose to distinguish him from others of the same name, as *Theodosius*, ὁ μικρὸς, the little, that reigned with *Valentinian*, is so called to distinguish him from *Theodosius*, ὁ μέγας the Great, *Honorius's* Father. So *Leo ὁ μέγας*, and *Leo ὁ μικρὸς*, and so *Valentinianus Major* to distinguish this from *Valentinianus*, *Gratian's* Father, who in respect of him was *Maximus*. 2. As for the title of *Imperator Maximus* (*Maxi-*

mus subjoynd to *Imperator*) it might have been worth his pains to set down some of those *Edicts* (which he calls *all the rest*) that so intitle him. I am sure *Rubens* affords him none. *Pontifex Maximus* was once an ordinary title for the *Emperours*, and *Imperator Clementissimus*, and the like, but sure *Imperator Maximus* was not so; And yet 3. if it were so, it would prove little; for this *Valentinian*, which is here styled *Major*, is ordinarily known by the title of *Junior*; *Major*, in respect of *Maximus*, being *Junior*, as *Theodosius* mixes the *Little* is ordinarily *Theodosius Junior* in the *Comparative*, and many such like, so that still I have no reason to admire *S. W.* his Arguments.

6. 4. He objects from the mention of *Regium, Placentia, and Brixillis* named in the *Rescript*, as under the Jurisdiction of *Ravenna*, which, saith *S. W.* is a plain forgery, since not long after, *Pope Leo* commanding *Eusebius Bishop* of *Milan*, to gather a provincial Council of the *Bishops* subye<sup>t</sup> to him, those three *Bishops* met there, and subscribed in that Council, as appears by the *Synodal Epistle* yet extant. ] Of this suggestion some parts are true, but that on which alone the whole force of the Objection against the *Rescript* depends, hath no offer of pro<sup>o</sup>e nor yet appearance of truth in it. And therefore it was prudently done, to cite the *Synodal Epistle* for the subscription of these names, but neither to direct us where to finde that *Synodal Epistle*, nor to offer any reason or testimony, that all that subscribed there were sub<sup>e</sup>t to *Milan*.

7. The truth of the whole matter lies thus, In the yeare 450. *Pope Leo* sent foure *Legates*, two *Bishops*, and two *Presbyters* to *Anatolius, Bishop* of *Constantinople*, successor to *Flavianus*, with an *Epistle*, anathematizing *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*, and all their followers, which was accordingly read, and fully consented to, and subscribed in Council by *Anatolius*, and the neighbouring *Bishops*, assembled with him, and sent to all the *Metropolitans* of the *East* to be subscribed by them. See *Concil. Tom. 3. p. 701, 702*. Upon the return of these *Legates*, *Leo* commands them to go to *Eusebius the Bishop* of *Milan* (in the most ancient *Notitia*, the *Prime Metropolis* of *Italy*) and treat with him for a meeting of other *Bishops* of *Italy*, which, we know, consisted

sisted of many Provinces, to subscribe and profess the reception of the same doctrine against those Hereticks, to the end that in the meeting of a Generall Council, the Pope's Legates might go, in the name of the whole Western Church, and informe the Council of the judgment of those Bishops, who should not be able to be present there: And accordingly it was done, and upon this meeting (called thence *Mediolanense Concilium* in the Councils, T. 2. p. 702.) the Bishop of Milan, and nineteen other Bishops of Italy, some of his Province, and some of others, wrote a Letter to Leo, and subscribed their consent to that confession of faith, which he had sent into the East. The Epistle is to be seen among Leo's, with this title, *Ensebi Mediolanensis Episcopi cum aliis Episcopis consentientibus*, and after him the first that is named are the Bishops of Regium, Placentia, and Brixillis. But now, that all the Bishops that are there named, were of this particular Province of Milan, and subject immediately to that Bishop, as it is the onely thing of force in the present objection, so it hath no offer of proof, or that I discern appearance of truth in it. Of the 19. Bishops, which are there named to subscribe after Milan, Miramus, out of the Ancient Roman Provincial, sets down but twelve, under the Metropolis of Milan, and two of them with an Asterisk for exempts, *Placentinus*, and *Papiensis* (which is all one with *Ticinensis* in these subscriptions) to that beside *Placentia*, *Regium*, and *Brixillis*, here named in the Edict, the second of which he places expressly under *Ravenna*, and the third was destroyed Ann. 586. saith \* *Rubens*, there remains \* P. 181. *Augustana* under the Archbishop of *Mentz*, *Comensis* under *Aquileia*, *Curienensis* in *Rhatia Prima*, under the Archbishop of *Mentz*, *Genuensis* and *Albingannensis*, both in *Liguria*, none of which can with any reason be pretended to be under the particular Province of Milan, and so this is sufficient to evacuate the seeming force of that argument.

8. 2. It must be farther remembred, that in order to this design of having this Profession of Leo's faith, subscribed by the Bishops of Italy, it was as necessary that other Bishops consents should be had, as those of the particular Province of Milan. The Legates were sent in like manner to the Gallia, and from thence the subscription come of \* 44. Bishops, which sure were not all \* Leo Ep. 51.

of one Province : In a word, there is little reason to believe, but all Italy were as much concerned in this action, as those under Milan, onely the meeting being in that place, as that which had been antiently the prime Metropolis of the Diocese of Italy, there were more of that present there, than of any other particular Province, yet the three first of the subscribers, the Bishops of these cities under Ravenna, which was a compleat number for that Exarchate ; so that still this Edict may passe for authentick, though it put Regium, &c. under the Archbishop of Ravenna, for there still they are, for ought this of the *Mediolanense concilium* proves to the contrary.

9. Or if this be not yet sufficient, then I shall oppose the authority of *Blondus* and *Sabellicus*, for the confirming the Edict, and invalidating this pitifull shew of objections. *Blondus*, who had said (from other evidences, and not from this Rescript) that the Emperour subjected twelve Bishops to the See of Ravenna, naming Regium and Placentia for two of them, and *Sabellicus* in his *Enneads*, and others with him, affirm there were fourteen, as the Edict doth, and so doth *Mirans*, out of the antient Roman Pontificall, though in specifying the names of them, he differ from this Edict.
10. But his last argument is that on which he seemes to place his confidence, as a Rub which, saith he puzzled *Rubeus*, that the same Rescript which gives them an Archbishoprick, granted them also the use of the Pall, which saith he, was never used to be given by the Emperours but by the Popes onely, as appears by the Epistle of Gregory the Great to the then Archbishop of Ravenna ; and this, saith he, forced *Rubeus* to explicate that Pall to be *Cæsareum paludamentum*, such an imperial Robe as the Cæsars used to wear, whereas besides the unlikeliness of the action, it is contrary to the Rescript itself; who grants them such a Pall, sicut cæteri sub nostrâ Christianissimâ potestate sæpe degentes fruuntur Metropolitâ, as the rest of the Metropolitans in his Dominions after wore; Which, saith he, everyone who hath but tasted of the Study of antient History, knows to have been another manner of thing than the Emperours robe.]
11. What solidity of truth there is in all this, will be soon discerned : For 1. that this rub is said to, have puzzled *Rubeus*, and that

that to smooth it, he was forced to explicate it of the *Cæsareum paludamentum*,] hath no kind of truth in it: What he saith is not from any such necessity, to avoid the importunity of any objection, but as an instance of the Emperors gratitude to that Church, and John the Archbishop thereof, *maximum beneficium adjecit*, he added this greatest favour, a Pall, but that such an one as in the city, and in any pomp, or solemnity, the Cæsars alone were wont to use, as an universall and perpetual prerogative of him and his successors in that See.

12. But then 2. if *Constantine's Donation to Sylvester*, which is entered into their \* *Corpus Juris*, and must not be despised by the Romanists, be by *S. W.* believed to have any truth in it, or if the fiction of it be not founded in gross absurdity, & impossibility, we cannot but learn this from it, which here *S. W.* will not allow any man to think that hath but tasted of the study of antient History, viz that the *superhumerales*, the Pall, that belongs to Archbishops, was the *lorum quod Imperiale circumdare solebat collum*, the very imperial ornament, that incompast his neck (and so the purple robe, and the scarlet gown, and *omnia Imperialia indumenta*, all the imperiall vestiments) communicated from the Emperour to the Pope, and by him imparted to Archbishops. The same we are taught by *Balsamon* from the Greek Church, that severall Ensignes of the Imperiall authority were communicated to the Patriarchs \* *μόνοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἡ τοῖς πατριάρχαις* \* *Μολέτ. ἐπιρρολιμνδῶαι τὸ τοῦ δίκαιον*, this privilege (speaking of the *παμπαῖδες*) was allowed to none but the Kings and Patriarchs *Ἰν Græco* (having before said expressly, that the Archbishop of *Bulgarie*, *Rom. l. 7.* and some others, had received them, *ἐπὶ ἐπιρρολίμιας βασιλικῆς ἰδιότητος*, from the Emperours especial munificence, and \* *Philippus* \* *Pithan. l. 2. c. 7.* Berterius, who, I hope, had tasted of antient history, cites it from him, and subjoyns *σαυερπήνια ὀθμανία, Pallia & cætera hujusmodi quæ sere omnia tandē Metropolitanis sunt concessa*, almost all kind of habits, particularly the Pall, all which almost were at length allowed to the Metropolitans, he might have said (as far as belongs to the East) to the Bps. also. Thus when *Anthimus* of Constantinop was deposed, \* it is said of him, that when he saw himself turned out of his See, he restored the Pall which he had, to the Emperours. And \* *P. Gr.* himself speaking of the return of *Anastas. Patriarch* of *Ep. 27.*

\* *Decret. par. 1.*  
Dist. 96. c. 13.  
*Constantinum.*

p. 445.  
*Ἰν Græco*  
*Rom. l. 7.*

\* *Libert. Diss.*  
*Breviar. c. 22.*  
\* *Ep. ex Reg.*  
*l. 1. indi. 9.*



\* *Suggestionem  
summæ præcitus  
plenam. ibid.  
quantis valui  
precibus postula-  
vi, ib, Ep. 7.*

*Alexandria, saith that he had made \* earnest request to the Emperours, ut concessio usui Pallii ad Beati Petri limina — transmissore debuissent, that they would grant him the use of the Pall, and send him to Rome to him, to officiate with him quatenus mecum in honore suo viveret, and to live and enjoy his Patriarchall honour with him.*

13. Sure these are more than *obscure indications*, that the *Pall* having this *original* from the *Emperours* donation, was, and consequently may, by the *Emperour*, particularly be bestowed upon a *See*, advanced by him to some more than ordinary *eminence*, after the manner of those, whom a *King* will *honour*, by putting some part of his *royal ornaments* upon them, and it will otherwise be hard to imagine, from whence the *Pope* himselfe shall *originally* have received it, if not from the *favour* of the *Emperour*, for as to that of the *Sheep* taken upon the *Pastors* *shoulders*. which may be thought to deduce it from *S. Peter*, it is sure as *Apocryphal*, as *Constantine's* donation can by any be imagined to be, and beside other *Anomalies* in the *Emblem*, 'tis that which must equally belong to every *Bishop*, whose office is as perfectly *Pastoral*, as any *Metropolitane*, *Primate*, *Patriarch*, or the *Pope* himself can be pretended to be, though his *Diocese* be not so wide, nor his *power* so *absolute*, and so can by no *Analogie* be the *Ensigne* discriminative of an *Archbishop*.

14. But I shall not need to insist farther on this, for if I should grant, that the *Pall* were originally *Ecclesiasticall*, and a thing perfectly distant from the *Imperiale* *lorum*, and so that the *Emperour* could with no propriety conferre it, as from himselfe; this notwithstanding would be very incompetent to *prejudge*, or disparage *Valentinian's* *Rescript*, in the forme, wherein *Hier. Rubens* hath conveyed it to us, for of it this may very fitly be the interpretation, that the *Archbishop* of *Ravenna* being thus exalted by the *Emperour*, the said *Emperour* ordained and decreed, that as other *Metropolitans* in his *Dominions*, have the use of the *Pall*, receiving it from their *Patriarch*, according to *custome*, upon their *consecrating*, so should he receive it from the *Bp. of Rome*, the *Patriarch* of the *West*. And this being the onely *objection* against the *Rescript*. which hath any shew of *va-*  
*lidity*

lidity in it, it now appears, I suppose, that this is but a *shew*, and so the *Rescript* may yet stand firme upon the *vanishing* of it.

15. Yet is this Argument of such force with *S. W.* that he is resolved (and he *cannot*, he saith; in reason think other) it must (some way or other) *invalidate* this instance of *Ravenna*, but which way it shall do it he is not yet resolved, onely he hath pitcht on one of these two wayes, either that the *Rescript* is false, forged in the time of the *Schisme*, or at least, that it cannot be imagined to have been made without the *Popes* consent.]
16. These conjectures are distant enough & so prove themselves to be but conjectures, for if the *Rescript* were false, and forged in time of the *Schisme*, then sure the *Pope* never gave consent to it, and if he gave consent to it, then sure 'twas not false, nor forged in time of the *Schisme*. And yet he tenders his proof for each of these, which fighting thus *unreconcileably* one with another, it were almost pity to *interpose*, it being certain that the leaving them thus *engaged*, must be the shortest end of the *Controversie*. But I shall not give him the example of *despising* tenders of reason.
17. For the first then, that the *Rescript* is false, and forged in the time of the *Schism*, (besides what hath already been mentioned of the *Pall*, and I suppose removed) he hath no farther offer of argument, but this, that no new *Bishop* of *Ravenna* could use the *Pall* without a new concession from the *Pope*. as (saith he) appears in *S. Gregory*, l. 5. Ep. 8. and therefore it was forged in time of the *Schisme*, that they might have some pretence to retain still the use of the *Pall*, which they accounted honorable.]
18. Whether the new *Bishop* were to receive the *Pall* from the hands of the *Pope*, I shall not need dispute; This might be a formality due to him as *Patriarch* of the *West*, and is perfectly reconcileable with the *Emperours* conferring this privilege on this *See*, to all succession (as the *Edict* declares) without any active concurrence, or joynt authority of the *Pope*. But he that shall look on that \* *Epistle*, will finde no more than this, that \* *Ep. ix Regist.* *Indict.* 14. *Pope Gregory* sends the *Bishop* of *Ravenna* a *Pall* (*provocatus an. c 108.*

riqua

*tigua consuetudinis ordine, moved thereto by the order of ancient customs*) \* for him to use at the times, and in the manner, as, he saith, he doubts not his predecessor had used it, adding, *Omnia enim privilegia quae tua pridem concessa esse constat Ecclesiae, nostra auctoritate firmamus, & illibata decernimus, permanere, for all the privileges which appears to have been heretofore granted to your Church, we confirm by our authority, and decree that they shall remain untouched; and (beside some good admonitions to adorn his office and dignity, with the probity of manners and works) this is all that is to be found in that Epistle.*

19. And considering that the *privileges* which he formally confirmed, were acknowledged by him to be *pridem concessa*, granted to the See of Ravenna long before, without mention of their being granted to him by the Popes, and so must most probably referre to this act of the Emperour Valentinian, which gave it these *privileges*; all this doth very well agree with the *Edict*, and conclude that it must have been *unjust* in the Pope to deny the *Pall* to any new Bishop of that See; And then the least that can be said, is, that *S. W.* will never be able by any *Engine* to fetch out from this *Epistle* his designed *conclusion*, that this *Rescript* was forged in the time of the *Schism*; and if it were not then forged, I mean while Ravenna stood upon her *Independency* from Rome (for that, I suppose, he will have deemed a *Schism*, by a mean begging the question) there can be no time imaginable for the forging it, for while Ravenna yielded to Rome all that she desired, this cannot sensibly be suggested: And so still here is not the least colour of pretense for the forging of it.

20. What followes upon the other branch of his conjecture, to make it probable, that it was not made without the Pope's consent, if it have any appearance of force in it, it again concludes, that it was not forged, nor then lookt on by any (not by the Pope himself) as an *Innovation*, for the Emperour thus to advance a Church to this *independency*; and against this I have no reason to dispute, but shall most willingly yield it to *S. W.* his affirmation, without the least tender of proof, and onely resolve from thence, that Valentinian herein did nothing contrary to the duty of a very good Emperour, nothing but by the very Bishop of Rome's very good

good liking, and consequently, that the *Ravennates* that insisted on this their privilege, were farre from being *Schismaticks*, or culpable in so doing, as my *Disarmer* will have believed to be the acknowledgement of all the world.

21. If any more than such a consent as this, a good liking, or not chicking at it, be here meant by *S. W.* as the mention of the Pope's appointing and constituting (even those at Ravenna at first being unwilling) *S. Peter Chrysologus* to succeed in that See, after the decease of *John* seems willing to conclude, viz. an authoritative consent, or that which hath any thing of jurisdiction in it, I shall then answer, that supposing the *Edict* to have been really made (as in thus arguing *S. W.* supposes, for else how could the Pope thus consent to the making it) it is most evident that the Pope had thus nothing to do in the making of it. The words are plain, *Imperiali auctoritate sancimus, We decree by our imperial authority, that it shall be thus advanced to the Metropolitall dignity: and constituimus, the Emperour again by his authority, constitutes, or appoints the disposition of the whole Province of Emylia, under the government of that Church, and the creations of all those 14. Bishops, &c. adding, Conferentes ei ob decorem Apostolica dignitatis honorem Pallii & omnem Pontificalis decoris usum, conferring on him for the glory of the Apostolick dignity, the honour of the Pall, and all the use of Pontificall glory or splendor, and this, as was said, not to the person of the present Bishop John, but to the Church, atque Universos postea Presules, all Bishops which should succeed in that See. Which puts the matter beyond dispute, that the Pope had neither in the making of the decree, nor in the Bishops succeeding to the benefit of it, any authoritative consent. It came wholly from the Imperial munificence, the same by which it was once resolved in *Honorius's* time (as *Rubens* cites it from \* *Johannes Baptista Pigna*) that the seat of the Empire should be translated from Rome to Ravenna.*

\* In hist. Princip. Etsi;

22. What he saith of the Pope's appointing and constituting *Chrysologus* to succeed in that See, even those of Ravenna, at first being unwilling] lies thus. clearly, in the story, That t<sup>e</sup> *Ravennates* sent the Archbishop whom they had created, to Pope *Xystus III.* for his customary confirmation. The Pope had seen a vision that night, wherein *S. Peter* and *S. Apollinaris*, the first

*Bishop of that See, having a young man between them, foretold him, that he should create him Bishop of Ravenna, and should not confirm him whom the Ravennates had chosen; this therefore he did obey, and rejecting their Bishop, ordain'd Peter Chrysologus to that See, and the Ravennates taking it ill, he told them his vision, and then they acquiesced in reverence to S. Peter. If there be truth in this story, 'tis little to the advantage of the Pope's authority, the vision being evidently that, which gave Peter Chrysologus this dignity, which the Pope could not have done without the vision. If it be not true, sure S. W. can conclude nothing from it, unlesse it be this, that Rubens is to be believed by a Romanist in the relation of a Legend, which looks a little kindly to the Romanists side, but must not be believed in the vouching an ancient Record, when that should seem against them.*

23. He next tells us, the *after-Bishops of Ravenna* were sometimes *Schismatics*, none excusing them, or bringing that action of theirs for a testimony or example, till such as D. H. arose. who were involved in the same crime.] But herein is manifest injustice. For wholly to omit the inquiry, whether the *Bishops of Ravenna* were afterwards *schismaticall*, or no, I know every thing which seems averse to the plenitude of all power in the *Romish See*, shall be sure to be looked on by them as an act of *Schisme*, or else we had never lain under that charge: to omit this, I say (though it be but a begging the main question in him that suggests it) it is manifest that the testimony produced by me was not founded in the actions of those *after-Bishops*, but in the first collation of dignity on that *Church* by the *Edict* of the *Emperor*, that being the one thing that was pertinent, and fully conclusive to the matter, which I had then in hand, from *Self 9* the power of *Kings* to erect or translate *Primacies* or *Patriarchates*: For if *Valentinian* had that power, and actually made use of it, *Imperiali autoritate sancire, constituere, conferre*, to advance *Ravenna* to that honour and power, to assigne him such a Province, and to conferre such privileges, on that *See* for ever, and no check made against this at that time, either by the *Popes*, or other *Bishops* of the *Church*, as against an innovation, or usurpation of undue power in the *Emperour*; then sure another *Prince*, which both

the same power in his *Kingdome*, which *Valentinian* had in his *Dominions*, may as lawfully do the same, *ὡς ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐκεῖ*, which was the onely thing which by this example of *Ravenna*, and testimony of that *Edict*, I attempted to demonstrate.

24. But now follows an intollerable mistake of the Doctor's, which must needs have some of *S. W.* his *Discipline*. And what is the mistake? Why, That from *Valentinian's* time *Ravenna* held the *Patriarchate* without dependance on the *Bishop* of *Rome*, till the time of *Constantinus Pogonatus*.] For this my *Disarmer* hath not yet so approved his fidelity, that his own bare word should be concluding: From his tribunall I appeal to *Anastasius*, in *vita Doni. Hujus temporibus*, i. e. *Constantini Pogonati*, saith he, *Ecclesia Ravennatum, quæ se ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ segregaverat causâ antocephaliâ, deinde se pristina sedî Apostolica subjugavit*, In the times of *Constantinus Pogonatus* the Church of *Ravenna* which had separated it self from the *Ch:* of *Rome*, upon the account of being independent, and an head too. or within it self, subjected it self again to the former *Apostolick See*. What can be more punctual for the full defence of my intollerable mistake? And yet, saith he, every one meanly versed in *History*, knows 'tis thus. But I demand whether *Anastasius* were not so, nay, whether there can be produced any one *Historian*, that doubts of it, much lesse that affirms the contrary.

25. But, saith he, 'Tis manifest by *Pope Gregory's Letters* to the *Bishops* of that place, who was made *Pope* in the year 590. whereas *Pogonatus* began his reigns in the year 668. This is a manifestation indeed fit for one who had once spent so many lines to set down the nature of an evidence, as the standard for future discourse between us. And what if one should put this into mood, and figure, and exact of it a conformity, with the most vulgar of those necessary rules? It would then run thus, *Pogonatus* began his reigns 78. years after *Gregory* ascended to the *Papacy*, and *Gregory* wrote *Letters* to the *Bishops* of *Ravenna*, therefore *Ravenna* held not the *patriarchate* without dependance from *Rome*, from the reign of *Valentinian* to *Pogonatus*. A conclusion very irrefragably inferred, and yet there is no possibility to assist this medium of his, unlesse it may some way appear from those *Epistles* of *Gregory*, that *Ravenna* was not independent in his time.



time. But that from *S. W.* his arguing no way appears, no one passage being by him tendred from thence, unless what was before cited from *Li. 5. Ep. 8.* and that hath already been accounted for, and cleared to have no such intimation in it, but onely that he sent him the *Pall*, and confirmed the *privileges* of his Church, which by the *Emperours Rescript* were sufficiently authorized, if he had not confirmed them.

26. Many other *Epistles* indeed this *Gregory* wrote to the several *Bishops* of *Ravenna*, many to *John*, l. 1. and 2. some to *Marinian*, l. 4. and 5. and to the whole Church, l. 5. and in these he oft takes upon him to finde fault, especially for the frequent using the *Pall* in publick processions; but this proves not their dependance on him, either *de jure*, or *de facto*, either that it was really due, or by them acknowledged, and yielded to him. Nay many indications there are to the contrary, *privileges* pleaded by them, though by him denied to belong to them. And indeed, had he really consulted either the story, or *Gregories Epistles*, he must have discerned the truth of mine, and the groundlesnesse of his affirmation. For of *John III.* to whom *Gregory's Epistles* are written, l. 1. and 2. it is by the writers for the most part, resolved, that he was the first *Archbishop* of *Ravenna*, qui palamentaverit, n<sup>o</sup> ho made a publick attempt this way, drawing many of the *Bishops* of *Italy* to his side. See *Hist. Raven.* l. 4. p. 181. and 184. where the whole contest is set down, collected punctually out of *Gregory's Epistles*, (and he that shall compare them, shall find it done exactly) together with a copy of *John's Epistle* to him, modest, but yet standing to his *privileges*, with a *Nullus ergo contra me Domino meo conetur surripere, quia si vult, Deo custode non esse potest, quod à me al qua novitas fuisset introducta, & d. juro vos per ipsam sedem Apostolicam, ut in nullo, Ravennatis Ecclesie privilegia quibus huc usque usque est, minuat*— looking on *Gregory's disputing* his *privileges*, as an invasion, and intolerable innovation, and adjuring him by the dignity of his place not to be guilty of it. And so nothing can with the least shew be inferred from the *Epistles* of *Gregory*, against the truth of what I affirmed from *Anastasius*, concerning the independence of this Church, held out till *Pogonatus's* time, i. e. till the necessity of their affaires, (occasioned by the invasion of the *Longobards*, and

want of relief and support from the *Greek Emperours Vicarii*) drave them to the *Bishop of Rome* for aid, who would not give it, but upon this price of giving up their former liberties.

27. What he addes again of the *Ravennates* being *Schismatics* as well as we, (though even now one of his answers was taken from the *Pope* consenting to the *Edit*, and I am sure *Gregory* oft professes to have confirmed their privileges) ought not to be of much force with any that knows his Notion of *Schismatics*, such as yield not obedience to the *Universall Pastorship* of the *Pope*, which is evidently the question at this time, and should be gained and won, not assumed and begged by him.

18 But at length he is content that plain reason should judge in this Controversie. And what reason doth he offer to prove, that the *Ravennates* pretended *αὐτοκρατία* from the time of *Valentinian's Edit* was an act of *Schisme*? Why, saith he, at the breach of the *Ravennates* from their subjection, the *Popes* made head against them, and stood upon their authority, as *Universall Pastors*, which therefore in all likelihood would have been looked on by the rest of the *Catholick Bishops*, as a proud usurpation, and being against their common interest to let the *Pope* pretend this, ought in all reason to have engaged them in the *Ravennates* quarrel, and there being no news of such siding, one may at least conjecture, that they thought the *Popes* pretence to the *Primacy* lawful.

29. Here is the plain reason we were promised, which at the beginning of the *Paragraph* undertook to judge in the controversy, and yet when it hath had audience, the utmost that *S. W.* that produced this plain, decisive (that sure must be demonstrative) reason, can dare to say of it, is, that it is able to induce a conjecture, and in a matter of fact contrary to his interest, they would indeed be strangely weak grounds, on which one, i.e. *S. W.* would not found a favourable conjecture. And yet this is the solid pregnant reasoning, beyond all possible confute, 'Tis pity to enter farther into the secrets of it. Yet I cannot but mark, 1. that the *Ravennates αὐτοκρατία*, given them by the *Emperors edit*, was of the same nature exactly with the many other examples frequent in the *Church*, of *Primacies* conferred by the *Imperiall Constitutions*, which were never resisted, or checkt at, at the time of their first donations. 2. That if *S. W.* his way of arguing hold,

then it follows as consequently, that what *Valentinian* did, was no innovation or assuming of undue power. For then in all likelihood it would have been looked on by the *Catholic Bishops* as such, and this no way appearing, one may as reasonably conjecture, that they never deemed it unlawful, especially if to this we add; what the stories tell us, that *John III.* of *Ravenna*, that contested with *Gregory* about the *Pall*, had gotten many of the *Bishops* of *Italy* to his side. See *Hist. Raven.* p. 180. Thirdly, That if the collation of this *Independency* be it, which *S. W.* calls the breach of the *Ravennates* from their subjection, it is in no degree true, that at that breach, i. e. at the time of their first assuming this *αὐτοκρατία*, the *Popes* made head against them. This I shall assume from what he even now supposed, when it appeared usefull to him, viz. that the *Edict* was made not without the *Pope's* consent, (and by *Pope Gregory's* confirming their privileges) for if so, then sure they did not make head against it, for that were strongly to dissent, and expresse their dissent, which consequently must have been visible, and then he could never have been so blind, as to deem them consenting. 4ly. That the first dissent that *S. W.* takes notice of, is that of *P. Greg.* who, according to his own just computation ascended to the *Papacy*, *An.* 590. and that is 158. years after the date of the *Rescript* of *Valentinian*, and for ought yet appears, the *Independency* was undisputed for all that time, a pretty competent space for a proscription. Fifthly, It is not yet proved by *S. W.* that the *Popes* thus early, no not this *Gregory* himself, which disputed *Ravenna's* privileges, stood upon their authority, as *Universall Pastors* of the Church (as he assures me the *Doctor* will grant, and thereby signifies nothing, but that he is not very ready to prove it) I am sure he sadly \* complains to *Amarisim* the *Emperour* of the proud and pompatick style, the name of vanity, the new and profane words of *Universall Bishop*, which *John Bishop* of *Constantinople* had attempted to assume, adding, that for all the eulogies and promises made to *S. Peter*, he was not yet called *Universal Pastor*, and inferres this horrible absurdity upon it, that whereas some of his Predecessor *Bishops* had been *Hereticks*, *Nestorius*, and *Macedonius*, if this title had belonged to that *See*, it must follow, that the *Universal Church*, à statu suo corruit, fell

\* Ep. ex Reg.  
1. 4. Ind. 7. 13.  
Ep. 32. and 47.  
Ep. 30.

fell from her state, When he that was thus styled Universall Bishop fell; withall assuring the Emperour, that he did not plead his owne cause, or avenge his private injury: which assures my charity, that this Pope could never assume this title of Universal Pastor of the Church, or make head against Ravenna, standing upon this, (i. e. the Papal, as that is above, Patriarchal) claim of authority: And indeed, this was before Boniface's time, who was the first, to whom Phocas gave that title, and therefore I may with all reason assume, that as yet the Popes could not make head against Ravenna; on that score.

30. Sixty, When this title was assumed, and then the Ravennates Independency became such an Ey-fore, most intolerable to the See of Rome, there is no necessity, that all that lookt upon it, as an usurpation, should engage in the Ravennates quarrell (though, as hath been said, many of the Bishops of Italy sided with them) weaknesse and feare, and many other secular considerations might interpose, and leave the just cause to be oppressed by the unjust; and there is no consequence to be drawn from not engaging in the cause, to the not approving of the innocence. The Greeks aided the Ravennates a while, but the Longobards were too hard for them; and the Papacy taking this advantage, would either leave them to be devoured, or would themselves prey upon them; and the Ravennates were not the first examples of those, that bought their lives at this price of subjection to the Romans. So perfectly vaine, from one end to the other, is all my Disarmer's discourse in this matter; 'tis a long work to discover most hastily all the flames and nullities in this procedure, and judgement of his plaine reason.

31. Lastly, When he demands how the Ravennates behaved themselves in the businesse, did they stick close to, and constantly claime their non-subjection from Canons or Scripture? ] The answer is obvious, they stood to it, as long as they were able, and at length they yielded to necessity, mean while never vouched either Scripture, or Canons. It is the Popes singular privilege to vouch both those, without all right to either: the later, as long agoe he did in the African Council,

*Council*, from the *Canon* of *Nice*, when no *authentick* of the *Council* sought for in the *East*, could be found to own any *semblance* of any such *Canon*; the former, as his *Successors* have oft done from *in es Petrus*, and *Pasce oves*— where the words being found, cannot be discerned to have any such *importance*. The *Ravennates* pretended, what they had, the *Edict* of the *Emperour*, and long *continued custome*, for the *injoying* of their *privileges*, and could not have been refuted in this plea, if their *secular* affaires had not first made it necessary to wave the *insisting* on it, and if afterward the *Pope* had not prevailed with another *Emperour Justinianus* *Ῥινότυμος*, to *subdue*, and inflict severity on them. And thus I doubt not, the *steadiest*, and best *radicated privileges* may be extirpated, and if rescinded by the same power, that first gave them, I shall after that, no longer plead for the *continuance* of them: and so I was farre enough all this while, from falling justly under the *censure* of *resisting* the *decision* of those who were *lawfull Judges* in the *matter*; all that I did was to vouch the *privilege* when it was given, and before it was judged fit to be *taken* away again by the *Emperour*, and that *S. W.* cannot but know, is all, that was any way *usefull* for me in this *Testimonie*.

## SECT. IV.

*The Exemptions from Patriarchs in Balsamon. His Discourse of Patriarchs no way derogatory to Rome's Canonick Rights. S. W. his unjust exactings. The removal of the Patriarchate of Aquileia to Grado. S. W. his Exceptions answered.*

1. **T**O the other examples which I had cited out of *Balsamon*, of Exemptions held by the *Emperours Charter*, his answers are also remarkable. First, saith he, *Balsamon* seems in this very place and treatise, to plead for the *Greeks* against the *Bishop of Rome*, and then an enemy's saying is no slander.]
2. I answer, The thing which I produced from *Balsamon*, was the exemption, or independency from *Constantinople*, that some *Archbishops* had by the *Emperours Charter*, and then what colour of pretence is there, that this should be a part of a plea in *Balsamon* for the *Greeks* against the *Bishop of Rome*? Certainly, *Constantinople* is not *Rome*, nor the interests of *Constantinople* the interests of *Rome*. 2. That this discourse of *Balsamon's*, from whence this testimony was cited, layes its foundation in the *Synods of Nice, Constantinople*, and that in *Trullo*, and from thence evidently deduces his conclusion for the number and order of *Patriarchs*, giving *Rome* the first place, and so is no way injurious to the just Canonick rights of the *Bishop of Rome*; and if being so, it must yet be deemed an opposition to his other pretensions, this is little for their credit, that they are thus improved beyond what those *Canons* allowed them. But whatsoever *S. W.* will think of that, 'tis most evident that the testimony which I voucht out of that discourse, had nothing to do with that controversy, 'twas onely a casuall mention in him (on occasion of the *λαμπὰς πατριαρχικὴ*) of some *Metropolitans*, that had from the favour of *Emperours* an *αὐτοκρατία* with some honorary privileges belonging to it, as of a known matter of fact, which could no more be questioned, than the *αὐτοκρατία* and



immunity of Cyprus and Bulgaria, which he had named immediately before, the one from the pretensions of Antioch, the other from the Metropolitcal power of Thessalonica, under which it formerly was.

3. Next, saith he, *If we may trust Balsamon, then two things must lie upon the Dr. to prove, ere he can conclude any thing, to wit, that the Emperours did it not with order from the Church, or in case they did not, that it was done lawfully, and next, that the Emperour priviledge them from subjection to the Pope, as head of the Church.* To these I answer, 1. That all I was to prove, was, that the Emperour, and so other Princes, have power to erect and translate Primacies, &c. And such antient examples of the Emperours practises, never checkt at by them, in whose time they were, is a competent proof of that; and if it should prove, that the Canons of the Church gave either general or special order, that thus it should be, 'tis so much the better, so much the more unquestionable, that thus it belonged to them. 2. That I can in no reason be required to prove that the Emperours exempted them from the subjection to the Pope, as head of the Church, when 1. it is but a begging the question, to assume thus, without proof, that the Pope is head of the Church; and 2. it is manifest that the Emperours did not then look on him as head of the Church, for then they could not have done such Ecclesiastica<sup>l</sup> acts, imperial<sup>l</sup> authority, and *δὲ γεγενημένων βασιλικῶν*, by imperial<sup>l</sup> authority, and Princely writs. And 3. I had my full design in having shewed, that Princes may erect Primacies, without proceeding in every period to demonstrate that anew, which had been the design of the former Chapters, that Primates were free from all subjection to this pretended head.

4. His answer to the mention of the erection of the Patriarchate at Grado, is still suitable to his former. I had cited out of Warnfridus, that this was done under Phocas out of Eginartus and Regino, that it was done by Charles the Great. And he catches presently at the shadow of the word [under] & then saith, *it seems the testimony saies not it was done by him, but under him, or while he reigned.* I answer, 1. That [under Phocas] in the first place is to be taken exactly in the same sense, as in the latter is exprest in the words [by Charles the great] the onely question

on among the Writers being, not, whether it were done by the *Emperour*, or no, but onely, by *which* of the *Emperours*, or in whose reign it was done. This was the onely cause why I cited it in that form, because I was not sure, to which I ought to adhere of the two mentioned *authorities*, where yet 'tis visible that it is as much to my purpose, if *Eginartus* say true, as if *Wanfridus*; and from him it was cited, that it was done by *Charles the great*, and not onely under him, or wh<sup>l</sup>st he reigned.

2. Saith he, *Since it was not of new erected, but translated thither from Aquileia, burnt not long before by the Longobards, it was no signe of a presumed jurisdiction, but rather of a pious generosity (in the Emperour) to bestow a new seat on the destitute Patriarch.*] And I that grant it was not a new erection, but translation from *Aquileia*, have yet as much by this instance, as I designed, viz. that the *Emperour*, and so other *Princes*; in like manner, may translate, as well as erect *Patriarchates*; and sure if this might not lawfully be done by the *Emperour*, it could never be an act of pious generosity in him to do it; charity and piety (or pity) to the distressed, and generosity, must always be founded in justice, and then as pious generosity may fitly move one *Prince* to it, so any other lawfull, much more necessary care of the good of his subjects, may as reasonably move another;

6. and then this was all I contended for by this instance.

What he saith he omits, and yet mentions, the reading the *Epistle* of *Pope Pelagius II.* in the *Council* of *Grado*, granting to *Elias* the place of the *Patriarch* of *Aquileia*] I may be allowed to omit also, it having certainly n<sup>o</sup> thing of force in it, the *Patriarchate* having been there placed, before that *Council* was called, and then the *Pope's* grant signifies no more, but that he had nothing to object against the lawfulness and fitness of the translation, as it had pass'd, or if it were also a confirmation of it (such acts the *Popes* have been willing to multiply above what was necessary, to gain consideration and honour to themselves) this may be willingly granted also, upon his title of *Western Patriarch*, which I never doubted to yield him, without diminution or prejudice to any of my pretensions. And so at length we are gotten to an end of this his fourth Section.

## SECT. V.

*The 12th Canon of Chalcedon rescued from mistaking, Abuse of Power. The effects of that. Irregular grants of Metropolitick power. Τιμή. Ὄνομα. Honour. The Objections answered.*

1. **T**HE 5. Section enters on the view of the *testimonies*, which I had brought for the erection of *Metropoles*, by the power of *Princes*, out of the *Canons of Councils*, and first begins with that from the *twelfth Canon of Chalcedon*, & *Balsamon's note* upon it. And first, saith he, the *Council* saith onely that those cities were honoured *πρὸς ὀνόματι* with the name alone, which the Doctor englishes, name and dignity, the later of which, saith he. they wanted, that which should dignifie them in a degree of a *Metropolitan*; being absolutely interdicted them by this very *Canon*, in those words, *μόνης ἀπελευθέρωσαν τῆς τιμῆς*, let them enjoy onely the honour: And secondly, what this honour was, *Balsamon* tells, onely *καλεῖσθαι μητροπολιν* to be called a *Metropolis*: And thirdly, answerable to this are the words of the *Council*, calling the former *Metropolis*, in contradistinction to this, the true one, signifying the other to be merely titular.]
2. Here is a specious shew indeed, and the Reader may be imposed on, if he do not please to take this caution with him, that there are two things considerable in that *twelfth Canon*; one, the premising a mention of the practice, or custome of erecting *Metropoles* *διὰ πατριάρχικῶν*, by regal constitutions (as the latter part of the *Canon*, the words of the *Scholiast*, and the mention of *δυναστείας* *Potentates*, interprets it) the second a censure, or sentence of the *Council* on some persons, who had in an undue manner, acquired this dignity by that means. Those things, we know, that are in themselves most lawful, when regularly used, may be very fit to be forbidden, and censured, when irregular. And thus it was here, a power *Princes* had to erect *Metropoles*: but if it were exercised so, as to thwart known *Canons*, and customes of the Church, this certainly was an abuse: As  
for

for example, One Canon it was, that there should be but one Bishop, of one Church, and one Metropolitane of one Province. See Photii *nomocanon*: Tit. i. c. 20. Another, which is oft repeated, that *Dioeceses* and *Provinces* should be preserved intire, without one Bishops encroaching on another; If therefore where there is one Metropolitane already, to whom the government of the Province by right belongs, another ordinary Bishop in that Province shall by ambition, base solicitation, whispering, or false suggestion, gain a pragmatick from the Prince, to make him a Metropolitane also, ὡς ἐκ τῆς δύο μητροπόλεως εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ, saith the Canon, so that by these meanes there are two Metropolitanes in the same Province, (which must needs disturb the administration, and invade the rights of the former Metropolitane) here certainly is an abuse, fit for a great Council to take cognizance of, and provide against, and by censures to reduce this irregular Bishop to some order. And this was exactly the case here, and consequently the Canon begins with ἡλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς τινὲς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς δεξιὰς περδεχόμενες δυναστείας διὰ πραγματικῶν τὴν μίαν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς δύο κατέτεμον, It hath come to our eares how contrary to the Ecclesiasticall Canons some men running to the secular powers have by Pragmaticks cut one Province into two, and therefore the Synod declares, that no Bishop shall dare, or attempt any such thing; or if he doth, he shall fall from his own degree; but those that have formerly been thus honoured by the Kings Writs, they shall enjoy the honour alone, but the rights shall be preserved to the true Metropolitane: where there is nothing more clear than this, that the irregularity of the particular erection, in respect of these circumstances and consequences, of unworthy solicitation in the Bishop, and the tearing a Province into two, to the bringing in of violence and confusion, was it that made that Council censure such ambitious persons: and yet this so, as not wholly to cassate the Princes act, even when 'twas thus irregular; much lesse to intimate in the least, that such power belonged not to the Prince, or would not stand valid to all effects; if it were duly exercised by him, without wrong to any. The validity of such acts is fully cleared by the seventeenth Canon of that Council, and by the 37th. in *Trullo*, and the way of reconciling

this ἐναντιοθέσια, or *seeming difference*, is clearly set down in that *Tr. of Schism*, from the law of *Alenius Comnenus*, and the *Canon* under him, as is visible in the latter part of that 14. *Self*. viz. that in case the *King* did it ἀποβίαντες, of his own incitation, it should stand good, but it should not be lawful for any by *base solicitation*, to seek or obtain it, and consequently, that the *Patriarch* suspending the confirmation till he had remonstrated to the *Emperour*, what the *Caxons* were in that case; if it appeared that the *Emperour* did it ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου, of his own motion, he was presently to admit it.

3. So that now it will soon appear, what justice there is in all *S.W.* his suggestions in this matter; as 1. when he saith, that the *Council* saith so, that those cities were honoured with the name alone, charging it as a fluency of the *Doctors* expression, that hee glorifies it [name and dignity.] I answer, that I well understand what is meant by such fluent, or large expressions, and will never once be willingly guilty of any such, and therefore to clear my self in this particular, I wish it be remembered, 1. that as ἐκείνη, name, is the word here used, so τιμή, dignity, or honor, is also used of the same thing in another part of that *Canon* and even without any way of censure on them, that they shall enjoy τιμή, no more but that, yet it is τιμή still, and that is ordinarily rendered honor, or dignity; 2. before this censure falls on them, when ἐκείνη, name, is mentioned alone, yet the verb joyned with it is ἐτιμώμεθα, they were honoured, i.e. dignified by that name (for honor \* say the Lawyers, est administratio provincie cum dignitatis gradu, an administration with a degree of dignity, so in the *African Canon* 88. ἐκείνη, id est τιμήν ἀποβίαντες, they shall be received in their own honours, i.e. their Episcopal powers and offices, and so in *Augustine*. Ep 50. in suis honoribus suscipiendos, in the same matter) which they could not be, if that name were not a dignity to them that had it. 2. δόξα, ordinarily signifies dignity and power, and not only name, as when the name of *Christ*, and of *Jesus*, in the sacred style signifies more than the bare name, or title, the power and dignity of his person. All which, I suppose, will justify me for englishing ἐκείνη, by, name and dignity of *Metropolis*.

\* L. 14 D. de  
muner. & ho-  
nor.

4. But then 2. when he saith, the *Council saith onely* that they were honoured with the name alone.] There is no sincerity in this, for 1. the word [alone] is put in by *S. W.* 'tis *ὀνόματι, name*, not *ὀνόματι μόνον, name alone*: 2. 'tis in the second part of the Canon (that which sets down the mulct, or punishment of those which had unduly ascended to this dignity) that that interdict is found in these words, *Let them enjoy onely the honour*] and not in the first part, where the name and dignity, which they receiv'd by the *Pragmatick*, is mentioned, and consequently 'tis so farre from being hence inferred, that they had from the *Pragmatick* nothing but the name, that on the contrary, 'tis clear by the Canon, which thus punisheth them for their offence (that they shall enjoy *ὡς τὸν τῶν τιμῶν τὴν ἰστίαν the honour alone*) that if they were not thus punished, or before they were, i.e. before the making of this Canon, they should and did enjoy more than the honour alone, and so more than onely the name.

5. 2. When he saith *Balsamon* tells me what that honour meant, viz. onely to be called a *Metropolis*: This is another falsification, for besides that he saith no more than this, that some asked, and heard, or were told thus, i.e. that some thus interpreted it, beside this, I say, it is clear, that this of the being onely called *Metropolitans*, was the punishment inflicted on them by the Council, which, as I said, resists not, but necessarily supposes, that they had further honour, than merely that titular, conferred on them by the Prince, for otherwise they could not be thus mulcted or punished by the Council for their irregular ambition, by having it taken from them.

6. 3. The contradistinction between this and the true *Metropolis*, is of no force to his, or against my pretensions. For that again onely signifies, that the rights did truly and duly belong to the other *Metropolis*, and that this which was thus unduly advanced, though by the Emperours constitution, did not acquire any just or solid right, which I most willingly grant, in such cases as that which was there mentioned, and can from thence receive no prejudice to my conclusion, viz. that in the East many Emperours had erected *Metropolitans*, which was the main thing to which I designed that testimony, both from the words of the Canon, and from *Balsamon*, who affirms it distinctly



finclly of the *Metropolis of Lacedæmonia*, of *Madyta* and *Abydus*, and never gives the least reason to suspect that those acts of these were *invalid*. Thus wholly vain are all *S. W.* his *ἀντιθέσεις*, and consequently his *suggestion*, that the *consequences of this testimonie are totally against my self*, though thus indeed they might seem to the *hasty* reader to be, before his *Arts of disguising*, by *confounding the distant parts of the Canon* were thus discovered. Herein I acknowledge he hath shewed himself a *dexterous* manager, but as it falls out, hath made no real advantage of his *artifices*.

7. What he yet farther addes in the fourth place from *Balsamon*, that he shall be ordained and judged by the old *Metropolitane*, is already answered, that this was the *Councils* penalty inflicted on him; as for others that should *after* that *Canon* attempt the like, the *Canon* decrees that they were to be degraded from the *power* which they already had.
8. As for the fifth thing, of the *power* given to the *Prince ἀναδελ*, which he will have rendred *olim*, by *some precedent Council*, it was, upon some occasion, spoken to in the *Reply*, cap 6. sic. 4. n. 19. and evidenced in whatsoever sense it were taken, to be *favourable*, and not *contrary* to my pretensions.

## SECT. VI.

Balsamon's words of the Emperour's erecting many *Metropoles*. Of what times to be understood. *Ἀνωθεν*. Helenopontus. Paphlagonia. Phrygia Capatiana. Capadocia prima, secunda, Basil. Anthimus.

1. **I**N the next place, on a view of a first observation of mine, that if Balsamon say right, that at the time of that Council of Chalcedon, many Emperours had erected many, there must needs be others before Valentinian, who was but twenty yeares before that Council; he saith, the observer is fallen into a great mistake, Balsamon's words being to be interpreted, saith he, in his owne times, in which he lived, i.e. 600. yeares after the Council, that then such *Metropoles* were made. ] To this I answer, that Balsamon's words lye indifferently, without notation of the particular time, of which he speaks, onely διαδοξαι διαδοξας ἐτιμωσαν, divers Kings have honoured divers, so that neither can I conclude from the bare force of them, that he spake of any before that Council, nor he on the contrary, that he spake of those of his own times; to which it belongs, must be judged by other circumstances: and though the matter be not great, which way it be determined, nor at all necessary to my pretensions, to be interpreted of the times before the Council, yet I shall mention the reason, which inclines it that way, and let it be of force, as it shall deserve. Upon the mention of divers *Bishopricks* thus dignified by the Emperours into *Metropoles*, he mentions his opinion, collected from the 17. Canon of Chalcedon, and 38. in Trullo (βοιχεν ἀνὸ τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλ. κανόνος — it appears to me from those Canons) that such ὀρίσμοι were made by Kings, according to the power given them, ἀνωθεν from above, or of old; Here first I shall gratifie S. W. that ἀνωθεν may indeed signifie olim, and if it so signifie in that place, then it must in all probability refer, not to this Council of Chalcedon, and in Trullo, which he names, and from which he concludes that this power was given them of old, but to times before those Councils. And so this very
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probability, if there were no more, will make it unreasonable to confine his precedent words [*ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ἐπιμνηστικὴ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἡν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐβίβηκεν* have been honoured] to the times so long after that Council, as those wherein Balsamon lived, when the words will bear so much a greater latitude, & signifie such grants before that Council. Now that it doth thus really refer to some more antient times, I thus farther infer, 1. from the nature of the word *ἀρχαῖος*, which is all one with *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* from the beginning, and elsewhere frequently notes an originall right, from the first, i. e. the Apostles times, or first plantations, And agreeably to this 2. from the generall Aphorisme, which we have in Origen, who was before this of Chalcedon above 200 yeares, *ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης πόλεως ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκλητικῶν*, that the Governour of the Church in each city must be corresponding to the Governour of the inhabitants of the city, viz. the civil Governour; which, supposing what is undoubted, that a King may dignifie an ordinary city, and make it a Metropolis, amounts to the same effect, that he may by consequence thus advance a Bishop into a Metropolitan; 3. and chiefly from what Balsamon here addes, *διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην ἐκκλησίαν* — for this cause, i. e. because of this power, which was of old given to Kings, the third chapter of the first title of the third book of the Basilica was out of use, or obsolete, continued not of force in the Church.

2. To understand the importance of which words, 'tis necessary to consider what that chap. is, which he saith was by this means out-dated, and in what times it was so. What that chapter was, he tells us expressly, though it be now (as being long disused) left out in the Basilica. It is, saith he, to be found in the 20. chap. of the first title of his present work, i. e. of Photius's Nomocanon. If hither if we turn, we shall finde the first part of it to be this, that there must not be two Metropolitans in one Province; which how it was out of use, or obsolete, and when or how long it had been so, appears by the *καὶ ἐπεὶ*, or text subjoyned, *Ἐκκλησίαι δύο ἔχουσιν μητροπολίτας, ὡς ἡ καὶ νῦν ἐστίν*. — Helenopolis hath two Metropolitans, as appears by the 28. Novel, Paphlagonia divers, as the 29. Novel witnesseth, and so Phrygia Capadocia, and the second Cappadocia. Now by these examples I may assume to prove, what I have in hand, for in what time these examples

examples shall appeare to fall, of those in any reason *Balsamon's* words must be interpreted. And for the former of them, those that are mentioned from *Justinian's Novels*, the case is pretty clear, they both were evidently thus, long before *Justinian's* time *ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχόντων*, \* saith he of one of them, 'twas in some former Governours time, not naming whose, that it was erected; but of the other, that of *Paphlagonia*, he saith expressly, that it was done, *ἐν τῷ Ὁρμεῖ χρόνῳ*, in *Hormir's* time, *διὰ τὸ κατ'*. and that we know was before this Council of *Chalcedon*, and before *Valentinian*, which was all that I attempted to prove from *Balsamon's* words. As for the instance of *secunda Cappadocia*, 'tis manifest that it was the act of *Valens*, colleague to *Valentinian* the elder, and so evidently before those times either of the Council of *Chalcedon*, or the other *Valentinian*.

3. This instance is considerable to the main business, and not insisted on formerly, and therefore I shall a little enlarge on it. *Cesarea* had at first been the one *Metropolis* of *Cappadocia*, and *Basil the Great*, Bishop of it; but *Valens* dividing *Cappadocia* into two Provinces, the first and second *Cappadocia*, made *Thyana* *Metropolis* of the second, and *Anthimus* was *Metropolitan* of it. Upon this grew a contention between *Basil* and *Anthimus*, *Basil* insisting on the ancient customs of the Church, *κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀνωθεν διαίρεσιν*, and the original division of the Fathers. *Anthimus*, on the *δημόσια*, or civil forms, or constitutions saith *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Anthimus* overcame, and then *Gregory Nazianzen* himself, *Basil's* deare friend, that had formerly favoured *Basil's* pretensions, doth after that expressly acknowledge the Bishop \* of *Thyana* for his *Metropolitan* (*Nazianzum* being \* *Ep. 88.* in *Cappadocia secunda*) and implores his aid to set some other Bishop in his place, now he was by sickness disabled to discharge it, in these words, *εἰ μὴ ἄλλω τινι κεφαλῇ εἶχεν ἡ ἐπαρχία*— If the Province had any other head, I should appeal to it— *τὴν ἥ οὗς ἐδαθείας ὑπερεμύνης, πρὸς σε βλέπων ἀναγκάων*, but you being advanced to that place, I must necessarily look and seek to you. And this still continued valid, and firm, and *Justinian*, that by *Edict* retrencht those two formerly named, *Helenopolis* and *Paphlagonia*, was so far from retrenching this of *Cappadocia*, that he made a yet farther change, *ὡς τῶν ἐταμῶν*, saith

the Scholiast of Nazianzen in *Fun. Or. Patris*, he cut it into three, erected a third Cappadocia, and Mucissus the Metropolis of that, and the Ecclesiastical Government followed, as appears by Euphranta, Bishop of Thyana, and Theodosius, Bishop of Mucissos, in quinta Synod. Collat. 5. sub Justinian.

4. Having said thus much for this interpretation of Balsamon's words, and upon this occasion added these evidences of the ancient practice, and power of Kings to erect Metropolitick Churches (according to the rule of Demetrius Chomatennus, Archbishop of Bulgaria, βασιλεὺς ἐπάγει τὸ ἐλάττω τιμῆς εἰς μεῖζονα, δηλαδὴ τὸ ἐπισκοπῶν εἰς μητροπολιν, the King advances from a lesser to a greater honour, viz. from Bishopricks to a Metropolis) I should be willing to compare and balance with it any arguments that S. W. could produce for his opinion, that Balsamon speaks of his own times. But he hath been so reserved, as not to offer any such (onely magisterially) to affirm, that the Doctor is fallen into a great mistake, but 'tis not worth arguing or clearing) and therefore I have no more to add in this matter.

## S E C T. VII.

*Rights of Kings acknowledged and confirmed by Councils.*

*The Testimony out of Balsamon on Conc. Carth. Can.*

*16. The grievous mistake, whose it is. The Kings Canonick power, and liberties. Destruction of our Hierarchy no way imputable to the asserting of them.*

1. **W**Hat now follows for a leaf together, p. 147. by way of answer to my second observation, and to the same purpose in another leaf, p. 149. in answer to my second testimony, doth somewhat *surpasse* in its kind, all that hitherto hath been afforded us. The *breviate* of it is this; when I undertake that Kings have power to erect or translate *Metropoles*, *Primacies*, and *Patriarchates*, and to prove it, produce (beside known and allowed *practises*) the decrees and *Canons* of the Church in Council, that so it shall be, presently he concludes, that the Doctor disputes against himself, he is, saith he, to prove that it is the Kings proper right, independent of the Church, or her *Canons*, and he brings for proof a Canon of a Council, and calls that a more expresse attributing this power to the Prince, which is indeed not attribuer, but tribuer, not an acknowledgement, but a bestowing and conferring it; ] And on he runs a very fair loose in this chase, and clearly carries all before him.

2. Of this I have already spoken to the *Catholick Gentleman*, Repl. p. 112. and I shall need adde but this, that the rights of Kings have been ever since the *Apostles* times preserved inviolate by all good *Christians*, that what without and before *Universall Councils*, reasonably belonged to them, hath by *Universall Councils* been yielded to them. And this I deemed a fit way of judging of any particular right, whether it belonged to them or no, by inquiring what the *Christian Church* hath still yielded to them, meaning thereby not the *Decrees* of the Pope, S. W. his pretended head of the Church, but the *Canons* of the *Oecumenical Councils*, truly so called, and the avowed Doctrine



of the *Universal Church*, by which it hath alwaies been yielded lawful for *Princes* to dispose of, and administer matters of exterior order in the *Church*, and so to erect or remove *Patronarchates*, and consequently beyond all dispute, *Princes* still have this power, and the *Pope*, that at his creation hath vowed to observe all those *antient Canons* inviolate, cannot without violation of his oath attempt to deny any *Christian Prince* this power in his own dominions.

3. To this all that *S. W.* hath to object, is, *that the Church confers this power on Kings, and so doth not attribuer, but tribuere, attribute it, but bestow it.*] And I that meant not to dispute of such niceties in *Grammar*, or mysteries of *State*, desirous to unite the civil and ecclesiasticall power, and not to sow seeds of jealousies or dissensions betwixt them, finding the same thing assumed by *Kings*, as their right, and yielded them by the *Church* to be enjoyed by them (for that sure is all that *Balsamon's* words can import, which he thinks so much for his advantage, *ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνου τὸ βασιλεὺς ὁποῖα καὶ ποιεῖ ἐν τῇ, we say that by this present Canon (in Trullo) 'tis yielded to the Prince to erect Bishopricks anew, for 'tis certain that in Trullo being after the Canon of Chalcedon it was not by this present Canon so given him, that it was not his before, and the other testimony, that affirms this privilege given to the Kingly power, παρὰ τὸ θεῖον κατὰ τὸν* indefinitely, by the divine Canons, will stand him in little stead) : thought I might hence conclude this to be unquestionably their due, but whether it were from God immediately conferred on them, and independently from the *Church*, or whether the *Church* in any notion were the medium that God used now under the *Gospel* to conferre it on them, truly I neither then was, nor now am, inclined either to inquire, or to take upon me to determine, being sure that this is not the *kinge*, on which the controversy betwixt us can depend, when it shall once be granted, that as now things stand in the world, *Kings* have this power really vested in them; this being most certain, that they that give the *King* any thing, doe not, if he had it before, (nor indeed can be imagined to) take it away by giving it him. This *Dilemma* will secure both my pretensions, and my method of arguing for them; if this were  
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the Emperours right, before the Church yielded or gave it to him, then sure the *liberality* of the Church is not so much worse than an ἀδωρεν δωρεν, as to *betray* and *rob* him of it; If it were not formerly his right, but the Church, then sure it is become so, by that *donation*. And when both these powers concur in the same instance, the King doing it of a *presumed* right, and the *Canons* of the Church expressly according with it, what doubt can there be of the *conclusion*? Thus the same *Ralsamon* tells us in that very place, of *Alexius Comnenus* the Emperour, whose *Edict S. W.* here cites, that he made a διόγνωσις βασιλική, an imperial decree, καὶ παρουσία καὶ τῆς τότε συνδιαγγραμμένης συνέδου, in the presence of the Synod that then was, and with their consent also, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεὺς πρεσβείας δεῖναι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρτέων, that it was lawful to the Prince to grant to churches the chair of presidency, and to advance Bishopricks & Archbishopricks into Metropoles; where as the decree is the Kings, and the Synod onely is present, and consents, so 'tis not that decree that gives the right, but it was by the Synod granted to be the Princes right before, or else we are to believe that they would not have consented to it, and again in case it were granted to be first given to the Prince by the canons of the Church, i.e. by the Canons of some universal Council, and that resolved to be the sense of that Emperours words in that Edict, τὸ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν καὶ νόμον διδόντων βασιλικῶν ἐξουσιᾶν πρεσβυτέρων, the privilege given to the regal Power by the divine Canons; yet being so given, 1. it cannot now be taken away by the power of the Bishop of Rome, who is himself obliged to observe all such Canons; and 2. it cannot want any new act of the Church to enable the Prince for the exercise of it; the power which he hath so long enjoyed, is of it self sufficient to every particular act comprehended under that power, and wants no authoritative new concurrence, or consent of the Church for the confirming of it. And truly when in the close of that Paragraph S. W. hath fairly confessed, that for the Emperour to erect Metropolitans, is an indulgence or privilege granted and given him by the Church in her Canons. ] I may well conclude the debate, having my whole conclusion granted me, as far as I pretended in that Section, and as far as I need ever pretend in order to our present controversy.

I now proceed to behold him in the second part of *career* in the same field, the *δοκιμασιον*, wherein he promises himself such *victories*, having at the very entering on this *stage*, the good fortune, as he thinks, to have left his adversary behind him irremediably, over head and ears again, saith he, in a *grievous mistake*.] But the word [again] yields me some *comfort* still. For, if I have been once in this condition already, and yet escaped that danger, 'tis more than possible I may again meet with the like *deliverance*, of which I shall not *despair*, till I have examined what it is, wherein this *grievous mistake* consists. *Why*, saith he, the *Doctor* begins thus, And accordingly the same *Balsamon* (on *Con: Carthag: Can. 16.*) doth upon that *Canon* professedly found the authority of *Princes*, ἐπισκοπῶν εἰς μητροπολὶν ἄγειν, to advance an *Episcopal See* into a *Metropolis*— whereas, saith he, neither doth *Balsamon* found the authority of *Princes* to execute such acts on that *Canon*, there being not a word in it to that purpose, nor doth he professedly say any thing as of himself— and had he said it, I conceive it no such strong argument, that a professed adversary should speak so professedly against one.]

5. Among these three heads I am let to seek out my *grievous mistake*. And for the last of them, I hope it will not very heavily oppress me, when *S. W.* in his last paragraph made use of *Balsamon* against me; and to say no more, I see not why a *Learned Patriarch* of *Antioch* that had served the *Church* of *God* so worthily in his great and excellent pains on the *Canons* of the *Antient Church*, should not be worthy to be named in a *controversie* concerning the *Interests* of the *Church*, or why it should not be as great a *prejudice* to *S. W.* his pretensions, that this *Patriarch* should be a professed adversary of them, as it can be to ours, that the *Pope* of *Rome* is not favourable to them.
6. The like I may resolve of the second, for 1. granting that the words made use of are by *Balsamon* cited from other men, yet the opinion of others recited by *Balsamon*, and not disproved by him, but made use of, for the removing a difficulty before him, was, as I thought, by interpretation, the profession of *Balsamon*: And 2. those others would by their plurality be rather of greater, than of lesser authority than *Balsamon*, to prove that this *Canon* was esteemed in the *Church* a ground, whereon to found

found the *authority of Princes*, which was the onely thing I vouch from it. 3. If the *first objection* have indeed truth in it that there is not a word in the *Canon* to that purpose, then it matters little who 'tis that *founds* this *authority* of the *Prince* on that *Canon*, be it *Balsamon*, or any other, whom he cites, the mistake is equal. The weight then, or *grievousnesse* of the *mistake* must, I suppose, be laid on the *first* of these, that the *Doctor* cites any, that *professedly found* the *authority of Princes* on that *Canon*, which, saith he, *bath not a word in it to that purpose.*]

7. But now, what if the *mistake* should be on *S. W* his side after all this? Thus he must certainly be obliged to acknowledge, when I have minded the Reader of one *trope*, I know not whether *involuntarily*, or *industriously* put upon him by *S. W*. When in accord with what had been said in the former part of that 14<sup>th</sup> §. from the *Canon of Chalcedon*, I cite out of *Balsamon* the protest founding the *authority of Princes* on that *Canon* ( in a parenthesis expressing the place in *Balsamon*, where it is to be found, on *Concil: Carthag: Can: 16.* ) he hath made a shift to interpret my words to this sense, that I affirm that the *authority of Princes* is *professedly founded* on the 16<sup>th</sup> *Canon of Carthage*, which indeed saith not a word of it. Now what a project for *victories* is this? and who would ever submit to such *meanneesses*, that could hope for any other way of tolerable *subsistence*? The short is, the 12<sup>th</sup> *Canon of Chalcedon*, as that is reconciled with, and interpreted by the 17<sup>th</sup> *Canon* of that *Council*, and the 38<sup>th</sup> in *Trullo*, was the subject matter of that *settlement*, and upon that *Canon* ( that sure is the *Canon of Chalcedon* ) *Balsamon*, or those in *Balsamon*, found the *authority of Princes* to advance *Episcopal Sees* into *Metropolises*; and though the 16<sup>th</sup> *Canon of Carthage* have not a word to this subject, yet *Balsamon's Scholia* on that *Canon* doe thus, though but occasionally, mention it: If there be any question of this, doe but turn to the place in *Balsamon*, in *Synod: Carthag: p. 627.* where having recited the very words by me set down that the *King bath power to doe many things, among these* ἐπισκοπῶν εἰς μητροπολὶν ἀγειν, ἐκ νέου ἐπισκόπους καὶ μητροπολίτας καθίσταν, *to advance an Episcopal See to a Metropolis, and to constitute Bishops and Metropolitanes* anew, he adds, *καὶ ἄντι ἐκ τῶν 13<sup>th</sup> καὶ 12<sup>th</sup> κανόνων*

τῆς ἐν χαλκηδόνι συνόδου, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν τρέλλω συνόδου, καὶ αὐτὰ παρακελευομένοις, *they use the 12 and 17 Canon of Chalcedon, and the 38 Canon of the Council in Trullo, which command the same things.* What now can be more evident than this, that 'twas not I, but S. W. that was in this *grievous mistake*?

8. Or if yet he shall insist, that there being mention in the line before, of *Concil Carthag* Can. 16. [*that Canon*] in the *subsequent* must refer to that *Carth: Canon*: I answer, that those words (on *Concil. Carth: 16.*) are in a *parenthesis*, the known nature of which is, that it may be left out without *disturbing* the sense, or connexion of the *insuing* with the *precedent* words: And then the sense must be complete thus, leaving out the *parenthesis*. The same *Balsamon* doth upon that *Canon* professedly found the authority of *Princes*— and then 'tis not possible to feign any antecedent for [*that Canon*] to relate to, but the *Chalcedon Canon* in the former part of that *Seet*.

9. What here he hath gathered up out of that place of *Balsamon*, that the *King* is *neither under lawes nor canons*, and therefore he may securely do this; from whence he collects, that this power of the *King* to remove *Patriarchates*, is deduced from no other ground than this, that his will is his law, that he may lawfully do what he lists, adding, that these grounds supposed, he blames not the inference that he should erect, transplant, nay pull down, not only *Bishops* and *Patriarchs*, but the whole *Hierarchy* it self, (*your present lot*, saith he, *consequent to these your grounds*) this is still of the same *unsincere* piece, and is visibly so as soon as ever 'tis remembered, that they that say this of the *King*, *χεῶνται τῶν κανόνων* cite three *Canons* of *Councils* for their affirmation: For sure if the *King* have this power, in their opinion, by the decrees of *Councils*, then he hath it upon some other ground than this, that his will is his law.—

10. The short is, the *ancient Canons* have made *prohibitions*, and interdicted *Bishops* some things, which yet the same *Canons* allow them to do, when it is by the *Kings* appointment, they forbid any *Bishop* to meddle with *secular* affaires, to *incroach* on another mans *diocese*; so again they forbid any *ordinary Bishop* to take upon him to be a *Metropolitane*, nay to seek or solicit for such increase of power to his See; and yet they allow a *Bishop*.

*Bishop* to meddle with such *secular Ministeries*, καὶ' οἰκονομίαν βασιλικὴν, when the Prince shall thus appoint, and in that case ὡς ἂν ᾖ πρὸς τὸν κανόνα ἐκωλυθήσεται ἢ ἐβλαβήσεται, he shall not be hindered or hurt by the forementioned Canons: so again they allow liberty to the Prince to advance a *Bishoprick* into a *Metropolis*, and the like, adding that the King ἔτε νόμοις ἔτε κανόνιν ὑποκείται, is not subject to *Laws* and *Canons*, i. e. these *Laws* and *Canons* that were made for the retrenching other mens enormous irregular actions, were never meant to extend to the restraining of the Prince, as appears by the very words of these *Canons*, which yield this power to the King, though they take it away from all others. Thus in *Demetrius Chomatensis* his first answer to *Cabasila*, Jur: Græcæ Rom. l. 5. p. 317. τὸ το κανονικὸν ἔστιν, ἔτε μὲν τῆς ἐκείνου ἢ ἀγέρου παρεξέσεως, γίνεσθαι ἢ πολλὰς βασιλέως κελεύουσιν, διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λυσιτελεῖσθαι κοινῇ, this of a *Bishop* removing from *See* to *See*, is not *Canonical*, neither by any written nor unwritten tradition, yet 'tis ordinarily done upon the command of the King for some administration usefull to the publique, adding by the way of generall *Aphorisme*, τὰ τοιαῦτα κλέουσιν μὲν βασιλικὴ δῶταμιν ἔχει μετὰ πάντων τε καὶ κανονικῶν, such things as these the regall Edict alone hath power (that sure is not a violent tyrannicall presumption) to change and innovate; and by and by after a great deal to this purpose he concludes, ταῦτα πάντα πάντες οἱ ἐκείνου καλῶσθαι ὡς γὰρ τῆς ἁγίας ἱερῶν καὶ θεῶν κανόνων περὶ τῆς, 'Tis easie to learn all this from the volumes of sacred and divine *Canons*, which it seems allow this. And many the like may be met with in *Ecclesiastick Writers*. And for this there is evident reason, because what would tend to injustice and disorder, being done by *Bishops* on their own heads, or from their own ambitions, being yet ordered and commanded by *Governours*, whose office it is to judge of publick commodity, and accordingly to give rule in it, tends to the most contrary ends, preservation of peace, and order, and justice, and all that is desirable among men. 'Twas not possible *SW* should be unable to discern this, whether in the practice (so frequent) or in the palpable reasonableness of it, and therefore the fault is the greater, that he should i. thus shuffle together things that are most distant, the irregular wills of *Tyrannes*, and the *Canonical* li-



*berties of Princes, and then vouch as our grounds, that the Prince may pull down the whole Hierarchy is selfe, and having ascended to this high degree of that which no Christian should once be guilty of, speaking confidently what he knows hath not the least semblance of truth in it, 'tis admirable that he should yet be able to transcend himself, and advance to this most superlative pitch of affirming our present lot (the pulling down our Hierarchy) to be consequent to these forementioned grounds, as if he which died in the defence of the lawes and hierarchy of our Church, had been guilty of the demolishing of it. 'Tis hard I confesse to reply to such reasonings as this.*

## SECT. VIII.

*Anselm's interpretation of 2 Thes. 2. 7. Lawfull power of Kings. Kings founders of Bishopricks in England. Regali autoritate, in the Charter for Battel Abbey, Bishopricks bestowed by Kings by Investiture. Non-reception of Legates. Kings power to remove Patriarches prejudicial to the Papal, not Patriarchal pretensions.*

1. **H**Is next tender of answers to my 15. and 16. Sections, begins with many good words to *Anselme*, in pure gratitude for the kindnesse he exprest to the Pope, in saving his authority, before he would consent to the erection of the Bishoprick of Ely. And seeing he is by *S. W.* afforded the Elogi of the gravest Prelate our countrey hath ever been honoured with, for this one merit of refusing the Kings sole authority to conclude such businesses, without his and the Pope's consent. ] I shall ask him what he thinks of *Anselm's* words on 2 Thes. 2. 7. *Romanus Pontifex qui tenet nunc Ecclesias, teneat illas donec de medio fiat, i.e. donec ab ipsâ Romanâ Ecclesiâ qua est medium & cor Ecclesiarum, fiat iniquitas, ob quam ab eâ multæ discedant Ecclesia.* The Bishop of Rome, who now holds the Churches, let him hold them.

them till he be taken away, i.e. saith he, till iniquity be committed by the Roman Church it self, which is the middle and heart of the Churches, for which many Churches depart from her. What ill luck was it that S. W. his profusest acclamations should be bestowed upon one that hath no better deserved them?

2. I have no more to say, but to desire the Reader to read over the *Sections*, to which they are accommodated, and onely to remember, that when I speak of the power of Kings, I speak onely of their lawfull power, such as was by all disinterested persons accounted really to belong to them, such as is approved and allowed them by the *Canons* of the *Universal Church*, and in the exercise whereof, the *Bishops* or *Governours* of the Church then being, expressed their sense that it was so, and concurred, as far as they were concerned, to the acts of it (yet this still without the *authoritative consent*, or *concurrence* of the *Bishop of Rome*, as to this Realm of ours) and that for any *all-lawful inerrablensse*, as he calls it, I that do not allow it the *Pope* in any his narrowest sphere of motion, in his own territories, or chair, did never plead it to belong to Kings in theirs; Nor do I any more pretend, that they which are obliged to make no law, but by consent of *Parliament*, should make lawes of themselves, without and against that *consent*, which is all the *Reply* due to his *Answer* to the instance of *Kenulphus* in his next *Paragraph*.

3. As for his other answer taken from the Kings founding of *Abbies*— it will rather assist, than prejudice our pretensions, who acknowledge him founder of our *Bishopricks* also, and from thence framed an argument for this power of his, *Sett.* 18.

4. What he addes of *Regali autoritate*, in the *Charter* of *William the Conquerour* to *Battel Abbey*, that it signifies the *Ius Regis*, i. Kin. the power of the sword, and injustice, and this consequent to his being the *Emperour* [needs no other answer than this, that he that came in by the sword, professed to rule by law, and is no more to be presumed to have broken his oath, than the *Popes* that vow to rule according to *Canon*, though they have come in by *Simonie*. And the particular *Charter* by me cited from him, having the attestation of the *Bishops* and *Barons* joyned

to his *regal authority*, 'tis to be presumed (there appearing no cause of *fear* to extort it from them) that they thought it agreeable to *regal tie* and *justice* too, what he thus did, or would not have thus *attested*.

5. The *three* particulars behind in this 5. Sect. have been briefly toucht on already here, or in the *Reply*, and there is no appearance of *weight* in what is here suggested, to exact my farther enlarging. For, 1. If the *Kings of France* and *England*, and *Emperours of Germany*, have alwayes *claimed* to bestow *Bishopricks by investiture*, then I must still suppose this some prejudice, or retrenchment to the *Pope's Universall Pastorship* as *S. W.* will enlarge the *fringes* of it; and this his own words confesse to me, when at length he mindes me of the *Pope*, and *Clergie's* resistance to *Kings*, that usurped these *Incestitures*: for if so they did, sure they must be thought to have deemed it some *invasion* of their pretended rights, that the *Kings* thus *claimed* and injoyed them, or else they would not have been so *peevish* to make such *unjust* at once, and *gainlesse* resistances. And this was all that I pretended from that instance.
6. So also for the *Legates* receptions, it cannot misse to be an indication of the *Supreme power* of *Kings* in all causes within their own *Realmes*, and consequently of the no *Supremacy* of the *Pope*, that his *Legate*, which is *interpretatively* himselfe, cannot without leave from the *Prince*, lawfully enter the *Kingdome*, or exercise any *jurisdiction* in it, this sure being the *privilege* of every *Supreme Governour*, that his *Dominions* should lye open to him, and to the *πρωτομένους αὐτοῦ*, 1 Pet. 2. 14. his *πρωτομένους*, be they ordinary *Judges* of *circuit*, or fixt *Procurators*, or any that any way *represent* his person, as certainly *Legates* doe, and are therefore styled *ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου* from his person, or a *latere*, from his side, and come, and are either received, or rejected in the *virtue* of him that sent them. Of this see the *Reply*, p. 124 And then the greater the number is of such nations, which still deny this *liberty* of admission to the *Pope's Legates*, the more proof there are of the no *Universal* agnition of his *Universal supremacy*.
7. And lastly, for his suggestion, that all this while I mistake  
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the Papal power for a Patriarchate. See Reply, c. 6. sect. 4. n. 21. or remember that the *Supreme power of Kings* being once asserted (particularly to this, to erect in their *Realmes*, *Primates*, or *Bishops*, independent from all *forreigne power*) is a competent prejudice to the *Popes* highest pretensions, those of the *Universal Pastors*hip, and indeed most proportionable, and particularly adequate to that, and was never designed by me, as the *Engine* to oppugne his *Patriarchal* just rights, nor if it had, could it have hoped to be *successful* to that end. The *unlimited Papal* usurpations are they, that are found unreconcilable with the *power of Kings* in their owne *Realmes*, as one society cannot have *two Supremes*. This advertisement may assure him, I was not so blinde as to mistake *Rome's* pretensions to bee for no more than a *Patriarchate*; If I had, I should either never have disputed at all, or have made use of some *other arguments*, viz. the *Pope's fastidious* rejecting and disclaiming *that title*, relinquishing and renouncing those his *just rights*, in order to these higher *pretensions*.

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## SECT. IX.

*Testimonies of the power of Kings in the Church vindicated, From Demetrius Chomatenus. οἶα. Constantine in an assembly of Bishops. His Ecclesiastick Lawes. τὰ εἶσω, and τὰ ἐνδὲς ἐκκλησίας. The Bishops and the Kings power. Constantine's titles, and oversight of Bishops. Leo Isaurus styling himself ιερὺς. Socrates his testimony of the Churches dependance on Kings.*

1. **H**IS sixth Section, after some of his wonted Discipline, to remind me of what I was competently assured, that I was far gone in his displeasure, is pleased to apply answer to my marginall testimonies concerning the power of Kings in the Church: And first, to that of Demetrius Chomatenus, Archbishop of Bulgarie, in his response to Constantinus Cabasila, Archbishop of Dyrrhachium, where he had no temptation to flatter Kings, yet affirms, ὁ βασιλεὺς οἶα καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιῶν ὁπισθημονερχῆς ἢ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος, the King is as it were the common director and ruler of the Churches, both in title and reality: he answers, that this signifies rather he was not so, then was so, unlesse I can prove, that quasi, as it were, can beare the sense of revera, indeed and in reality, where to make short, and gratifie S. W. I shall undertake to prove what he thinks so impossible, both that οἶα can, and in that place must, signifie revera, indeed, and in reality.

2. And 1 I premise that the rendring οἶα by quasi in Latine, or, as it were, in English, cannot prejudice the notation of the word in Greek, particularly in the use of that Writer. Οἶα, saith Hesychius and Phavorinus, denotes ὥσπερ, καθάπερ, ὡς, and is in ordinary use the same with ὑπόθεσις, scilicet, videlicet, as to wit, and so hath no intimation of a bare shew, or similitude, as that is opposed to reality. In the fifth line of that Response, μὴ δὲ ἐξέλω μοι—οἶα εὐ εἰδότες, it was not lawful for me—as knowing well—where sure he affirms himself really to know, and not in

resemblance, as that is opposed to *truth*. So within few lines after in the first page μηδέτερον ἀποσάειν—κεκινδυνεύκα, οἷα τινὸς ὑπακούω ἔκινω, *I have been in danger to preserve neither, as being slow* (not only appearing to be so) in respect of obedience, and thus tis evidently in this place, the occasion of the Speech is contained in the words immediately *precedent*, which I had occasion to recite even now, that the King hath power by his sole Edict to change some things in order to publick advantage, which the Canons of the Church have determined, δῶαμιν ἔχει, saith that Bishop, his command or Edict hath power, and that μόνη alone by it self. And the words themselves in the full period, of which I cited but the *breviate*, run thus, ὁ βασιλεὺς γὰρ, οἷα κοινὸς καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπάρχης καὶ ὧν καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος, καὶ συνωδικαῖς γνώμας ἐπισκοπῇ, καὶ τὸ κυρτ ταύτας χαρίζεται, ἐκκλησιαστικὰς τάξεις ῥυθμίζει, καὶ νομοθετεῖ βίῳ καὶ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῷ βίμῳ— For the King, as both being, and being called the common director and ruler of the Churches (evidently οἷα in the notion of *supreme*) hath the presidency over the Synodical determinations, and gives them the validity, regulates the Ecclesiastical orders, and gives law to the life and conversation of those that wait on the altar, and more to the same purpose in that place, which sure will abundantly reprove S. W. his κρησφύγετον from the *quasi as it were*, which he thought would stand him in such stead, to avoid and retort the force of that first testimony.

3. The second testimony from the words of Constantine, he thinks hath brought in great pomp to his triumphs, but it will not prove so upon the review: For 1. the words I said were spoken in an assembly of Bishops; but I did not say, in a generall council of Bishops, nor meant I, nor foresaw that any, either the simplest reader, or learned as S. W. should ever mistake me so. We use [assembled together] ἄλλ 1.4. of Christ and his Apostles, when the Greek συναλιζόμενος signifies eating together, and the propriety is equall, and the word in frequent use, for being together in any common meeting, whatsoever the occasion of the assembly be, and therefore S. W. hath sure gained little by this: It was, I acknowledge most willingly, at a festival assembly of Bishops, that Constantine thus spake, yet I suppose that no more prejudice to the truth of his speech, or to the importance of



it, than if it had been spoken in the very *Council of Nice*, or in any other the *fullest*, and *solemnest assembly*; and therefore it was no such rare *εὐρηκα*, to adde to *S. W.* his great *successer*, that either he found the place in *Eusebius*, which is *vulgarly* known, (and therefore could not, as he suggests, be *prudently* omitted by me) or to finde the *Emperour* and *Bishops* at dinner, when he came, or that he was fain to seek to his *Latine Eusebius* to espy this, and make his *reports* of it.

4. 2. Whereas *S. W.* resolves, that there never was testimony, nor can be imagined in so little room more expressly witnessing that *Kings* have nothing to do with *Ecclesiastick* affaires, than this of *Constantine*, which the *Doctor* brings to prove the contrary] I desire this may be judged, 1. by the immediate antecedents, then by the words themselves in the *Original Greek*, and not in his *misfrending Latine Eusebius*. The immediate antecedents in that

\* *Euseb. de vit*  
*Const. Edit. Rob.*  
*siesth fol. 150.*  
 † *ἐν νόμῳ διε-*  
*κελεύετο, ἐνο-*  
*μοθετεῖται περὶ*  
*τῶν, νόμῳ ἐ-*  
*ποιτα, νεῦμα*  
*βασιλέως.*

\* very page, tell us of many *Lawes* of his concerning the oblation of the *Lords day* in all the *Provinces* concerning a *set* form of prayer to be *used by all* (*μεμελημένον ἐν ὅλῳ ἔξ ἑνὸς συν-θήματι*) *ὁμῶς τὰς πάντας ἀναπέμπειν* *ἑσθ*, and again, *ἐν θείῳς εὐχαῖς*) concerning the use of it by the *Roman Souldiers* in their *vulgar*, i.e. *ῥωμαῖα γλῶττῃ*, *Roman tongue*, concerning *holys dayes*, or the *feasts of Martyrs*, and some other the like, which *sure* were exercises of power in *Ecclesiastick* affaires. Then for the words themselves, it matters little what the *title* of the chapter in the *Latine* edition is, when *Eusebius* neither wrote *Latine*, nor, that we know of, affixt *titles* to his chapters. The words in the *Greek* might easily have been come to, *Eusebius eis τὴν Κωνσταντινὴν*, is not so great a rarity, and *S. W.* was lately willing we should know he could *read Greek*: And there these are the words of *Eusebius* *λόγον ἀπέκεν, ὡς ἄρα ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος*, literally, *he del vered this speech, that he was also an overseer*, or *Bishop*, adding the very words in which he delivered himself; in that *Writers* hearing, *ὑμεῖς μὲν ἦσθε τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ ἐκλὸς* *ἐπὶ δεῖ καθιστάμενος ἐπίσκοπος ἀνέλω*, literally thus (seeing *paraphrases* of obscure words must not be indured, when they sound to *S. W.* his disadvantage) ye are *Bishops* of the things within; the *Church*, or overseers of the *Church*, of the things within, but I am constituted under God, *Bishop*, or overseer

of the things without. Here 'twas neither my interest nor design to take the word ἐκκλησία Church (as *S. W.* suggests) for a material Church of stone, but for the Congregation, or assembly of Christians, ruled or administred by the Bishops in some things, by the Emperour in others. Matter of sacred office of Functiō, administration of Sacraments, ordination, excommunication, and the like, which are the τὰ εἰσω the internal acts were peculiar to the Bishops of the Church; but the τὰ ἔξω matters of external order, such as were even now mentioned out of Demetrius Chomatensis, belong to the Christian Emperour: he is by God appointed to be the ἐπισκοπῆς, Bishop, or overseer, or administrator of such: and among these is particularly set down in the insuing relation, the inspection and care of the lives of Ecclesiastical persons, which by his adjoyning exhortation, he expresseth to be one part of his ἐπισκοπῆς, and certainly this is an evidence of the Emperours power in Ecclesiastical matters and so in spiritual things in that notion of spiritual, for matters of external order in the Church, such is erecting or translating Metropoles, &c.) so is it the very thing that I was to conclude from that, and the other testimonies: And so all that *S. W.* hoped to have gained by a corrupt Latin copie, which, saith he, renders ἐπὶ εἰσω & ἐπὶ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοποι, intra & extra ecclesiam Episcopi (which the particle ἐπὶ demonstrates to be a senseless rendering) is visibly come to nothing, they were things of the Church that Constantine was Governour of, as well as those that the Bishops administred; all the difference this, that the former were but τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, external matters of order, &c. of the Church, and Churchmen (whereas the Bishops inspection, or rule, belonged to other matters) to which agrees the sense of the Greek Church expresseth in the Calendar of the Church of Constantinople, styling that Emperour ὁ ἐν βασιλεύσιν Ἀπόστολος, and ἰσάποστολος, an Apostle among Kings, and equall to an Apostle, not onely in assisting the plantation of the Church in so eminent a manner, (which gave him the title of Religionis & fidei author, the author of religion and faith, in an \* old Marble) but in the governing it when it was plan-

\* Gruter pag. 8.

5. What he farther addes out of the *Latine copie*, to render his interpretation more probable, and that all that was meant by his calling himself a *Bishop*, was, that it was his calling to exhort all his subjects to lead a pious life] is again a pitiful stratagem; for whereas his *Latine* hath, *animum in omnes qui ejus suberant imperio intentum habuit, hortatus pro virili ut piam vitam excolerent*, the *Greek* reads τὸς ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, πρὸς τὸ πᾶν— he overlookt or ruled, or tooke care of all his subjects (and the *Clergy* and *Bishops* themselves, if we may believe the *Fathers*, were of that number) and exhorted them most earnestly to follow a pious life, and as long as the *Bishops* did continue to do so, there was, I hope, no need of more than exhorting.
6. 3. For the words of *Leo Isaurus*, that told the *Pope* he was *ἱερεὺς*, as well as βασιλεὺς. *S. W.* was able without an interpreter, to have understood the meaning of them, the very same that the *Kings* of *England* have assumed, not to be *Priests* in the strict notion of that word *ἱερεὺς*, that had been very extravagant indeed, and that puts it out of question, that it was not meant by him, but to have power ἐν ἱερί in sacred or Ecclesiastical matters, and not in civil onely; and 'tis more reasonable and Christian, to say with *J. C.* in *Goldastus*, that *Gregory II.* was not so passionate a pretender to the inclosure and monopolie of all Ecclesiastical power, but that he could allow the *Emperour* his part of it, then with *S. W.* to pronounce an *Emperour* extravagant, Archheretick, insatuate, because he had unhappily incurred his displeasure, by saying what was not for *S. W.* his interest, to have believed from him.
7. Another [thirdly] now followes in answer to the testimony of *Socrat.* that from the time of the *Emperors* receiving the Faith, the affairs of the Church depended on them] & this is very sharply rebuked, and poore I, for the sake of it. 1. Because the word *Supreme* is not there to be found, and because the affairs of the head may depend on the armes and shoulders, and because I catch at a word, and think to deduce thence a full sentence.] But to all this the answer is brief; 1. That the Church, whose affaires are there spoken of, is not the head, but the body, and that on, or (ἐξ) from which the body depends, is still the head, though the head it self may in some sense depend on other parts of the body.

2. That 'tis plain the dependance here spoken of, is of the *inferiours* on the *supreme*, by that which here followes, as a proof of it in the next words, *ἡ δὲ μέγισται συνέδριος τῇ αὐτῆς γνώμῃ γινώσκει* † *ἡ γίνονται*, and the greatest Synods have been, and are convoked by their appointment, and that sure is an evidence of their *supreme power*, for neither the *armes* nor the *shoulders* were ever called to that office of *convoking* and *indicting* of *Oecumenicall Councils*, but onely the *supreme power*, wheresoever that was placed.

## SECT. X.

*Opratus his words of the Pope's headship. Petrus Primus, in many respects before Christs promising the Keyes. Caput omnium Apostolorum. Cephas. Cathedra Apostolica, in other Churches as well as Rome. Romes change from the Primitive Zeale and faith. Power of Princes to suppress Schisme. Ecclesiastical persons not secured from interests.*

1. **T**He place in *Opratus*, noting it as a *Schismaticall* piece of language in the *Donatists*, to say, *Quid imperatori cum ecclesiâ?* ] might, I doubt not, have been easily found in him, if *S. W.* had lookt with that design; But sometimes *diversion* is the best way of *answering* arguments, as of *avoiding* of *enemies* forces, and accordingly this *method* is here chosen (and I am so obedient to all his *directions*, as to attend him in it) In that *second Book* of *Opratus*, he findes, forsooth, that ancient Father calling the *Do<sup>r</sup>* *Schismatick*, and quite *confuting* and *contradicting* all his books, saying, *Negare non potes scire te in urbe Româ Petro primo Cathedram<sup>i</sup> Episcopalem esse collatam*, in quâ *federit* omnium *Apostolorum caput Petrus*, then he proceeds to reckon up all the *Popes* of *Rome*, till *Siricius*, cum quo nobis totus orbis in commercio formatum in unâ *Communione*

societate concordat, and afterwards— probatum est nos esse in Ecclesia sancta Catholica— per Cathedram Petri quæ nostra est, & per ipsam cæteras dotes apud nos esse, etiam sacerdotium, and then alas poor Dr. H. who having lost communion with that Church, hath lost also his Priesthood, mission— if this holy Father say true.—

2. I shall have S. W. his pardon, I hope, for the digression, and then being very unwilling to wave the considering any thing brought out of ant quity to this purpose, for the Pope's supremacy; I have no other temptation to decline following him κατὰ πρός α, through this whole passage, not meaning to cast off this antient Father, as he hath styled Optatus, for no other fault, but that, which neither he nor S. W. could mend, of not being born in due time, or having wrote after the 300<sup>th</sup> year, which he is pleased to phantasie the fatal period, lower than which we will allow of none, with how little ground of truth, may anon appear also.

3. The first advantage then, I suppose, designed from Optatus, is, that he calls Petrus Primus, for those two words are written in Capital letters, And I answer by these steps, 1. that thus much was sure to be met with in the first 300 yeares, even in the Evangelists, πρῶτον & Σίμων, which I have oft acknowledged, and is the same in Greek that this is in Latine; 2 that Peter might be first in some other respects, without bringing any advantage to S. W. his pretensions, which depend onely on his Primacy of power and authority, not amongst, but over all others.

4. First he might be in age, and if he was not so simply of all, yet without question of those three, to whom Christ generally vouchsafed his special favours above the rest: 2. he was in Discipleship first, as that signifies, the following, and in strict attending on him (though Philip were first called by Christ, Job. 1. in which respect, saith \* Augustine, Petrus Primus Apostolorum, Paulus novissimus, Peter the first, Paul the last of the Apostles; one so the first, as tother the last: And 3. First in confession, and many eminent virtues (though the most eminent in falling also) and so first in three considerable respects (and perhaps in as many more, which I discern not) without having the

\* Ser. 47 de  
Pet. & Paul.

the dominion assigned, or promised him over the rest of the Apostles. 3. That the Primacy which he had, he had before the donation of the Keyes, or the *tu es Petrus*, Mat. 16. (on which, and on what was after that, Feed my sheep, the Romanist grounds it) This appeares by Mat. 10. 2. where that title is given him, and so by the Fathers Scholia on Mat. 16. 16. *loci non immemor sui Petrus Primatum egit, primatum confessionis utique non honoris*, saith S. Ambrose, he was mindfull of his place, he had the Primacy of confession, not of honour, of saith, and not of order, \* and \* De Incarn. c. this supposes that he had it before Christs answer to him, wherein the Keyes were promised, and that his confession, and Christs answer upon that, was rather the effect, than the cause of his Primacy. And so saith \* Cyrill of Alexandria, *περὶ ἁλλων τοῦ ἁπλῶς ἁλλων περιελατμένους, καὶ φησι* — as the Coryphaeus of the rest, and one placed before the rest he first breaketh out and saith, Thou art Christ — having formerly observed of that Apostle in generall, *εὐπειθεος ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὡς ἀνδραγαθός, κακὸν ἰσχυρὸς ὁ μελέως εἰς τὸ δὲ τὸ δεῖναι τε καὶ εἶπαι περιδουλιαν, διὰ καὶ πρῶτος ὁ μολόγει τὸ πῖναι*, he was alacrious and nimble alwaies in a high degree, in respect of forwardnesse both to act and speak.

5. As for the second title, *Omnium Apostolorum Caput Petrus*, 1. That signifies no more than *Primus* did before, and so exacts no new answer: 'tis no newes that the word head in all languages should denote oft times the Primacy of Order, not Supremacy of Jurisdiction, as when Antioch is called the head of the Christian world, because they were there first called Christians: 2. 'Tis no special observation, that Optatus calls him so, others did so before Optatus, who yet appeare to have designed no eminent favour to S. W. his pretensions; witnesse \* S. \* Atf. vin. Hierome, or rather Jovinian in S. Hierome, who calls Peter head, *inter duodecim unus constituitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio*, and yet in the very same period affirms, that as the Church was founded on Peter, so 'twas in another place super omnes Apostolos, upon all the Apostles, and cuncti claves cælorum accipiunt, all received the keyes of heaven, and ex aequo super eos Ecclesie fortitudo solidatur, the strength of the Church is established equally on them all; and if Optatus's words, and the title of Head, may



be interpreted by the same style in this place in S. Hierome before him, 'tis visible what is become of all the advantage S. 17. can reap by that testimony.

6. But then 3. if to the mention of *Caput Petrus*, in *Optatus*, he had set down the words immediately following, it would have been little for the dignity of the citation, *Omnium Apostolorum*, saith he, *Caput Petrus*, unde & *Cephas* appellatus est, *Peter was the head of all the Apostles, from whence he was also called Cephas*. But doth *Cephas* a stone signifie a head with *Optatus*? was the Greek *κεφαλή* a head, drawn in to favour this Etymologie? This may lawfully diminish one's reverence to these words of *Optatus*, though I preserve it never so insire to his other excellencies.

7. As for the rest of the words recited, that the whole world agrees in one society of Communion with Rome, and that they that have the Chair of Peter are by that proved to be in the holy Catholick Church, and to have the rest of the dowries of a Church, particularly the Priesthood. I doubt not but it hath perfect truth in it, and so it would also, if it had been spoken of any other of the Apostles plantations, the Chair of S. John in Asia, &c. the meaning of the chaire being evident to signifie the ruling power of the Church brought down (as it was in every Apostolick See) by succession from the Apostles, which, saith he, the Donatists could not pretend (and l. 3. he expresses it in another style, *Unitatem cum toto orbe terrarum, & cum memoriis Apostolorum*—habere noluitis, *Ye would not have unity with the whole world, and with the memories of the Apostles*, in the plural, as well as with S. Peter) and so must be pronounced Schismatics.

8. Thus in the same second book, he useth the same language of other Churches as he doth here of Rome, *Extra septem Ecclesias, quicquid foris est, alienum est*, *Whatsoever is without the seven Churches (of Asia, mentioned Rev. 1.) is strange, or schismatical*, and so of \* *Thessalonica, Corinth, Galatia*. All which enlarges these privileges of the Church, and so the Priesthood and mission among them, to all other Churches that have continued their succession from the Apostles (as I doubt not, we of the Church of England have done) and confines them not to the

\* Tibi unitas  
d splictis hoc si  
cramentum, ar-  
gue nos Thessa-  
lonicensibus, Co-  
rinthiis, Gala-  
tiis. communi-  
casse.

Roman See, exclusively or peculiarly; and so the poor Doctor may retain his *priesthood*, and *mission*, and *power to preach*, and not be fain to seek out the *Donatists Ghosts* to hold *communion* with, and yet this *Father* be allowed to be of *age to speake*, and by my free consent his *testimony* be taken.

9. For beside what hath been already said, this farther consideration will not fail to supersede all force of this argument from Optatus's words. The See of Rome had from the Apostles to Optatus's daies shined in that lustre as to be the most eminent Church of any in the world; and if it had done so still, there might still have been place for Optatus's words, but since the change hath been so great, that I may well take up Priſcus's words in *Excerpts*: *Ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθή· ἐς ἣν ἀρχόντες ἐχούμενα τοῖς πάλαι φερόμενοις, αὐτῷ διελευμέναις, The Faith and Government of the Church of Rome was Apostolical and good, but the later Governours being not affected as antiently they were, have sorely wasted it. Go give her a return to her primitive zeal and faith.*

10. So that S. W. may now return from whence he came, to the view of my testimony, and free himselfe from the number of those Donatists, which would not allow the Emperour to have any thing to doe with the Church: and all that he hath to say to it is, that being the nursing Father of the Church, his power was to be granted sufficiently authoritative to punish and repress the Donatists. ] And if the Prince elsewhere may have the like power to repress all those that transcribe the Donatists guilt, or Schisme, though they are most unwilling of any to own the name, then truly this is all that I ever designed to conclude from this testimony, and this being in these granted me, I have no more to contend for, this being no season to descend to the hypothesis, or application.

11. What he fastidiously subjoynes to the mentions of the Heathen practises in that *Margent*, I shall not attempt to make reply to, having placed no trust in that medium, though it could not, I thought, be amisse to annex the consent betwixt all Professions, of false, as well as true Religions, in this Doctrine. But if his severity be such, that the mentions of Heathens puts him into ill humour, he may pleas: the

next time he views that place, to pass more *slightly* over it, and not think it necessary to *refute* every casual *Marginall* note, which might be allowed such an *unconsiderable* place in a discourse, as this was, without *offending* any man. In his *answer* to it, one thing there is which he may please to *review* and *correct* at leisure. For though the *sacred mysteries* and the *Churches Government*, be *incharg'd* as he saith, to those persons, whose state of life is purely dependent on God and his service, yet sure there is no shew of consequence in what he addes, as the *superstruction* on this *disposition*, that this state of life secures them from being *crossed* by *worldly interests*, and *secular pretences*. I heartily wish this had all truth in it, but shall not need indeavour to *disprove* it, the lives of some such men speaking *louder* than any *arguments*.

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## SECT. XI.

David's ordering the courses of the Priests. Solomon's Dedication of the Temple. Hezekiah's Ecclesiasticall Acts, Josiah's. S. Paul's Appeale from the Jews Sanhedrim to Cæsar, Act. 25. 9, 10. Judged before me, v 9. Capital Judgement taken from the Jews. Justinian's Ecclesiasticall laws in the Sacinana. S. W. his falsifications and answers. Justinian's charge of Tyranny brought in at a dead lift. Theodosius no Tyrant.

1. **T**He instances from the Jewish practice now follow: And to the first, of *David's ordering the courses of the Priests*; his answer being the same that had lately been given me by Mr. Camdrey (a person of somewhat different principles,) viz. that David was a Prophet as well as a King, I referre him to my answer \* there, that this was no act of *David's prophetike*, but meerly of his *Kingly office*, founded on prudential considerations, and the change of times, God having formerly disposed otherwise of it. But it seems his second thoughts have better advised S. W. in this matter, for upon them he presently, in effect, retracts this answer (onely it went against his heart to lose so much pretious inke as must have perished by blotting it out againe) and resolves there was in this no streine of an higher jurisdiction (by higher I suppose he meanes higher than is ordinary and regular for Kings, and then sure twas done by the King, not the Propket) and that as his greater zeale might invise him, so his exacter knowledge might make his assistance requisite to order the courses of the Priests.] And then it seemes I was in the right, and my instance was pertinent to inferre my conclusion, that for matters of outward order in the Church, Princes were very competent, and no doubt were indued with power and authority from God, or else their zeale and knowledge could not have justified the interposing their assistance in them.

\* Account of  
3. Diarr. ch. 5.  
Sec. 4. n. 6. 8.

2. To the 2. of Solomon's consecrating the Temple, he answers, it was performed by offering sacrifice, which he himself offered not, but the Priests, so as his consecrating it was nothing else but causing them to consecrate it. ]
3. I reply, that besides the Priests part in this work, the offering of sacrifice (which I never imagined to belong to Solomon, nor from thence pretended it lawfull for the Christian King thus to invade the Sacerdotal office, in baptizing, consecrating the Host, or assuming any of the *τὰ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, that even now Constantine spake of) many other acts there were, conducing to that one main of dedicating, or consecrating the Temple, 1. calling the Assembly, and afterward dissolving it again; 2. disposing and appointing the actions of the Priests; 3. making the oration on that occasion; and lastly, the prayer and the blessing of the congregation of Israel, kneeling on his knees before the altar, and spreading forth his hands toward heaven, in the presence of all the congregation; and all these being Ecclesiastical acts, were yet performed by Solomon, 1 Kings 8. and that was all that I designed from that instance, and there neither is, nor can be any question of it.
4. To the third, of Hezekiah, and Josiah, there was more due than his *Sarcasme* will any way defray, (and yet that is all he can afford them) Reforming, within his dominions, the affairs of the Church, exercising the *ἐπισκοπή*, or inspection over the Clergie, when they neglect their duty, the highest, as well as the lower sort of them, is the least that can proportionably be inferred from what is there done by the commandment of the King Hezekiah, 2 Kings 1. 18. and 2 Chro. 28. in removing the high places, breaking the brazen Serpent in pieces, and cleansing of the Temple, and restoring the Sacrifice, and the musick of the Temple, and whatsoever was then wanting, or neglected in Gods service, by default of Priests or Levites: And so in like manner, from King Josiah's act in repairing the breaches of Gods house, and destroying Idolatrie, and restoring, by edict, the solemn observation of the Passover—2 King. 22. and 23. To the nothing which he returns to these instances, all that I need say, is, that my conclusion is inferred, and he hath not attempted to invalidate it.

The next instance was that of *S. Paul*, appealing from the judgment of the Chief Priests to the tribunal of *Cæsar*; which if it had any infirmity in it, were not in reason to be imputed to me, but to him from whom I cited it, *Gregor. de He mburg*, a person formerly well reputed of by *Pope Pius II.* till by defence of the just rights of his Prince, *Sigismund Duke of Austria*, he fell under his displeasure. But it seems though my citation were never so true, yet his name is not able to secure the Doctor from a most grievous mistake, such an one as hath brought a very ill report upon him for the like in almost every place of Scripture he hath yet produced.

6. What this so unlimited a charge signifies, I thank God I cannot divine, but that *S. W.* is now a drawing his *Chancery-Bill*, and thinks it not material, what degree or semblance of truth there is in any thing he casts in. This hath formerly appeared as often as he hath made the like charge, and 't s not improbable it may yet prove so here also, when we have heard what he hath to object. *S. Paul*, saith he, appealed not from the tribunal of the Jews, but from the tribunal of *Portius Festus*, a Roman Governor, unto *Cæsar himself*, and this he will prove so plainly and convincingly, from *Act. 25. 9, 10.* that he shall need onely to put down the words in our own translation, and so leave the Doctor to be accused either for wilfully abusing, or ignorantly mistaking them. The words he recites, are these, *But Festus willing to doe the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? Then said Paul, I stand at Cæsars judgement seat, where I ought to be judged.*]

7. These words then are left by their own native force, without any aid from *S. W.* to inferre his conclusion, that *Paul* appealed not from the tribunal of the Jews, but from the tribunal of *Portius Festus* to *Cæsar himself*: Let us see how they will be able to do it: And first, to omit the harder part, the negative, let us examine what they say for the affirmative, that he here appealed from the tribunal of *Festus*. But for this 't is most certain, that this text alleged can no way possibly conclude it. It is onely an insisting on his right to be judged by *Portius Festus*, in opposition to going up to *Jerusalem*. This the very words by him alleged



do evidence, *Festus* then hath him before him at *Cæsarea*, where he kept the *Affizes*, v. 6. and he is now sitting on the judgement seat, and it being the *Jewes* request, v. 3. that he might be sent to *Jerusalem*, *Festus* to gratifie them, v. 9 proposes the removing him thither, which *Paul* directly disclaims and refuses, and challenges his right, as a *Roman*, I stand, saith he, at *Cæsar's* judgement seat; he means certainly this tribunal or *Festus*, *Cæsar's* *Procurator*, where he stands already, and where saith he, as a *Roman* I ought to be judged; he makes no farther appeal as yet in these words from the tribunal, before which he stands, but requires to be judged there. This being cleared, *S. W.* his affirmative part hath certainly satisfied him, that of his appealing from *Festus's* tribunal, in those two verses alleged by him, as the onely medium to conclude it. His appeal to *Cæsar* him'self, or to *Augustus's* hearing, follows in the next words, ver. 11. and that expressly, not from *Festus's* judging him there at *Cæsarea*, at the *Roman* barre, but from his delivering him to the *Jewes* to be judged at *Jerusalem*, and that I hope is contrary enough to his negative, his not appealing from the tribunal of the *Jewes*.] Nothing can be more manifest, If, saith *Paul*, I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die, (let him be judged there by *Festus*, and whatsoever the event be, he willingly submits to it without any appeal from that judicature of *Festus*, before which now he stands) but if there be none of these things, whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them (i.e. to the *Jewes*) I appeal unto *Cæsar*. So that 'tis not from *Portius Festus* judging him, that he appeales to *Cæsar* himself (if *Festus* would judge him, he would readily submit to it, and requires it as his privilege to be so judged) but from his delivering him to the *Jewes* to be judged at *Jerusalem*, i.e. from that tribunal of their *Sanhedrim* (which represents the *Christian Church* & where the high priest was the principal person, c. 24.) he makes his appeal to the secular Magistrate, the *Roman* Emperour himself, and hopes for much more justice from him, though an heathen Prince, than he doth from such a tribunal of *Ananias* and his consistory.

8. If this be not yet plain enough, then 1. remember where 'twas that *Paul* was arraigned, (before *Lysias* the *Roman* Commander sent

sent him to Cæsarea) at the Council or Sanhedrim of the Jewes, *Act.* 23. 1. where the High priest sat down to judge him after the law of Moses, v. 3. & from among them, i. e. that Council, the soldiers, by the chief Captains command, take him by force, v. 10. thither again they purposed to signify to the chief Captain, that he should be brought on the morrow, v. 15. but upon discovery of the conspiracy to take away his life by the way, he is sent by safe conduct to Cæsarea, v. 23. Then upon Festus's coming to the Province, the Jews renew their suit *ἵνα μελαπικύβηται*, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, c. 25. 3. this Festus then denied, v. 4. meaning to judge him by the imperial law at Cæsarea, the Jewes being required to go and prosecute him there, v. 5. When nothing could there be proved against him, v. 7. Festus having so far changed his resolution, to do the Jewes a pleasure, proposes his going up to Jerusalem, v. 9. there to be judged before him (what is meant by that phrase, we shall see anon) and this he accounts of, as a delivering to them, and from that it is that he makes his appeal to Cesar, and that I suppose to be from the Jewes tribunal, and so Festus expresses the meaning of it, v. 20. I asked him (saith he to Agrippa) whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judg'd of these matters; upon that occasion again expressly mentioning his appeal to the hearing of Augustus, in opposition to his going up to Jerusalem to be judged.

9. There is but one possible difficulty which appears to remain in this matter, and that is, what is meant by his being judged before me, i. e. before Festus at Jerusalem, c. 25. 9. for that may be thought to infer, that it was Festus's Tribunal, and not the Jewes, from which he appealed. To this I answer, that the power of the Jewish Sanhedrim at this time was but a very limited power, they might not put any man to death, *Ioh.* 18. 31. and consequently when any was judged by them, if the offence seemed capital, the Roman Procurator was to be called to assist, and thus to sentence, as in the crucifixion of Christ it was manifest. And this is all the reason of this phrase [before me] because treason against Cesar being put in amongst his accusations, the Jewes could not judge of such matters, but only take upon them the part of accusers, as we therefore see they do, c. 25. 2. whereas for other things concerning their own law, their tribunal was competent to take audience, and give judgment.

10. And

10. And this is the importance of those words of *Festus*, *Act.* 25. 20. wherein he gives the reason to *Agrippa*, why he asked him, whether he would go to *Jerusalem*, there to be judged of those matters, i.e. of those questions, or accusations, concerning the *Jewish superstition*, or religion: because *Festus* doubted, or was ignorant of them, knew not what judgement to passe in them, and therefore would have had him to *Jerusalem*, for the *Sanhedrim* there to take cognizance, and judge of such matters, himself going also, there to sit upon him, in case any capital crime, censurable by the *Roman lawes*, should be proved against him. And from the former of these it is, i.e. the *Sanhedrim's* judicature, that *Paul* appeals, as hath hitherto appeared, and onely from that, and so not from *Festus's* judicature; For that he was already under at *Casarea* (as much as he could be at *Jerusalem*) and yet appeals not from that, but saith he ought to be judged there, and onely averts the going up to *Jerusalem*. A visible difference there is betwixt his being judged by *Festus* at *Casarea*, and at *Jerusalem* before him. In the former he stood onely at *Cesar's* judgement seat to be judged by none but his *Procurator*, according to the *Roman law*; and if he were found guilty of no capital crime, rebellion, and the like, he was sure to be set free, and this he feared not, wheresoever he was judged; but if he went up to *Jerusalem* to be judged there, then whatsoever his innocence were as to such capital accusations, he might be deemed guilty of some breaches of the *Judaical law*, and for them be judged to other punishments, such as remained in their power, by the *Sanhedrim*, and besides the high Priests, and chief of the *Jewes*, that pressed so earnestly that he might be remanded to *Jerusalem*, had a treacherous purpose in it, having laid an ambush in the way to kill him, *Act.* 25. 3. and so *Paul* had all reason to appeal from this proposal of delivering him to be judged by the *Jewes*, though none to distrust *Festus's* sentence at *Casarea*: and so still it is most visible, that from this it was, that his appeal was made, and not from *Festus's* bench at *Casarea*, which was the thing I undertook to conclude from these passages.

11. I thus have I clearly deduced this whole matter, and evidenced the truth of *Gregorius de Heimburg* his observation, not that  
that

that *Emperor* was head of the *Christian Church*, but that *S. Paul* expected *reliefe* from this *heathen Emperor* against the *oppressions* of the *high priest*, and his *Sanhedrim*, which is all that from *Heimbürg* was pretended.

12. And then who will ever take *S. W.* his word againe about a *grievous mistake*, who yet never had the *luck* to be himselfe in the *rights*, when he came in the greatest *rage* of *Discipline* to *chastise* *mistakers*.

13. If there be not in all his *darts* some *desperate incurable* *poysen* (by strength of the old *Aphorisme*, *Calumniare fortiter, aliquid habet*) I shall for o ce adventure to advise *S. W.* it it be but for his *own* *interests*, never to cry [*grievous mistakes*] againe, till he hath gotten some firmer title to *infallibility*, then yet he hath attain'd to, lest still it be the *looking-glasse*, and not the *perspective* which helps him to all the *mistakes*.

14. In the last place he is come to that *meannesse* of *changing* my words, that he may get some *advantage* of *carping* at them, which otherwise he must misse of. I said that in the *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ*, the whole third Book is made up of *Justinians*, that is of the *Emperors*, *constitutions de Episcopis, Clericis, & sacris*, concerning *Bishops, Clergie-men, and sacred Offices*. And he will reade this, that *Justinians* third book is made of *Constitutions de Episcopis, Clericis & laicis, Bishops, Priests, lay men*, and then answer, that all the *laws* found there must not be necessarily *Justinians*.] What will this dealing advance to, by and by? First, *laicis* must be suborned to turn out *sacris*, and that we may be sure the *Printer* had no hand in this, 1. the *Englisbing* it *lay-men*, instead of *sacred Offices*, and 2. the no notice of either of these in the *Errata*, is full evidence. And then what trust is to be given to such *fingers*? 2. How came we by the mention of *Justinians* third book? Or what *third book* doth he mean? I spake of the *third book* of the *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ*, which if he knew any thing in the *affaires*, or *Canons* of the *Church*, is a *Synopsis* of LX books *universi Juris Romani* set out 80. yeares since in *Greek* and *Latine* with *scholia*, by Jo: *Leunclavius*. And if he knew not what belonged to this, why might he not have softly *glided* over it, rather than have adventured *blindfold*, and in the first

words changed this into *Justinians third book* of He knew not what, and then solemnly applied answer to it, which cannot possibly be accommodated to the matter in hand. *Keepers*, saith he, of *lawes*, use not onely to put in their law bookes those constitutions themselves made, but also those they are to see observed, among which are the *Canons and Lawes of the Church made before by Councils and other Ecclesiasticall powers.*] But this cannot be applied to the present instance. 'Tis certain, *Justinian personally made many ΝΑΤΑΞΕΙΣ concerning Ecclesiasticall matters*, which are now visible in his *Novels*, each of them clothed with those particular individuating circumstances of the authors name, and the persons to whom they were written, which remove all possible doubt in this matter, and the third book of the *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ* is a collection or breviate of such as these, which are thus at large to be found in his *Novells*, and there discern'd to be none but his. Such luck hath *S. W.* constantly, when he combates blindfold.

15. But he satisfies not himselfe with this first answer; he hath a second, that *Justinian may make constitutions of his own concerning Bishops and Clergy-men, in what relates to temporall offices, or as they are parts of the civil Common wealth.*] But it is evident if he will now upon advertisement turne to the *Basilica*, or to the *Novels* themselves, that many of them are of matters purely Ecclesiasticall; I must not adventure losing my reader, and my selfe, in reciting them.

16. But because this answer was so feeble also, a third is called in, to relieve at a dead lift: If neither of these answers will serve, If he shall be found to have made any lawes concerning them, and without the authority of the Church, then, saith he, let the Dr. prove he had power to make such, minding me of the note of Tyrannie which is objected against *Justinian*. But 1. this is strange hewing asunder, instead of untying of knots, and difficulties; If the argument could be answer'd any other way, then *Justinian* may stand right in the Court; but if *S. W.* be so driven up to the wall, that he have no way to invent for his escape, then in great sadnesse *Justinian* must be content to be a Tyrant, rather then *S. W.* be foild in this manner. 2. though *Justinian* for some other unkindnesse to the Pope, have been

been lookt on *unkindly* by the *Romanists*, and call'd by some ill names, so long after his death; yet I believe *S. W.* will not be able to produce any *Romanist*, which hath affixt this ill *character* on him upon this single score, which alone I have now insisted on, making of *constitutions* for the good government of the *Church*, and then I hope he that hath *offended* once, is not under a necessity of doing all things *amisse*; if so, truly *S. W.* will have a hard time of it, can never *redeeme*, as long as he lives, what he hath *offended* in this one lease, if as he judges this *Emperor*, he shall be *judged*. But to conclude, 3. my argument vouched the *Theodosian Code* for decrees in *Ecclesiastical affaires*, and this reserve of the *Emperors* being a *Tyrant* is no way appliable to him; and so we have done with his last answer.

17. For the appendage of this argument, and answer concerning the *Canons* of the *Councils* receiving their authority and publication from the *Emperor*, I need not reply, having never pretended, or seemed to pretend what he charges on me, concerning the *Emperors Negative voice* in the *Council*; what I pretended, I spake out in plaine words, that the *Canons* have been mostly set out, and received their authority by the *Emperors* (and this receiving their authority, is I suppose, in order to their powerfull reception in their dominions) and this he acknowledges in the fullest latitude, not onely mostly, but *alwayes*, and so we are for once *friends*, though he knew not of it, and no man knowes how little while it will last. As it is, twill be a good season to sit downe in peace, at this end of the 6. *Section*.



## S E C T. XII.

*Answer to his seventh Section. Strictures on the lighter part of it. Ethelberts erecting the Primacy at Canterbury. Removall of Primacies, and Addition of Provinces, to whom justly assignable. Caeruks remove to S. Davids. Valentia and Flavia Cæsariensis. From York to Canterbury.*

1. **T**He first three pages of his 7. Sect: have no appearance of weight, or difficulty: to which any more answer is in reason due, then the Section in the *Treatise*, to which they belong, will readily, if it be consulted, afford any man. But he, 1. finds fault with *parentheses*, which are a very visible part of the *Scripture style*, and so may not reasonably be found fault with in mine, 2. *misreports* my arguing, which neither denies *tradition* as he would have it, nor layes any more weight on the *negative argument* than evidently belongs to it, and requires not of him, as he suggests, to find the name of *Primates* or *Patriarchs* in *Scripture*, but saith that there is no imaginable obstacle there, against which though but *interpretatively* the Prince can be said to offend, when he shall make such changes; and 3. from *fabrilia tractet* he concludes it the testimony of common sense, that *Kings must not meddle with such matters*, as if none could ever judge which were the largest city, and most fitly accomplished to be a *Metropolis*, but he who had spent his age in the study of *Divinity*, which yet no way belongs to it, and 4. he resolves that nothing hath been said either to disprove the *Papal Universal Pastorship*, or to evidence this right of *Kings* to remove *Patriarchs*, to be founded in the *Canon of Chalcedon*—when I have all reason to think, that he hath not said one word in defence of either of these pretensions, which is not now answered, and when without any id est, the 17.<sup>th</sup> Canon of *Chalcedon* is plain, that whensoever any city is erected or restored by the *Imperial power*, the order of the *Ecclesiastical divisions* shall follow

the *Civil forms*; Of which, and of the *Canon in Trullo*, and the acknowledged force thereof to this matter, I have in this *Reply* enlarged abundantly.

2. But what he next proceeds to, hath transported him into severall *passions*, betwixt which he hath found out another *grievous mistake*, if it have but the *luck* to stand good to him; However it makes a *dish* in the *bill of Fare*, that allowance of an house to dwell in and meat to eat, is the erection of a *Primacy*. And was it not truly said of old by the *Desipnosophist*, that *οι μαγειροι ποιηται*, Cooks are Poets, and that a little skill in that art is sufficient to convert the *Rape roots* into a delicate *fish service*, at a time when *nature* denied, and all the *Ocean* would not afford the like. Just thus it is here, I said that *Canterbury* or *Dorovernia* was the seat of *King Ethelberts Kingdome*, and proved it by the words of *Bede*, who calls it \* *Imperii sui totius Metropolis*, \* lib. i. c. 25. and that *King* at the time of *Augustines* planting the *faith* did erect a *Primacy* in that *City*, not bringing any proof of this, but mentioning it as a certain thing, that needed no probation. And he very diligently seeks out the place in *Bede*, where those words are, *Imperii sui Metropolis*, and finding there a mention of his giving them a *mansion* and *food*, this forsooth must be dress'd out for my proof of his erecting a *Primacy* there, and that at a time when *Ethelbert*, he confesses, was not yet converted, and all this managed with great demurenesse, as if I had been really guilty of this senselesnesse. The short is, I did really prove from those words, what I designed from them, that *Canterbury* was *King Ethelberts seat of his Kingdom*, but never dreamt of inferring from that place the erecting of an *Ecclesiastical Primacy* there. I know that could not be done, till after the *Kings conversion*, and then it is distinctly mention'd by the same *Bede* in the \* next Chapter, in the title whereof we read, *Ut in urbe* \* lib. i. c. 26. *Regis sedem Episcopatus acceperit*, how *Augustine* received the seat of his *Bishoprick* in the *King's city*. and so in the chapter itself in these words, *Nec distulit (Rex) quin—doctoribus suis locum sedis eorum gradui congruum in Dorovernâ Metropoli suâ donaret, simul & necessarias in diversis speciebus possessiones conferret*, Th. *King* deferred not to give his *Teachers* the place of a seat, agreeable to their degree, in *Canterbury his Metropolis*, and

together with it conferred on them necessary possessions in several  
 k ndes. And there can be no ground of doubting it. The Pope  
 \* *Episcopum ordina- dum (fi ab Angli suscipi- remur) dispo- erat. Bed. l. I. c.* sent them to preach \* appointed Augustine should be ordained Bi-  
 shop, if the English should receive them. The \* Archbishop of Arles  
 ordained him according to the Popes direction. But where the  
 seat of his Bishoprick should be fastened, it is not imaginable,  
 who should give order for that, but onely King Ethelbert; the  
 Pope could not, who did not certainly foresee his reception; the  
 ordainer the Bishop of Arles had nothing to doe with it, nay,  
 this he was first to have as his title, before he could by Canon  
 ordain him, and accordingly so it is in story, that, and the Pal  
 from the Pope, his ordination, and consecration were both conse-  
 quent to the Kings assenting him the seat, the first in 27. the  
 other in 29 chap: And so much for the childish piece of insue-  
 rity, as he calls it: the reader will now judge, on which side it  
 lies.

3. Next follows the arreignment of my words about the *Removal of the Primacies in England*, and addition of Provinces, which I conceived assignable, i. e. justly, or so as might agree with the truth of History, assignable to nothing but the acts of Princes in removing, and erecting Metropole; but he affirms these to be assignable, 1. to the Popes power, 2. to the consent of Bishops.] Here if by the consent of Bishops he mean the concurrence of their consent to the Kings act, I shall make no question of that, this differs from an authoritative consent, and so still the King might doe it, though the Bishops concurred and consented to it: his doing it was never by me intimated to be his doing it against their will, but his doing it regularly and advisedly, as in reason, and for the good of the Church he ought to doe it. The former then is the onely matter of question, whether it were the Popes or the Kings act, and as yet there being nothing produced on S. W. his side, but the bare mention of the possibility that the Pope should doe it, without all tender of proof, that he did, there is nothing to be answered, or replied by me, yet I shall by one instance (which will suffice in this matter) evidently prove that in that at least, he neither did, nor cou'd doe it. The Archbishoprick of Caermk in Monmouth shire was removed to St. Davids in the reign of King Arthur, and that as hath been

been shew'd, as before *Augustines* coming into *England*, so before the *Pope* had any hold here, and whilst *Caermk* was not subject to any other *Bishop* whatsoever, as hath formerly been proved, and vindicated; and therefore I conclude this is no way assignable to the *Pope*, without confounding, and denying all that our *Historians* tell us in this matter. As for the addition of *Valentia* and *Flavia Casariensis*, it was certainly done by the *Roman Emperours*, and those are not the *Pope*. And the choice of *Canterbury* for the *Metropolis* having even now been cleared to be the act of *Ethelbert* (though *Augustine* the *Bishop* there was sent from *Rome*, and ordained by the *Bishop* of *Arles*, and after had a *Pall* from *Rome*) the removal of it from *London* (where it was formerly, even at the time of the *Nicene Council*) must be assigned to that original, and the rather, because that which the *Pope* in his Letter to *Augustine*, saith of *London*; that the *Bishop* thereof should *semper in posterum a synodo propria consecrari*, be for ever after ward consecrated by his owne synod, i.e. by an *Archbishop*, never came to any effect, the *Archbishoprick* continuing to be established at *Canterbury*, and no remembrance remaining to us, of *Londons* being an *Ecclesiastical Metropolis* after this: So that *Neubrigensis* resolves it must be understood of *Canterbury*, what *Greg. Ep.* saith of *London*; discerning it seems, that as to *London* it found no accomplishment. Lastly, for *York*, the principall colonie of the *Romanes* in *Britann*, and the seat of the *Emperours* Palace, and the place of the *Lieutenants* residence, and adorned with other dignities, mentioned in *Treat of Schism*: tis certain the *Primacy* continued there, while the *Romans* held the *Government*, and after that, while the *Britans* held *England*, and in memory thereof *Gregories* appointment to *Augustine* after his coming was, that \* if that *City* received the *Faith*, it should so far enjoy the former privilege, as to be the seat of a *Metropolitane*, with twelve *Bishops* under him, and without any subjection *Londinensis Episcopi* ditioni, to the power of the *Bishop* of *London*, or (as *Neubrigensis* with all reason saith it must be understood) of the *Bishop* of *Canterbury*, and \* for the future after *Augustines* death, he to be the first of those two *Archbishops* which from time to time was first ordained, which again being not agreeable to *Canterburies* having the *Primacy*, (for that

Greg. ex Reg.  
l. 12. Indict. 7.  
Ep. 15.

l. 5 c. 10.

\* Si civitas cum  
finisimis locis  
verbum Dei re-  
ceperit, ipse quo-  
que 12. Episco-  
pos ordinet, et  
Metropolitanus  
honore praeferatur  
l. 12 ep. 15.

\* Sit vero inter  
Episcopos honoris  
ista distinctio, ut  
ipse prior habeatur  
qui prius fuerit  
ordinatus.  
Ib.

that differs from all such equality) tis evident that that Pope did not remove the Primacy from York to Canterbury, and that any successor of his did, I know not that it is pretended. And thus he sees the grounds of the Doctors reasoning not so irrational, in respect of the proceſſe, or unconcluding in respect of the Medium, as he would have perswaded by his *Sarcasmes* (not his *Reasons*) which make up the far greatest part of his confutations.

### SECT. XIII.

*The African Canon contrary to the Roman. Lenity to the Donatists. The History of the Canon. S. W. his Exceptions answered. The feined Revocation, and Request. Romes umpirage between Cæcilianus and Donatus, no act of Jurisdiction.*

1. **T**hat the power which is duly vested in Kings, in case it be taken away by *forreigne*, i. e. by the Popes *Laws*, is perfectly lawfull to be resumed by the *Originall* possessors, i. e. by our Kings of England, I indeavoured to shew *a pari*, by the practice of the *African Church* set downe in the *Council of Carthage*, Can 71. Where when the Pope had determined one thing about the non-reception of the *Donatists*, and by letter signified that to the *Council of Carthage*, they prudently and deliberately decree another, and incur no danger of *Schism*, by this meanes. This in the *treatise of Schism*, p. 128. I shortly touch'd, but now upon this occasion must more largely deduce, to vindicate the truth, and force of that testimony for the inferring of my conclusion.
2. When that great dissension fell out in *Africk*, betweene *Cæcilianus* Archbishop of *Carthage*, and *Donatus a casis nigris*, and *S. Augustin* tels us, that though Pope *Melchiades*, by the judgment of his Colleagues, or *Bishops in Council* assembled with him, condemn'd *Donatus*, yet they so spared the *Donatists*, as many as should repent, that they were ready to give them free choice to regaine the peace of the Church, and even for those that had

had been ordeined Bishops by Majorinus, so that they were  
 no Bishops in one See, they thus compounded it, that he that was  
 first ordein'd in each See, should be confirmed, and some other  
 Church and flock be provided for the other. And the same  
 he affirms againe in his 50. Ep. The Bishops, saith he, in the  
 Church of Rome, thus judg'd in the difference betwixt Cæcilianus  
 and the Donatists, that all, beside Donatus, the author of the  
 Schisme, should upon reformation be received unto their honors,  
 though they had been ordeined out of the Church; not that they  
 might have the holy Spirit out of the unity of the body of Christ,  
 but that they might not, by continuing out of the Church, deceive  
 others, and that being thus mildly handled, they might more  
 probably be cured. This was thus resolved in Constantine's time,  
 about the yeare 300. But 100. yeares after, Pope Anastasius  
 in a Synod at Rome determines a greater severity necessary  
 toward the Donatists, and sends an Epistle to the Council of  
 Carthage to signifie this their judgment. The Epistle of Ana-  
 stasius, I suppose, is \* not extant, but the † Acts of the Council  
 of Carthage assure us thereof, and set down the summ of it  
 to be an advice to the Africans, that they should not by any  
 means *περαποποιῶντες πρὸς τῆς τῆς Δονατιστῶν ὁμολογίας καὶ ἀνα-  
 γινώσκοντας τῆς τῶν καὶ πατρῶν ἁγίων χάριτος καὶ δοξασιῶν μακαρίων  
 βασιλέων ποδῶντος, dissemble, or proceed with that lenity, toward  
 the treachery and impudence of the heretical and Schismatical Do-  
 natists, which did grievously wast the Catholike Church through  
 all the African region. On receipt of this later, the African  
 Fathers in Council give humble thanks to God for his mercy,  
 & to Anastasius and his Coun. il, for their pious care for them, as  
 for fellow-members of Christ τοῖς καὶ ἐν διαφύσεσι τῆς γῆς μέμεινεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ σώματι & ἀρμονίᾳ κατιστάμενοις, who though they be  
 scituate in severall parts of the earth, yet consist in one harmony  
 and concord of a body. But that being done, they proceed con-  
 ciliarly to handle, and consider that matter, and all things  
 that seemed to tend to the profit of the Church, and finally they  
 resolve *ἡνιωσεν καὶ εἰρηνικῶς διαπραξάμενοις*, to continue to deale mildly  
 and pacifickly with them, deeming that the likelyest means to  
 convince gainfayers, and to reduce them to the knowl. dge of  
 the truth; and accordingly severall things they \* decree, parti-  
 cularly to write an Epistle to their other brethren and fellow-*

\* Justel. in Cod.  
 Can. Ess. Afr.

P. 7.  
 † Just. Cod. Can.  
 Ec. Afr. p. 180.  
 and Bals. in Can.  
 pag. 692.

Can. Es. Sec.  
 Justel. Es.  
 secund: Bals.

\* Can. Es.  
 Sec. Just. ca.  
 Bals.



Bishops, especially to the Apostolical See of Rome, where Anastasius presided, to signify to them *μεγάλῳ ἀνάγκῳ*, the great necessity, lying on them in order to the peace and utility of the Church, to receive the Donatists to their dignities, as many as should return to the unity of the Church, proposing to all other Bishops to do the like after their example, who were first infested with them, and with a non obstante, notwithstanding what had been decreed at Rome, *Μὴ ἐμποδίσῃ ἡ ἐκείνη τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ τῆς τιμῆς αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πνευματικῇ συνόδῳ*, that which is determined against their honours in the beyond-sea Synod (*ἢ γὰρ τῇ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ*, viz. that in Italie, saith the Scholiast) shall not, say they, hinder or prejudice this decree; and againe, *οἱ χειροτονούμενοι*—they that have been ordained on the part of the Donatists, if they shall reform and returne to the Catholike faith, shall not be proceeded with according to the transmarine Synod (which had determined that they should not be received to their own dignities) but shall the rather be received as those that take care for Catholike unity.

3. Here thus anciently, i. e. in the yeare 401. tis cleare, that the decree at Rome was not thought fit to prejudice or hinder the African Synod, to adhere to their former resolution, and so to lawes contrary to the Romane See, and that was all that I undertooke to inferre from it.
4. Now to this what hath S. W. to say? Why, confessing the former part of the story, about Melchhiades, first, he resolves that the Donatists obstinacy permitted not his decree to be executed, and therefore it was recalled; then that under Pope Anastasius, the African Council commanded a request to be made to the Bishops of Italy by whose predecessors the Revocation was made, that the Donatist Bishops might retaine their places, adding that the cunning Balsamon puts the provision it self for a Canon of this Council, and the Dr. takes no notice of the request, though he must needs have read it in Baronius whom he there cites.] And out of these premisses his conclusion is, that as farre as can be drawn out of the fact and Council, it argues the direct contrary to what the Dr. concludes, viz. that it was not lawful for their national Council to infringe what was done at Rome.]
5. What truth there is in these premisses, but especially how

his

his contrary conclusion is inferred from them, he hath not used any medium to shew us. And therefore tis all as easily denied, as suggested. But I shall farther desire it may be observed, that he doth not so much as pretend, that what the African Council here did in this was *Schismatical*, and then without more ado, it followes, that a *national Council* may without incurring of *Schism* make contrary lawes to what is decreed at Rome, for this it is evident the Africans did in that Synod, 401. and he no way denies their having done it, and yet neither doth he accuse them, for what they did. This being thus yielded, there is no more that I desire to gaine from this testimony. And therefore, 1. I need not be solicitous whether *Melchisedech's* decree were revoked. There was indeed no need of revoking, for if the *Donatists* would not take the benefit of it, it voided it selfe, and became of no force of its own accord: 2. I demand, when, or by whom it was revoked; not before *Anastasius*, for then sure that Council under him, that sent to *Africk* to presse that severity, would have pressed that Revocation; and it is sufficient to say, no such precedent Revocation appearing in any Popes, or Councils time betwixt *Melchisedech* and *Anastasius*, there is no ground to affirme that before *Anastasius* it was revoked, and yet that twas not *Anastasius* that revoked it, is confest by *S. W.* when he saith the revocation was made by the predecessors of those Bishops of Italy that were under *Anastasius*.

6. But then 2. for his suggestion, that under *Anastasius* the African Council ordained a request to be made to the Bishops of Italy, that the *Donatists* Bishops might retaine their places, there is not the least prooffe offered, save onely from *Baronius*, who is farre from being a competent witnesse in this matter. And on the other side we have these strong prejudices against it; First, that the Decree from Rome read at the opening of the Council of *Africk* having been directly contrary to all mercy, or mildnesse to the *Donatists*, it no way appears by any subsequent decree, that they after softend it, and for that decree it selfe, being so contrary to the *Donatists* retaining their places, it could be no answer of favour to the Africans request, that they might retaine them; 2. Of any such request we have not the least footstep in that Council, and 3. that \* Canon from *Bals.*

\* *Censil. Tom. 1.*  
pag 749 D.

† *Can. 66.*

whence \* *Binus*'s note deduces it, belongs not to any such request, but is clearly the setting down what the *Africans* had † already decreed in this matter, contrary to *Anastasiu's* conciliary determination, brought to them, and read at the opening of the Council, and is that very Canon, from which I fetch the evidence of their making a decree contrary to what had been determined at *Rome*, with the *μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῇ*, or non obstante of *Rome's* contrary determination.

7. This being briefly thus cleared, I may adde thirdly, that if the *African Fathers* did so request, and thereupon the Council at *Rome* made any decree to revoke their revocation, and consequently to agree with the *Africans* in the milder way, yet it could not have been to the prejudice of the *Africans*, for still this was to comply with, not to over-rule the *Africans*, and we know that even in *Melchiades's* time, when it is granted that the Council of *Italy* did judge betwixt *Cacilianus* and *Donatus*, the *Catholikes* and heretical *Schismatikes* in *Africk*, this came not before them by way of ordinary appeale, as to legal judges or superiors, but of extraordinary complaint, because the *Bishops* of *Africk* being divided one from the other in a horrible Schism, and *Cacilianus* the *Bishop* of *Carthage* and *Primate* of *Africk*, being a party in the controversy, it could not possibly be determined at home, and so was most properly, and necessarily to be done by *forreiners*, and accordingly not by the *Pope* alone, but by a Council of *Bishops*; and *Augustine* saith, *Ep. 162.* that there were thousands of those *Collegues*, where the differences might have been determined, meaning a fraternal determination, (by allowing the one, and granting communion with him, and expressing disallowance of the other) and not an authoritative act of jurisdiction, a neighbourly interposition, such as the present case, and necessity of the Church of *Africk* required, but not any injunction or command as to legal subjects. And indeed this sufficiently appears by the *Africans* behaviour here, upon that decree of *Anastasiu* and the Council, which was certainly sent from them, and read at the opening of that *African Council*, and yet deemed no way constringent to them, but a decree presently made by the *Africans* quite contrary to that from *Rome*. How little that of  
*subjection.*

subjection was owing or acknowledged from *Africk* to *Rome*, I shall now adde no more, having formerly made it cleare, when I spake of the exemption of *Carthage*.

8. 4<sup>thly</sup>, When he attributes it to the cunning of *Balsamon* that he puts the provision it self for a Canon of this Council, I know not well what to answer, for I am not sure. I judge right ( and I believe the Reader will be as little able to resolve as I am ) what he means by the provision it self; Onely I am sure *Balsamon* doth no otherwise set down those Canons, than now I see *Binus* himself doth out of the *Codex Can: Eccl: Afr:* ( save onely that the numbers of the Canons are varied ) as may appear to any by comparing *Balsamon* p. 692. &c. with *Binus's Councils, Tom: 1. p. 942. &c.* and so sure the cunning was not on *Balsamons*, but on *S. W* his side, who having nothing to say, was to d<sup>vert</sup> by finding fault, and accusing some body.
9. 5<sup>thly</sup>. That the *Dollor* took no notice of the request, he now hath given a sufficient account, because though *Baronius* mentioned it, he had many weighty prejudices against it, and no motive to believe *Baronius*.
10. And then lastly for the conclusion, it follows most evidently, as I inferred it, that the *African Council* decreed the very contrary to what *Rome* had determined at this time, and that when they had taken so solemn a cognizance of her determination, and yet were under no mark of schisme for so doing.

## S E C T. XIV.

*Laws against the Civil right repealable. S. Peter's privileges interfere not with Regal power. Sayr's resolution. My using it no begging the question.*

- p. 118. 1. **W**Hat was added by me §. 22. that a *Law though made by a Generall Councell, and with the consent of all Christian Princes, yet if it have respect to a civil right, may in this or that nation be repealed*] was directed by me to inferre this, formerly set down, *conclusion*, that the *power of Kings to remove Primacies*, if taken away by *foreign Laws*, viz: those of the *Court of Rome*, is *refumable*; This I suppose was proper to induce that, because the *Law of a General Councel*, with the *consent of all Christian Princes*, was so much above *Phocas's donation to Boniface*, or a *Pontifical decree*, that my *conclusion* would follow *à majori*, and with *advantage*. Now to this saith *S. W.* that ere it will doe me any good, I must first suppose the title of *Head of the Church* to be a thing belonging to a *Civil right*, 2. that that title is denied our *Kings* upon pretense of a *Canon of a Councel*, and not on *Christ's donation of it to S. Peter.*]
2. To these I answer, 1. that the *power of removing Primates Sees*, being the thing I spake of, and not the title of *Head of the Church*, all that I am to suppose in the first place, in order to my *conclusion*, is, that this is *legally annext to the Regal, or Imperial power*, and that I suppose I have formerly *proved*, and so doe not rely on an *unproved suppositiō*. 2. that all that I need adde to that, is, that *Christ* never took away from *Kings* any thing, that was *vested in them*, to bestow it upon *S. Peter*, and consequently that whatsoever *Christ's donations to S. Peter* were, this *privilege of erecting Metropoles* may, and doth still remain to *Kings*, and the *decrees of the Councils*, that the *Ecclesiastical forms* shall follow the *Civil*, will farther secure it to them, without recurring again to the *question* long since debated, concerning *S. Peter's privileges*.
3. That of §. 23. from *Balsamon*, as saith he it hath by *S. W.* been already answered, so hath it also been *vindicated in this Reply*, and shall not be here repeated. To

4. To the last §. where from the resolution of Sayr, their owne *Casnist*, I inferred the no force of prescription to alienate any such right of *Kings*, he offers two prejudices, 1. that Sayr was a *Monke*, his book written at Rome, and so not likely to speak much on the *Doctors* behalf. 2. that in case he say any thing against them, he is but a private *Casnist*, and so his opinion with the same facility rejected as alledged.] But to this I reply. 1. that to matters of this nature, none being so fit to judge, as *Casnists*, no *Casnist* could by me be produced with more advantage against the *Romanist*, than honest Sayr, as he calls him, who if he were honest, did not prevaricate; if he were a late *Monke*, wrote not in favour of us; if he wrote at Rome, had his Book examined, and licensed, every period in it, by the *Inquisitors* there; and if after all that, he doe really say any thing, on which my conclusion is regularly founded (as his words set down in the *Traët* of Schisme, p. 130. doe testifie, that he doth) it matters not, how unlikely it is, that he should say it, such arguments of improbability against a matter of fact, are of all others the most improbable arguments.
5. But these were but the *procinctus* to his answer, and that comes more solemnly after them, yet such as you might know it at first sight, it is so like, what such harbingers promised, viz: that by using this testimony I suppose two things which must not be granted me gratis, 1. that the Pope prescribed against the *Kings* of England in their pretended right in Ecclesiastical matters, 2. that this prescription of the Pope hath not its force from any thing but a Canon or Civil Law,] and great ovation there is in observing this infirmity in my discourse.
6. But I desire to be advised, and directed by Artists from their severest laws of νομικὴ ἀδολησις, whether a treatise be obliged to be made up of no more than one proposition, or when a foundation is laid, and competently established, it be unlawfull ever to proceed farther, either by way of enlarging the foundation, or superstructing any fabrick upon it. I had in the former chapters indeavoured to shew, that neither from Christ to S. Peter, nor from S. Peter to the Pope, nor from the planting the faith among us in this Island, nor from any presumed right in antient times, any supreme authority or Universal Pastorship divolved or descended



scended on the *Bishops of Rome*. and having proposed that, which I thought sufficient to the deducing of these, I was willing to foresee and *examine* all their other *pretences*, and among them not to omit their long *possession* of this *power*, (which both the *Catholick Gent:* and *S. W.* have since pleaded, *Sch. Disar:* pag. 24. [*on the one side, say they, is the authority of Antiquity and possession*] and which I cannot but acknowledge as reasonable a plea, as that, which also they both have made use of, taken from the *possession of the belief* of that and their other *doctrines*) and in order to the *refusing* of that, I could not, I hope, be obliged to establish *afresh*, that which had been formerly confirmed (and was ready to be viewed by him that *questioned* it) any more than the *Geometer* is to *demonstrate* anew every foregoing Proposition, whensoever he adds a *subsequent*. For the *Popes Universal Pastorskip* being not by the *Romanist* deduced either from the *Law of Nature*, or *Nations*, and their *plea* from the *Divine Law* or *donation of Christ* being examined, and, as I I had reason to think, found *invalid*, it was no *begging* the *question* sure, to suppose it held either by *prescription*, and that at the most from *force of Canon or Civil Law*, or else by some *lesse valid* or *no* title.

7. This renders the *account* manifest, why I enlarged no farther to the applying this *resolution* of the *Casuis*t to the *precedent* discourse, and it now appears, that if I had done it, I had prevailed nothing with my *Disarmer*, unless I had *reverted* again to prove the *Universal Pastorskip*, and yet so ill provided is his *table*, that even this must be put into the *bill of fare*, as a *special* piece of *wit* to adde to the *intertainment*; And I cannot but have some *gust* of it, because it is a *conclusion* of his *declamation* against my 6. Chapter.



## CHAP. VI.

*A defence of the seventh Chapter of Schisme.*

## SECT. I.

*Henry the eighths vices not schisme. The cause of Bishop Fishers death, from his Chaplains history. The fear of the premunire caused their serious consideration. The recantation in Queen Maryes dayes. Charge of Schisme on the Romanist.*

1. **H**IS 8<sup>th</sup> Sect: of this second part, beginning his Reply to my 7<sup>th</sup> Chap: is spent on the view of *Henry VIII.* his fact in casting off the obedience to *Rome*; And his first and principal task, assumed on himself spontaneously, being to declaim against the lust and other vices of that Prince, who, saith he, had a little before set out very excellent doctrine against *Luther*, I have no obligation to make any return to it, having said already upon the *Cath: Gent:* his importunity, as much as our present question requires of me, and the vices of this Prince being no more chargeable to the prejudice of our Reformation, if it be otherwise regular, than the as many, and as eminent vices of some Bishops of *Rome*, who have advanced the *Papal* greatnesse to that height, wherein it now stands (particularly those of *Pope Hildebrand*) can prejudice the legality of their present pretensions, in case there were nothing else against them. Repl. ch. 7.  
(cō. 1.)
2. We know that *S. W.* hath great fluency in the declamatorie style, and that *Henry VIII.* was no Saint; yet when all is done, is still manifest, that neither his lust, nor his sacrilege was

*schisme* (any more than his burning of *Protestants*, or his writing against *Luther*) much lesse is my confessing him *guilty* of these, my *excusing*, as *S. W.* saith, the *imputation* of them. In brief, the *sin* which I acknowledge him *guilty* of, I mean not to *defend*, and the *schisme*, which I deny to be caused by him, cannot 1. be supposed to be *chargeable* on him, and then the *original* of it be examined, without *begging the question* of the whole *Booke*, which is too unreasonably large to be put into one request, and yet the undertaking to discover the grounds of this *schisme*, and to *devoid* it of all *excuse* (which is the designe of the greatest part of this *section*) is visibly that, and therefore this is all I have to say to his first *proposition*. For as to those grounds of mine, which he saith, *absolved the Rebel, Outlaw, and Anabaptist, and might absolve King Henry too*, by saying it was his present *perswasion*, I have long since discovered what a *calumnies* that was, when 'twas first suggested against me, and it hath not yet provided it self with any more *artificial* visard, to *perswade* or *deceive* any man.

3. His 2<sup>d</sup> consideration, beginning with the mention of King Henry's force to make the *Ecclesiastical State* subscribe, to the rejecting of the *Papacy*, and the examples of *Bishop Fisher*, and *Sir Thomas More*] will lose its weight by remembering what King James affirms knowingly of the cause of the death of *Bishop Fisher*, which was the onely *Ecclesiastical person*, that is pretended to have suffered on that score. *Is nec solium nec principui carceri mandatus est propter causam Primatus*, the *supremacy* was not the onely or principal cause of his imprisonment. And this is more fully exprest in that *Bishops life*, written soon after his death by his *Chaplain*, in these words: *After the Bishops had been with him, his own man blames him for not assenting, and tells him, he may think as he list. To whom Bishop Fisher replied, Thou art a fool, thou knowst little what this matter means, thou mayst know more hereafter; but I shall tell thee, 'tis not for the Supremacy onely that I am thus tossed and troubled, but also for another thing, (meaning the Oath of the King's succession) which if I would have sworn, I doubt whether I should ever have been questioned for the Supremacy or no: God being my good Lord, I will never agree to any of them both. And this thou mayst say another day,*

In Apol. pro  
Juram. Fidel:

day, thou heardest me speak, when I am dead and gone. Thus farre the words of that History.

4. What he adds from my words, of their fear of the *pramunire*, which he will resolve to have been of force to make the Clergie subscribe against conscience, and to conclude my charity to them uncharitable, a censure of their obduration, instead of weaknesse] is wholly destitute of all grounds to inferre it; For as it is obvious to believe, that their feare put them upon deliberation of all lawfull means to avert their danger, and so upon the study of the question of the Pope's supremacy, from the very bottome, and root of it, so tis no lesse than duty of charity in us, who see by the Books, then set out by them, the solidity of the grounds, whereon they founded their resolution, to believe, that their consciences being duly satisfied, their subscriptions were after that, cordial and unfeigned.

5. As for his onely *συμλινον* *καυσιον*, which can pretend to save his phenomena, and make his way of arguing consistent to it self, the Recantation of all the Bishops in Queen Maryes dayes, 1. it is farre from all appearance of truth, we know that many of the Bishops in Queen Maryes dayes remained constant to death, and so sealed the contradictorie to what he suggests of them; and 2. for those that did recant, 'tis as visible, what their motive might be, the bloody examples before their eyes, now, as it can be imagined, that the *pramunire* over their heads before, could perswade their subscriptions. In Bishop Fishers story 'tis plain the Bishops perswaded him to assent and subscribe, and if some that so perswaded him recanted afterwards, their fears being granted to have force on them on both sides, is sure as argumentative to inferre mine, as his conclusion, and the advantage on my side, because the *fagot* was more formidable than the *pramunire*. But why strength, and force of conscience should make them recant against the reason of their subscription, rather than to subscribe what they afterward recanted, without answering those former grounds, or offering more powerfull reasons to the contrary, there is no other account to be expected from S. W. but that the one was agreeable, the other contrary to his espoused interest.

6. His 3d thing falls into the *Cath: Gent*: his way of proving us guilty of *schisme*, from the possession of their claim to the authority of the *Romane See*. And that hath been largely considered, and refused in the *Reply*, *Chap. 7. sect. 1.* from n. 10. to the end of that *Chapter*; And that will secure us from the force of his *syllogisme*, and all the *auxiliaries* called in to support it, it being no undertaking of ours to confesse first, and then excuse our *schisme*, or avert the criminalnesse of it, but denying our selves to have separated from any our lawfull superiours, whilst we renounced the *Papal supremacy*, or from the body of the *Catholick Church*, to which both by faith and charity we are still close knit, in the unity of that sacred body, to lay all the charge of the separation and *schisme* on them, which will not admit us to their communion.

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SECT.

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## SECT. II.

*S. W. his discourse of the nature of Schisme. The continual begging the question in it. Possession of obedience Romes onely claim, invalid. S. W. his wonderfull arts. The Kings power of removing Patriarchs, a prejudice to the Papal power. The neglect of the use of Communicatory Letters. The use of them to Catholick Unity.*

1. **I**N his ninth and tenth Sections he hath forsaken the proposed method of answering my arguments, and now he is become the assailant; And it will not be a work of any great length to shew him how little he hath gained by this variety, the whole weight of his discourses being laid on such slender E-lenchs, as is the begging the question almost in every period, which is a very ineffectual expedient to inferre his designed conclusion with that evidence, so which he hath oft pretended.
2. I shall shew this as briefly as I may. And first, when he undertakes to open, and describe the nature of Schism more clearly and exactly, and in order to that, to consider, 1. the formal unity it selfe, and 2. the reason of that unity; the unity it selfe, in submitting to one common head, and acknowledging the same Articles of faith with other Churches &c. and this not onely negatively, a not disacknowledging, but positively, when there is an obligation, to doe both these; and the reason of that unity instantly resolved to be the infallibility of the Church.] What is this but to lay for the groundwork of all this new Treatise of Schisme, the obligation to acknowledge 1. the Monarchick (as that is opposed to Aristocrasick) government of the Church, and that explain'd to import the chief Pastorship of the Bishop of Rome, which 'tis strange he should affirm acknowledged by us (whether that be by us now, or those which then cast it out) to be universally extended over all Patriarchs, and the whole Church, when he can-



not but know that neither *we now*, nor they then *de facto*, or *de jure*, did, or doe think it is, or ever was so *extended*, and 2. the *Infallibility* of the *same Church*, the *denying* of which, he saith, is not only the reason of all *schisme* and *heresie*, but the very *heresie* of *heresies* it self. Thus the *two* things that are most *denied* by us (and must be evidently *proved* by him, before ever any charge of *schisme* can be found against us) are *S. IV.* his *postulata*, his *undeniable first principles*, which for this onely reason, that I guesse at, must not be *questioned*, because they cannot be *proved*; And to this issue is his whole *argument* suddenly brought, by *attending* him, while he layes the *foundation* of it.

3. And yet when this is done, there being yet another *paire* of *difficulties* still behinde, In case the *Government* of the *Church* were *Monarchick*, to assure us that *Rome* is that *Monarch*, and in case the *Church* were thus *infallible*, to prove the *Church* of *Rome* to be this onely *infallible Church*, these two are by turns either to be *believed*, as *principles* again, or to *induce* and *prove* one the other; One while each of them is to be *believed*, as a *principle*; the later, when it is silently *assumed*, and yet the *denying* thereof affirmed to be the *heresie* of *heresies*, for certainly it is the *Infallibility* of the *Church* under the *obedience* of the *Pope*, i.e. of the *Western* and the *Roman Church*, which he then *speaks* of, as soon after he makes no *scruple* to expresse, p. 197. The former, when he resolves that the *unity* it self consists in the *obligation* of *submitting* to this, without rendring any other reason either for that *obligation* of *submitting*, or for *Unities* consisting in it, but onely his *affirmation*, that it doth so, and his mention of an *undoubted possession*, which ought to be *founded* in, and not it self to be the *ground* of the *obligation*. By the way, What now is become of the *title* from *S. Peter*, & *Christs* donation to him? which formerly was, and §. 11. is again voucht, as their onely *title*, and yet here is no one *mention* of it in this whole *discourse*, or intimation of any such thing, nor indeed of any other, but that which may equally be had, without any *original right*, an *establishment* (as it seems, first, *principles* may be confirmed *a posteriori*) in an *undoubted possession*: And yet this again cannot

not possibly hold, as to the *Universal Church* (whatsoever it is feigned to doe, in respect of this *Church* of ours, at the time of the *Reformation*) for *Rome* cannot pretend to have had the possession of the *supremacy* over the *Greek Church*, when they acknowledge them *Schismaticke*; nor over the *Abassines*, when they acknowledge them *aliens*; nor of any other, but of those, which for the time, upon what *motives* soever, acknowledged obedience to them: which bare acknowledgment, if it were of force, without farther right, the *disacknowledgment* upon due proofs of *liberty*, will be of greater force against it, whensoever is pleaded, as by us it hath been, ever since we renounced it.

- 4 And yet another while (in the laying these very grounds) each of these is mutually brought to induce the other. For 1. the *subjection* to the one head (which sure must suppose the head to be one, and to the *Romanist*, that the *Pope* is that head) is \* brought as the medium to prove that they are a *Church*, which till they are proved to be, they cannot be supposed to be, though it were granted that the *Church* is infallible. And 2. the *infallibility* of the *Church* being † made the onely eye to *communi- cate* (among other things, particularly) in *Government*, that is again (by way of *retribution*) become the medium to induce the *subjection* to the one head. And indeed when at the same time that he concludes the necessity of the *subjection*, he contents not himselfe with the *negative subjection* (or *indifferent acknowledgment*, having no tie) but exacts the *expresse positive obligation* to obey this head, without which, saith he, it may be a *multitude*, but not a *Church*, as he will never be able to produce any such *expresse positive obligation* to all *Christians*, to obey the *Bishop* of *Rome*, save what is founded in the dictate of his *infallible Church*, so it is most evident, that this his *Infallibility* must be the principle of this *subjection* to this head of the *Church*, as before this *subjection* was the principle of the very being, and so of the *Infallibility* of his *Church*. And he that can doe such *miracles* as these, take two the most moveable *Stones*, and with no more then *blowing* on them, fixe them like to *immovable rocks* (and yet *St. Peter* himselfe not so much as mentioned to be one of these) and whilst each of these stands thus fixe upon its owne basis, without any help of the other, or in any third

\* A positive obligation to acknowledge that Head is that which only can make a *Church*.  
 Stiff Dis. p. 194.  
 † Pag. 195.

four.

foundation (a rock firme in the midst of the *Aire* or *Sea*, without any thing to support it) can, in the very twinkling of an eye, so convey one of these to beare and support the other, as that the other shall at the same time, beare the whole weight of that, which supports it, is, I confesse, too great a Master at his weapon, too profoundly skilled in the *Magick*, rather than *Mathematicks* of *Armes*, for me to fense with him at his own foiles. So again, that he may with ease conclude us unexcusably guilty of formall sin (which I professe to grant) in case we were proved guilty of dividing, and so of the material schisme, he will needs assume this as granted, and confest by us, which sure I expressly deny.

5. Having said this, I shall now therefore leave him to skirmish with the *Aire*, or his owne shadow, for those two Sections, which, by thinking it high time to returne to over-look the worke, he acknowledgeth (and I have many more reasons to grant) to be long digressions, and presently fall in with him at his returne, in the beginning of his eleventh Section.

6. Onely before I leave it, I shall first minde him of one fallacy, (oft before discernible) in accusing the frivolousnesse of my digression, to prove that Kings may remove Patriarchs, when, saith he, the Papall is greater than Patriarchall power. For 1. this is but the begging the whole question againe, viz: Whether there be any greater power in the Church, than that of Primates or Patriarchs? And 2. that question is decided in the Negative by this one, which he calls frivolous digression: For sure if there be any such power of removing Patriarchs, vested in any other but the Pope (as there must be, if Kings can remove Patriarchs) then the Pope is not the supreme Governor, or Pastor of the whole Church, over all the world, and consequently can be no more than the first Patriarch.

7. 2<sup>iv</sup>. I shall aske his advise in two things, on occasion of \* his mention of the antient use of communicatory letters, which, saith he, was afterwards, by reason of the perfect colligation of the severall members with their head neglected, as unnecessary. 1. How then it can with justice be pretended, that the Popes Universal Pastors<sup>h</sup> or headship was antiently and universally acknowledged,

\* See. dissent.  
Page 94.

ed, for then sure the colligation being so early so perfect, the Communicatory Letters would, as antiently, have been unnecessary, as since that perfect colligation they are by *S W.* acknowledged to be: And 2. what hinders but that Unity over the whole Christian world might still thus be maintain'd between all National Churches, each under their own Primate, by the help of these Communicatory Letters, without need of one visible head, in subjection to whom all unity is by *S W.* said to consist.

8. When these two questions, together with the exceptions here premised to the groundwork of his Argument, are satisfactorily answered, I shall have encouragement farther to enlarge on the view of the remainder of his 9<sup>th</sup> sect. and to make answers for my self instead of those, which in the 10<sup>th</sup> he hath put into my mouth (and may without much difficulty answer the questions, which himself hath proposed, and that on a subject, which before he begins, he acknowledges to be confest by me, viz: that there can be no just cause given of schisme.) In the mean, being confident I have here, and in the foregoing parts of this Reply laid sufficient, and evident grounds to satisfy all the objections, which here are made to us, I shall resist the temptations, which are before me, to pursue this new path any farther, and indulge no longer to such Divertisments.

## SECT. III.

*Concession of Kings renounced by S. W. Strictures on his 11th Sect. The King cannot alienate his regality. Some gifts revocable. The Sun's light such. So Gods graces. The Popes Territory. The admission of Legates an acknowledgment of power. S W. his calumnies. The Oath of Supremacy to secure Allegiance.*

1. **I**N the 11th sect: I am rebuked for mentioning the voluntary concession of Kings (as formerly the title of Conversion) for any part of the ground of the Popes pretensions to supreme authority in this Nation, which, saith he, they found onely on the succession to S. Peter. ] If this will indeed be stood to by all, I am again discharged of an unnecessary fear, and by analogie with, and consequence from this, of all need of considering the title of possession, which surely hath sometime been mentioned by some body, whilst the very name of S. Peter, or succession by him, was quite left out in the whole scheme, as was shewed in the last section; And then the whole matter is once more reduced to that one head of S. Peters right to Universal Supremacy, and the Popes succeeding to him. And having not onely disproved this, as I then thought, by those 4th and 5th chap: of *Schisme*, but also thus largely and doubly vindicated them now from all that hath been objected by the *Cath: Gent:* and S. W. to those chapters, I discern not, how it is possible, I should have any more to doe in this business; Or how I can safely adde any word to any other head but that, without danger of relapsing into this impertinent, as well as toilsome error of treating those things, which are not questioned by them.

2. I shall therefore in obedience to his repeated Rebukes, endeavour to make short work of the remainder of this section, (and see whether the 3d part will afford any new reason of farther engaging) there being indeed nothing behinde here, beside  
*scurrility,*

*Jecurrility*, that requires any further answer, than what is already made in the *Reply*, chap. 7. sect. 11. &c. and what the addition of a few *strictures* may discharge.

3. As 1. when he saith, the *Papacy* was never imagined at any private King's disposal, till Dr. H. his time. I answer that till he hath solidly asserted the *Popes Universal Pastorship* from *Christs donation to S. Peter*, and all his successors in the *See of Rome*, there cannot any other colour of tenure be imagined for the *Popes* having the *supreme jurisdiction* over this *Church* of ours, but the concession and disposal of some of our former *Kings*, and that was all I was to conclude in that place, and is no way invalidated by *S. W.*

4. 2dly. When he blames my inference, that if it were in the *Kings power* to dispose of it to the *Pope*, then the same power remains in the *Kings* to dispose it from him to some other, instancing in the *Kings yielding an Island &c. to an over powering enemy*. I answer that the parallel holds not, upon this reason, because in that case, that *Island* must be supposed to goe out from under that *Kings power*, which notwithstanding, he may remain in the full intire *supreme power* over those parts of his *Kingdome*, which are left him, and so be a *supreme Monarch* still over all his remaining subjects, although his *Province*, or sphere of administration be lessened; but if the *supremacy* it selfe in every part of his *Dominions* be thus parted with, as that *Island* is parted with, i.e. not to remain to him, then he becomes lesse a *King*, than formerly he was, and, as I said, such acts, which make him so, are acknowledgedly invalid acts, it being above the power of a *King* himself, to alienate the *supremacy* or *regality*.

5. 3dly. When from his sorts of *prayers*, and *seekers* which neither seek nor pray, he would have it believed, that I have committed the like absurdity in making one sort of gifts to be such as are not given, and this as a rare service to be rejoiced in, in the bill of fare, this is nothing but the obscuring and perverting of a plain intelligible proposition, the truth whereof is every day exemplified to us by a *Kings* removing his *Chancellor* from his place, upon any good cause, without any wrongfull diminution to his former *liberality*, which bestowed that office upon



him. Is it not sense to say, some things are *given revocably*, as well as others *irrevocably*? Some *quamdin se bene gesseris*, some *durante beneplacito*, or as farre as to the *usus fructus*, as well as others by parting with the *propriety*, and finally *divesting* my self of all *power* and *right* either in, or to them? Or must this be *δωρον ἀδωρον*, a *giftlesse gift*, if I retain any such *fundamental Original propriety* in it, of ever recalling it again?

6. 4<sup>thly</sup>. I wonder what *infirmity* it was, either in *Philosophy* or *Theologie*, to exemplifie this, either by the *Sun communicating* his *beames*, or *God his graces*, without emptying, or *dispossessing* themselves of that, which they *bestow* on others, and consequently without parting with this *power of revocation*. This, saith he, is to *affirme*, that the *very beames sent* hisher by the *Sun* are notwithstanding *retained there still*, and so in *farre more d'stant places* at the same time, than I will grant the *glorified body of Christ* in the *Sacrament*.] I answer by denying his *consequence*. Tis onely to *affirme*, that the *Sun reteines the power* over his own *bounty*, and may as freely *withdraw* it from this, and *bestow* it the next minute on some other, as it formerly *bestowed* it on *this*. This was evidently signified by the phrase of *reteining all which it communicates*] not *reteining* at that minute the particular *beame*, which was already *sent out*, and *parted with*, (that would indeed imply the same *contradiction*, that we *affirme* their *doctrine of transubstantiation* doth) but *reteining the power* over its owne *light* and *beames* in *generall*, so as to continue them no longer to any one, than it pleaseth, and so, that when it shall *depart* and *enrich* some other, the former *usufructuarie* cannot plead *prescription* against this act of *revocation* of free *bounty*.

7. And then *S. W.* might have spared the cost of providing the *long strings and pulleys*, which he talks of, to *fetch back* those *beames* which he resolves *incorporated* in other *bodies*, for unless the whole *treasure* of *beames* be so *poured out*, that the *Sun* reteines no *power* for the future, to *withdraw* from *Rome* and *fixe* on *Canterbury*, so that now for the future, the latter shall have the same *benigne influences* as largely, and as justly *communicated* to it as formerly the former had had, the *parallel* still stands

stands exact enough, to conclude the *Kings power* to remaine to him of removing and revoking from Rome, what he had at any time bestowed on it.

8. 5thly. For the instance of *God*, though *S. W.* hath chosen an unlucky phrase, saying that *God never takes away what he gives*, when the *Scripture* saith so often the contrary, If he take away our breath we dye, and from him which useth not his grace which he had, *auferetur, it shall be taken away*, yet his explanation of himself is the yielding of all I affirme in this whole matter, that *God is then said to take away any thing, when he withholdeth his bountifull hand from a farther bestowing it.* And then I that said the very same of *Kings*, that might thus give, and yet reteine power of thus withholding the band from this farther bestowing, concluded all, by *S. W.* his own suffrage, which I attempted to conclude. And then *ad quid perdis hac*, why might not all, *S. W.* his laborious bounty, and expence of so many lines also have been otherwise bestowed?
9. 6thly. What the territory meant which I said the *Pope* was willing to enlarge unlimitedly, was obvious enough by the foregoing mention of a *Principality*, and the contenting himself with that, might well enough be reconciled with his greatest zeale and industry in bringing in the fullnesse of the *Gentiles* to the faith of *Christ*, (which certainly is a very distant thing from obedience to the *Papacy*, as *Xaverius's Gospel* of *S. Peter* was somewhat different from *S. Matthews* of our blessed *Saviour*) and then to what purpose againe was all that ensuing harangue of the present prosperity of theirs, and improsperity of our *Church*?
10. 7thly. What I observed of *Queen Maries* time did distinctly enough belong, and was applyed by me not to her own private affections or judgment, of which I never doubted, but to the publicke acts of state made in her reign And then to what purpose is his justifying of that *Queen*, that she was no way favourable to our pretensions? But to that I have spoken in the *Reply*, p. 123. as also to the businesse of refusing the *Popes Legates*, the admitting of whom I now see to be made use of twice in a page by your *Bishop of Chalcedon*, in his late survey of the *Bishop of*

*Derry*, as a testimony of our Princes acknowledging the Popes Supremacy; And then sure if the admitting will inferre the acknowledgement, the refusing must imply the disacknowledgement of it. Nor can I perceive what proportion that act of refusing of Legates can be thought to beare with the Peoples denying the Kings subsidies, to which he parallels it, for sure if the Pope have any supremacy in this kingdome, it must be the same offence against that supremacy to exclude his Judges of Assises, or his lieutenant, by him authorized, (and such his Legate is) as to exclude a Prince out of his Dominions (which is no way implied, or intimated in the other) and if, as *S. W.* saith, all Catholike Countreyes, when they see it convenient, doe the like, It will be lesse strange, that I thinke that safe, which hath so many precedents, and consequently that our offence was not great, when we excluded him, whom that legate represented.

11. 8thly. I believe not that *S. W.* was ever Bishop *Cranmers* Confessor, or consequently hath had real intelligence of his being guilty of that Carnality, which no story that I ever could heare of, charges on him, till this impure pen suggested it against him. And with this may be associated another calumny that followes in the next page, that *Robert Wisdomes* hymnes were a part of our Reformation.
12. 9thly. What is objected to the Ordination of Bishops in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes, was prevented in the Reply; Ch. 7. Sect. 4.
13. 10thly. When he objects to me, that I know not the difference betwixt the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, adding that there could be no need to presse the latter to approve mens fidelity and allegiance; I answer, that this is not any error or ignorance, but a truth visible enough by the effects of it: If the Bishop of Rome be supreme in this Kingdome, and so our King in the number of his subjects, we know one obvious effect arising from hence, that then tis in the power of his Bulls to absolve all subjects from their obligation to allegiance, and then what meanes can there be to secure, or approve any mans fidelity, and allegiance to an Excommunicated Prince, beside disclaiming that Papal supremacy, and these so consequent attendants

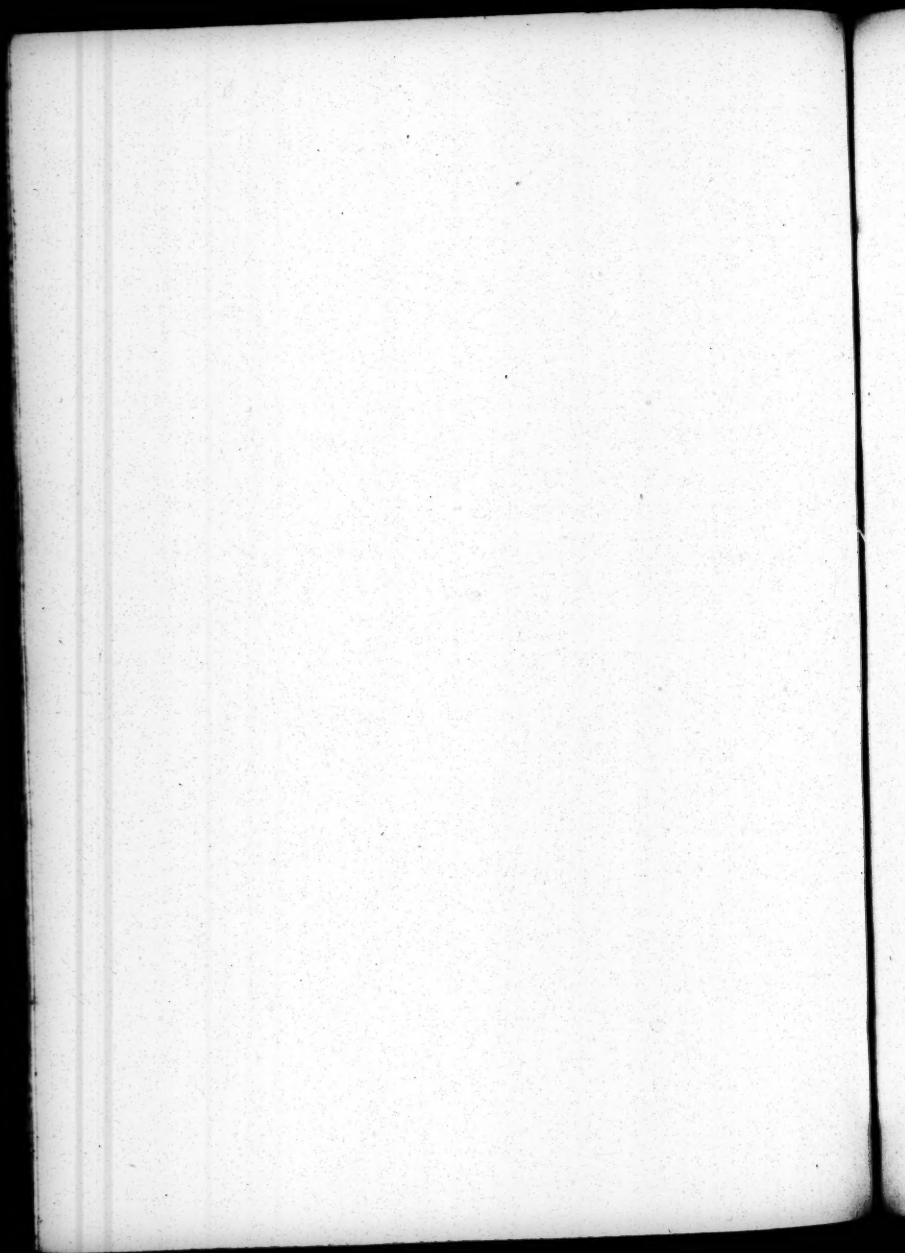
attendants of it, which is the matter of that *Oath*? As long as the *allegiance* is duely paid, there is no need indeed of any farther *security*, as whilst men doe *universally* performe their *duty*, there is no need of *lawes* or *punishments*; but when another *supreme* is acknowledged, beside and *above* the *King*, who need not *unking* him by any *new act*, having done it already by being his *superior* in his own *dominions*, the first *contestation* that shall happen between these *two*, must render the *inferior* *criminous*, and *punishable*, and the *punishment* we know is such, as renders him unfit for *government*, the *King* shall be in *S. W.* his style, the *head* of *Schismatickes*, and then what *fidelity* is he to expect from those, who acknowledge his enemies *Supremacy*?

14. This last objection of *reforming end-ways*, had been made use of by the *Catholike Gentleman*; and is answered in *Reply*, p. 130. And so much for what hath been attempted by *S. W.* (not over *prosperously*) in his *second Part*.

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## CHAP.

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## CHAP. VII.

*A survey of the third part of Schism  
disarmed.*

## SECT. I.

*The second species of Schism. Unity of faith among brethren. The Apostles Institutions reducible to Faith. Disobedience to Superiors, without casting out Government. My method vindicated. The Popes supremacy not fixt by any appointment of Christ. The Bishop of Chalcedon his confession that tis not de fide that it is jure divino; The Doctors of Paris. Jeroms testimony of S. Peter being made head. Christian unity equally conserved by all the Apostles plantations. Vigour of tradition in Rome, not for ever.*

I come now to his third Part, which begins with some quaint observations on my eighth Chapter. And for the introducing of the first of them, he falls very early into an open falsification of my words, against the plain testimony of his own, and the meanest readers eyes; for having duly set down the second sort of schism, ( now to be treated of ) an offence against the mutual unity, peace, and charity which Christ left among his Disciples in the very next line he will abbreviate this, and call it schism against charity, and then one species of this second sort, being a departure from the unity of the faith &c. Here is a special infirmity observed in the Doctors method, that he makes faith and charity all one, putting his [schism against faith for the first species of schism against mutual charity] But tis evident this was not my fault, but his mis-representation. The genus which I divided into those species, was schism against the mutual unity peace and charity, ( as mutual notes aquality of fellow brethren, opposite to the relations of subordination )



ordination) and there being an *unity* of faith between fellow-brethren, as well as of charity, tis visible that the departure from the unity of Faith, is a species of that 2<sup>d</sup>. kinde of schism, though not of the schism against charity, and so there is an end of his first subtilty.

2. And the next is like unto that, whether for want of understanding, or of somewhat else, I cannot define [ the Dr. saith he, ranks the rejecting Christs institution of government, under this second schism against charity, which was the first head hitherto treated of, i. e. offence against subordination ] But I answer, 1. as before, that tis departure from mutual Unity, of which I make this a species, and not of schism against charity alone. Secondly, this is not coincident with the former kinde, the offence against subordination, but falls under this head of departure from the Unity of the Faith, by way of reduction at least ( as I there set it ) or so as to be comprehended under it. For the objects of Faith being the doctrines of Christ and the Apostles, &c. the Institutions of Christ, and the Apostles are comprehended under that head, as being taught by them to be practised by us, ( for that is the meaning of an Institution ) and the manner of Government, which the Apostles left for the Church, being the matter of one of these, hence arises the propriety of this reduction, and consequently the casting out of the Church of God that form of Government, which Christ or his Apostles placed in it, or instituted, is a branch of offence, by reduction at least, against the unity of the Faith, a not beleeving, or not acknowledging the whether necessary, or but lawfulness or even expedience of that form, which is so great an authority, as is that of Christ or his Apostles, not only countenanced and practised, but fixt for continuance in the Church. As for his way of arguing to the contrary, because, saith he, there can neither be subordination without Government, nor Government without subordination ] it is founded in a very thin sophism which will presently be seen through, for meaning by Government, as tis plain I do, that particular form of Government, which Christ or his Apostles instituted, and by subordination, that regular living under the Government of all our lawful superiors, as it evidently signified in the

the former part of the discourse of *schism*, tis thence evident, that there may be *Government* without this *subordination*, i. e. the same man that acknowledges the *Government* of the Church by *Bishops*, may yet divide and separate from his own *Bishop*, and he that separates from his *Bishop*, may yet not deny, nor cast out the *Episcopal* order out of the Church, and so besides that first sort of *schism* which was an offence against *subordination*, i. e. a breaking off from the *Communion* of, and obedience to their lawful superiors, there may be also another species, referring to *Government*, a disacknowledging or rejecting the due *Government*: As supposing an *Aristocratical* *Government* of the Church, whether by *Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, or with the addition of *Primates* also, to be that which was placed in the Church by the *Apostles*, then as the reducing this either to *Democrasie* or *Anarchie* on the one side, is a departure from the *Apostolical* institution, so the erecting a *Monarchick* *Government*, a *Papal* universal *Pastorship* over all, will be a departure from the same institution, on the other side. And so certainly there was good reason of this *Method* of mine, and all the confusion that was phansied, was but an invention of S. W.

3. A third now follows, which came out of the very same forge, for he will needs perswade us, that *there is no difference between breach of external peace, and want of that charity which is due from every Christian to every Christian*] which is in effect, as if he said, there is no difference betwixt external and internal, for to that internal charity it is, that that last species belongs. Thus successful is he in all his nice observations.

4. After this *αεπνύγμ*, wherein none but the *aire* was wounded, or fled before him, he now advances to his more serious strokes, and after some recital of my words, (which when he hath never an objection in the forge, he can perform well enough) he pitches on my answer to their objection, that by casting out the authority of the *Bishop of Rome*, we have cast off the head of all christian unity: And my answer being in these words, 1. that the *Bishop of Rome*, was never appointed by *Christ* to be the head of all *Christian* unity, or that Church to be a conservatory (for ever) of all *Christian* truth, any

more than any other *Bishop* or *Church* of the *Apostles* ordaining or planting, he designs great advantage by the skilfull exercise of his *faculties*, on these words. For 1. saith he, what signifies, the *Bishop* of *Rome* was not appointed by *Christ*? *Christ* saith he, not being on earth when *S. Peters* successors sat there, and when he ordain'd *S. Peter* chief of the *Apostles*, *S. Peter* was not yet *Bishop* of *Rome*] I answer, that my words exacted not of him the proof of such a personal or immediate appointment, I shall yet be content, if by any other means more remote, by any certain, though not close connection or consequence, he shall prove that the *Pope* was ever designed or foreappointed by *Christ* to be the head of all *Christian* unity. And truly if this be not done, I must suppose that we are secured from the guilt of that sort of schism, of which in that place I was treating, which consists in a departure from those rules, appointed by *Christ* for the founding or upholding in his Church the unity of doctrine, upon this one score of our rejecting the *Papal* supremacy in the Church.

5. For if *Christ* hath no way, mediately, or immediately, fixt any supremacy in any single person in the Church, or in a succession in some one singular See, or if that single person, that shall be said to be appointed to succeed *Christ* in all his power, so as no other succeeds him, shall not also appear to have left the *Bishop* of *Rome* to all posterity, as his *hears de asse*, inheriter of that universal supremacy, vested in him by *Christ*, then certainly the casting off any such pretended power of the *Bishop* of *Rome*, is not the departure from any rule for the founding, or upholding of unity appointed by *Christ*, nor consequently a rupture from that faith, which was once delivered unto the *saints*, which is the sort of schism I there spake of.
6. And because *S. W.* was not at leisure to speak home to this question, whether or no it were by any divine right, or institution of *Christ*, that this supremacy in the Church belongs to the *Bishop* of *Rome*. It may not be amiss to take notice, what his ordinary the *Bishop* of *Chalcedon* in his answer to the *Bishop* of *Derry* hath, with less reservation, acknowledged in this matter. To us saith he, it sufficeth that

the Bishop of Rome is S. Peters successor, and this all Fathers testifie, and all the Catholick church beleeveth, but whether he be *so jure divino* or *humano*, is no point of faith, and many things are *de fide* which are not *de jure divino*. Where not to examine the truth of the affirmation, that the Bishop of Rome is S. Peters successor, it being yet as certain, that he is S. Pauls successor, as S. Peters, nor of the close, that some things are *de fide*, which are not *jure divino*. All that I take notice of is, that when to conclude the point in hand, that the casting off the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, is an act of schism, as that signifies a departure from the faith of Christ, or those rules which Christ appointed to uphold the unity of doctrine, two things must necessarily be proved by the Romanist, 1. that this supreme power over all was by Christ given to S. Peter. 2. that the Pope is S. Peters successor in this, these are not so much as pretended to be so proved by the Romanist, as to be able to infer the conclusion. For that they may do so, it is necessary both that S. Peters right to the supremacy, and the Popes from him, should be *de jure divino*, and that it should be an article *de fide* that they are so, for if both of them be not *jure divino*, then neither is the Popes supremacy, which depends upon these two, as a conclusion on premises, *jure divino*, nor consequently any such appointment, or institution of Christs, as that the casting off that shall be the casting of a doctrine, or institution of Christs. And if it be not *de fide* that they are both thus *jure divino*, (as that Bishop saith they are not) then tis no breach of the unity of faith to deny these to be of divine right, nor consequently to deny the Popes supremacy to be of divine right, which depends on these, and cannot be of divine right, if these are not, which was all that I had to demonstrate.

7. And as, if this be granted me, there is very little more, which I need contend for, in this whole matter of our present debate, so if my intelligence do not deceive me, it is the common opinion among the Doctors of Paris, that the Pope hath not universal jurisdiction *jure divino*, (and then certainly not from *tu es Petrus*, or *Pasce oves*) and that his headship of the Church consists only, in being *Prima sedis Episcopus*, the Bishop of the first See ;

8. As for the *testimony* of *S. Hierome*, which *S. W.* here opposeth to my affirmation [that among the twelve one was chosen, that a head being constituted, the occasion of schism might be taken away] 1. those words seem not to be *S. Hierom's*, but *Jovinian's*, for so it begins. *At dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, But you say the Church is founded on Peter.*
9. Secondly, whose soever that *testimony* is, it hath been by me formerly produced, and answered, and must of necessity be so interpreted, as shall be reconcileable with his words in the same place, that the Church which was founded on Peter, was founded on all the Apostles as well as on him, and that ex aquo equally, the strength of the Church was established on them all.
10. And thirdly, of *S. Hierom's* opinion in that place it is evident, that what ever privilege it was that he allowed *S. Peter*, it was but upon the account of his seniority, either of years, or of his reception into the Discipleship, but rather of the former, for so it there follows. *Cur non Johannes electus est virgo? Etati delatum est quia Petrus senior erat. Why was not John who was a virgin chosen, or preferred before the rest? (so electus est, is in the ensuing words interpreted by praefereitur, not in Dominion over, but in place before the other Apostles)* his answer is, Because Peter was the Elder, the deference being given to his age: Which being but a personal advantage, not communicable to all that should sit in the *Romane See* after him, is no way applicable to the benefit of the *Romanist*, who is to prove the *Popes* supremacy, and not only the Primacy of *S. Peter*.
11. And fourthly, if the utmost were granted that can be pretended from these words, it could never inforce or acquire to the Pope any more than the dignity of the Prime Patriarch, who in case of extraordinary difficulty, or contention falling out between two Primates, neither of them subject to any superior Bishop, or the like, might by way of voluntary appeal by mutual consent of parties, be resorted unto (and that would be beneficial to the unity of the Church, in case the Bishop of Rome persisted in the footsteps of *S. Peter*, and no

way varied from him ) But still this is nothing to the plenitude of power, as of an universal Pastor, which was that which I had at that time under consideration. And so all S. W. his hopefull *fabrick*, which depended on S. *Hieromes* words, is fallen to the ground, without any farther pains of ours, toward the demolishing of it. As

12. When he addes thirdly, that hence it follows that *Christian unity is conserved by the Bishop of Rome, more than any other Bishop, contrary to the Doctors assertion* | this is not in the words by him recited, of any force against the Doctors assertion, who made the comparison not simply betwixt the Bishop or Church of Rome, and all other Bishops, but betwixt that Church and any other Church of the Apostles plantation ; And sure many such there were, as well as the Church of Rome, and more ancient than the Church of Rome, as the Church of Jerusalem and Antioch, the Churches of Asia, and many others, and consequently if Rome have any privilege above others, it is not from any appointment of Christ, whether mediate, or immediate, that it thus hath it.
13. Fourthly, saith he, the Doctor equivocates in the word *Roman Church*, and takes it in a sence which he knows we never meant it, our acception of it being of the universal Church, communicating with the mother Church of Rome, his of the private Diocese of Rome it self. ] But it is manifest I did not equivocate, I spake of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, meaning just as he doth, the pretended authority over the whole Church o' God, for else how could I speak of our casting out that authority, sure we never cast out, or denied his having authority in his own Diocese ; But then to deny the truth of their pretension, and to appeal to my former proofs, that the whether Church or Bishop of Rome never had any appointment from Christ to be the head of all Christian unity, more than every other Church or Bishop of the Apostles planting and ordaining, ( which was all I said in that place ) this was as plain on the other side, and no kinde of equivocating in that.
14. Fifthly, When of the private Church of Rome it self he saith, that the Fathers hold that it had a greater vigor of Christian tradition than any other Church, ] though this he hath not proved



ved, yet the yielding of it is perfectly reconcilable with all that I there said; For 1. it was of *Christs* appointment, that I spake, and whatsoever reverence the *Fathers* pay that *See*, yet they affirm not of *Christ*, that he by any peculiarity of promise conveyed any such privilege to that *See*, of having a greater vigor than all other Churches of *Apostolical* plantation; Secondly, it was of the perseverance or conserving for ever all *Christian* truth, that I spake, and against that the *Fathers* say nothing, but speak of it as of a matter of fact, that in their time *Christian* tradition was most eminently preserved there, not undertaking to divine, that it should to all perpetuity be so faithful a repository. Nay tis not \* long since I told him out of *Anselm*, his prediction of the iniquity of that *See*, which should cause many Churches to depart from her. And it is small advantage to have this vigor once, if it have since betrayed that truth, and obtruded *Pontifical* dictates instead of such Tradition.

\* Ch. 5. Sect.  
8. n. 1.

15. And lastly, When he is so unsatisfied with my interposing this word [*forever*] as if, saith he, *Christ* might perhaps appoint her to conserve truth for a while, but meant after some time to discharge her of that office, I answer, that speaking, as we now do, of the particular *See* of *Rome*, there is no colour of appointment or determination of *Christs*, that it should for any time be a conservatory of all *Christian* truth, any otherwise than it is his will and command and appointment, that every Church should conserve all *Christian* truth, and therefore that was not the motive to my putting in the word [*forever*] but because to make good the *Romanists* pretension, that the casting off the authority of the *Bishop* of *Rome*, is the casting off the Faith of *Christ*; it is necessary not only that that Church be appointed by *Christ* to be a conservatory of all *Christian* doctrine, but that it be secured to continue so for ever, else as the Churches of *Asia*, which were once very zealous conservatories of *Christian* truth, afterward forsook their first zeal, and admitted foul heresies, so it may be true of the Church of *Rome* also.

## SECT. II.

*The Apostles depositum. Grounds of belief. Our State fallible as peccable. Regal power differs from Sacerdotal. Peters Primacy what it signifies. Whether given him by Christ. Primacy of jurisdiction never without Dignity of place.*

1. **W**Hat I said in the second place concerning the acts of Apostolical providence for the preserving unity in the faith: and 1. their resolving on some few heads ( of efficacy to the planting of Christian life ) to be deposited in every Church, hath somewhat perplexed S. W. for 1. saith he, Dr. H. is suddenly become a plain Papist ( and if he be, I must only wonder how a Romanist can finde in his heart to write in confutation of him any longer ) but then 2. he fears very much that Mr. H. in this his doctrine, neither goes to Church, nor staves at home | ( and this very fright of his, the factor or stationer hath put in his bill of fare for a notable piece of wit, a special service ) But to give him full satisfaction, I have written an intire tract on this subject, and given him the summe of my belief in this matter, what that depositum was that the Apostles thus deposited in all Churches, the several articles of the Apostolick faith or Creed, and if the Church of Rome would keep close to that depositum, and not corrupt by increasing of it, coine no more articles, than they had from the Apostles mint; there is not a more promising way of return to that unity, from which Christian professors long have swerved; and that the Church of Rome will not yield to this, is absolutely a breach of the Canon of Ephesus, to which I have spoken at large in the reply Ch. 8. Sect. 2. and shall thither refer the Reader for what might be added in this matter.

2. But he proposes in this matter a subtle Quere, whether these Churches, in which these heads of such special efficacy were deposited, were infallible, or no? ] I answer briefly, that

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every of those Churches single, and particularly the Church of Rome was no farther *infallible*, than they should actually adhere to this *depositum* intrusted to them. If they swerved from it, by *addition* or *subtraction*, they so far failed of their trust. And that they might, any one of them so fail, I have no reason of doubting, who see so many visible demonstrations *à posteriori* of many of those Churches failing thus. But that all of them should *uniformly* without ever consulting of it, agree to *impose* upon *posterity* somewhat else, instead of that *Apostolical depositum*, I think not any more *probable* than that so many *Atoms* should *casually* yet *orderly* concur to make this *Universe*. But on the contrary, I think the *universal consent*, and *attestation* of all the *Apostolick plantations*, so forcible an argument to induce belief, that the *Apostles* did really *deposit* these *Doctrines* in all Churches, that any prudent man may safely venture his life or his soul on the truth of it, and resolve it as *impossible* to be otherwise, as that he and a *multitude* of other men should be deceived in that which they *affirm* from their own *sensations*.

3. Much more might be here said, but this is all that is necessary to be answered to that question. For as to his answer to my addition, that if we hold these doctrines deposited in the Church as zealously as the Romanist, we must hold them as of faith, and that the depositary is so truly as it cannot deceive us. I reply, tis sufficient to hold it of faith, and upon prudential grounds of resolving, that all the world of Christian Apostolical Churches would never concur wilfully, and gainlessly to deceive, not that any one or more of them single cannot possibly have been first misled themselves, and then mislead others. And therefore when I said those few heads were asserted by us as zealously as by any Romanist, my speech belonged to sincerity of belief induced thus as I now express, and to the degree of that sincerity; and if I that pretend not the same motive to induce my faith, as the Romanist pretends, have yet the same faith that the Romanist hath, and will adventure as high a stake, practice what Christ commands as confidently upon this faith, not built on the belief of their Churches infallibility, as the Romanist doth upon his supposed infallible ground.

ground, my faith will still be as much ( if not more properly ) faith as his, and I doubt not as secure of its acceptation and reward in heaven. And then sure I am as far from the sceptick school of Academicks, as the firmest, and most undoubted faith can secure me to be. For though I willingly grant, that mans wit cannot invent a better way to preserve unity of faith, than belief of their Churches infallibility would be, yet I, that for all fundamental truths of Christ, thus derived to me by undoubted tradition, am so richly provided for, and must not for all other particulars invent or carve for my selfe, but sit down satisfied with that portion which God hath thought fit for me, and cannot beleieve all that I would have; ( my fancies, or my wishes ) ought in reason for all these, to content my selfe with such means, as God hath afforded me; and till I discern by some infallible argument, that there is some man or society of men, which hath the never ceasing priviledge from God of being infallible, never goe about to deceive my self into a groundlesse confidence, or perswasion of a present utopian infallibility. I know it agrees with Gods good providence to leave me in a peccable, and I cannot resist, must not repine if he hath left me for some things in a fallible state, and only support my self with my diligence and my prayers, that I fall not willingly into fault, or mistake, sin or error.

4. What next follows upon my second way of preserving unity in faith, is lightly varied from the questions and answers in the *Cath. Gent.* and was punctually answered in the *Reply*, Chap. 8. Sect. 1.
5. As for his great care of providing a place for the King among the Bishops ( which next follows in his playsome mood ) it shall be seriously examined, whensoever he findes in any of my Papers, either that the King is by me stiled head of the Church, as he will feign me to call him, or that he, whose office it is to be Supreme Governour over Bishops even in Ecclesiastical causes, and to order the external affairs of the Church, hath the censures of the Church, or the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and so of admitting into, and excluding from the Church committed to him. If he knew not the difference



of the *Regal* and *Sacerdotal*, the *coercive* and *directive* power, he may learn it more seasonably of those, which have written *ex instituto* on that subject, than expect a new *treatise* of it from me here, *loco non suo*, who have a task of a competent *wearisomness* already before me.

6. Here follows now a speciall piece of art, on occasion of my allowing a *Primacy* of order or dignity among *Primates* or *Patriarchs*, proportionable to the *πρωτος Σιμων* in *Scripture*, and agreeable to what is by the ancient *Canons* allowed the *Bishop of Rome*, [ If so saith he, then for any thing you know it may be a *Primacy* of jurisdiction, and it stands only upon the certainty of yours and our interpretation of *Scripture*, wheiher it signifie such a *Primacy* or no. ] I answer 1. that a [ *may be* ] no way concludes that it is, a thousand things may be, or might have been, if *God* had pleased, of which no one ever was or shall be, and I willingly grant *S. Peters Primacy* of jurisdiction over all the *Apostles*, to be one of that number.
2. my not knowing, or having no certainty of interpreting *Scripture*, can have nothing to doe in this matter, with the grounds which *S. W.* can produce to infer from *Scripture* what he affirms, and the solidity and irrefragable force of those grounds, are the only considerable in this business, and he that is, and acknowledges himself fallible, may yet by the right use of those means which *God* affords him, discern the truth, when they that use not those means, but rely on their feigned privilege of *inerrableness*, do by regular consequence from this presumption, swerve and faile in judging of truth, and interpreting *Scripture*. And so these are too weak *Topicks* to conclude a matter of such importance to the whole Church, as is this of *Peters*, and from thence the *Popes Supremacy*, and universality of jurisdiction.
7. But *S. W.* hath yet a more efficacious *Topick*, at least *ad hominem*, which will conclude it impossible to be otherwise, ( neither could it be any other, saith he ) if any hold may be taken from his words. For, saith he, *S. Peter*, as you grant, and as the words *πρωτος Σιμων* *Simon the first of the Apostles*, plainly evidence, had some kinde of *Primacy* then given him, and if it were then given him, he then had it, i. e. in our *Saviour's*

vjours life time. But you told us Ch. 4. Sect. 14. that S. John had the dignity of place, which is the same with Primacy of order, before all others in Christs life time, even before S. Peter himself, the Primacy then, which S. Peter had in Christs life time, must be some other Primacy, and what Primacy could this be, but the Primacy of jurisdiction.

8. I answer 1. to the question in the conclusion, by telling him what Primacy it was that Peter had at this time, when the Scripture saith *πρῶτος Σίμων*, It was Primacy both of years and discipleship, he was the ancientest man, as Hierome told us even now, at least the ancientest of them which had any special remark of Christs favour on them, of the three, *ὁ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου*, as \* Clemens calls him and the two sons of Zebedee, and the ancientest disciple of Christ: not the first that was called, that appears to be Philip, but the first that so obeyed his call, as constantly to adhere to him. And this having nothing of jurisdiction over all his fellow disciples annex to it, on the one side, only the dignity of speaking first, or being spoken to, and answering in the person of all, and yet being very reconcileable with all that I said of John, ch. 4. Sect. 14. viz. that he had the favour of Christ, and the dignity of place before S. Peter himself in Christs life, leaning on his brest, having the *πρωτοκαθισία* (for the younger man and the later disciple might by Christs favour, have that) there remains no force in this argument against my pretensions. But then 2. what is by the disputer assumed, both as granted by me, and plainly evidenced by the words, First Simon, viz. that some Primacy was given Peter ] may have some ambiguity in it, and therefore must be cleared, before I can either grant it to be true, or disclaim the granting it. If by [given] he mean no more then I have already said, that he had it by that favour of Christ, which was specially afforded to three of them, of whom he was the antientest, both in respect of years and discipleship, then I freely grant it, and am no more incommodated by it, than just now I appeared to be. But if by [given] he mean any farther particular donation of Christs to him, then this Primacy no way appears to have been thus given him. For

\* *πρωτοπρεσβυτερος*  
1. s.

whatsoever is by the *Romanists* supposable to be given him, upon *tu es Petrus*, cannot be applied to this, the title of *πρῶτος Σίμων* being mentioned by the *Evangelist*, before that part of the story, which sets down *Christs* delivering those words to him. And for any other donation *precedaneous* to that, 1. the *Scripture* mentions none, and 2. tis not conceivable there should be any, or indeed such force in that, when all the time of *Christs* life *John* had the *πρωτοδικαία*, the dignity of place next *Christ*. For though that dignity of place may be (and was in *John*) without any superiority of power or jurisdiction, yet the Superiority or Primacy of jurisdiction is never to be found in any without the *πρωτοδικαία* or priority of place: and therefore I say, it is not imaginable (when the *Scripture* is silent) that any such Primacy of jurisdiction should at, or before the time of the [first *Simon*] belong to *S. Peter* by *Christs* donation, and yet the dignity of place remain to *S. John* by *Christs* indulgence. And so much for the argument *ad hominem*, which doubtless made him promise of doing him special service, but hath much failed his expectation.

9. But this great advantage must not be lost so, if it be good for nothing else, yet it may be to disguised and brought out a second time in other dress or garnish, that it may serve very well for a *quelque chose* in the bill of fare, and so indeed it is improved in the next onset; and from our Saviours making *Peter* the first, there must needs be some better thing bestowed on him, saith he, than a dry Presidency, or an obliging all the *Apostles* under pain of damnation to make a leg to *S. Peter*] I answer, it now appears what the designe was in the former urging of the argument, to shuffle in the giving of the Primacy to him. But that art being now discovered, and no donation of *Christs* being discernible to be included, or intimated in this title of *S. Peters*, the puff-past may have served to furnish the table, but hath not fed any of the guests: and so we have done with that Paragraph.

## SECT. III.

*The Romanists peace not perfect. The Greek Church, acknowledged not the Popes Supremacy. The Politick Problem. The Kings power in externals. His judgement what good for the publick.*

1. **I**N his answer to Chap. 8. Sect. ( it should be ) 6<sup>th</sup> he hath made a shift at the entrance quite to *mistake my words, and design.* I speak of the *unity of the whole body, i. e. of the whole Christian Church,* and all the parts of it, *Eastern as well as Western &c.* to which I thought the *subjection of this Nation to the Pope,* could not effectually contribute, because before the time of our pretended departure, the *Eastern Churches* had long renounced all *subjection to the Papacy.* And he refers me to the *great tranquillity which they enjoy who are under that government now.* I answer, 1. that I discern not the truth of his affirmation, nor acknowledge the so perfect peace which he boasts of; I need not go far for instances; 'Tis not long since we saw the *seculars and regulars* far enough removed from such huge tranquillity, engaged at a competent distance ( as *Watsons Quodlibets* will testify ) in many things, particularly, and more lately in that controversie concerning the necessity of an Ordinary in these Islands, and S. W. may remember it, by the token of the *Iesuits Creed,* and whether their agreement be now so perfect in respect of the questions long agitated betwixt the *Iansenians* and *Molinists,* even after the *Popes* decision on the *Molinists* side, he may please to inform us in his next; And till then I shall omit the debate concerning the state of the souls departed, and the doctrines attending that, which are of some weight of importance.
2. Secondly, Be the tranquillity of the *Romish Subjects* and *volaries* never so profound, yet 'tis evident the *unity of the Romanists* is not the *unity of the whole Christian world,* and that

that being it I spake of, tis certain he yet renders no answer to that. Tis true indeed, if it were all *Christians* duty, and so ours, to be subject to the *Bishop of Rome*, others default would not secure or *justify* us, but that this is the duty of all *Christians*, or of any more than of right belong to the *Roman Province*, is the principal question all this while, and must not be begg'd (as in the process of this answer it is) while it is under dispute.

Just. vindic.  
P. 16.

3. But at length he comes nearer the point in hand, and considers the *Greek Church*, and of them affirms these three things. First, that for rejecting the *Popes Supremacy* they were by all the *Christian world* held and called *schismaticks*; and yet Secondly, when they were in their right mode, as in the *Council of Florence*, they admitted it as much as any *Roman Catholic*. Thirdly, that when they were disgusted and refused unity, they acknowledged the power of the *Bishop of Rome*, as, saith he, appears by the testimony of *Gerson*, cited by *Bishop Bramhal* against himself, which witnesses that the *Greeks* departed from the *then Pope* with these words, we acknowledge thy power, we cannot satisfy your covetousness, live by your selves.}
4. To these I answer, 1. that their being the greatest *schismaticks* for the rejecting the *Supremacy*, and yet their acknowledging as much as any *Catholic*, and when they refused unity, yet acknowledging the *Popes power*] are riddles for none but *S. W.* to expound, and when he hath done that, he may very justly turn *South-sayer*, and set up *ex tripod*: to deliver *auguries* or *oracles* which he please. For certainly if their *schism* consisted in denying the *Popes Supremacy*, and that is his power, then when they refused unity, in which refusal their *schism* consisted, they did not acknowledge his power. Secondly, if sometimes they were in the mode to deny the *Popes Supremacy*, sometimes to grant it, then, for ought *S. W.* hath here attempted to prove by any other means, than that of his own approving it, the yielding the *Pope's power* doth not more appear to have been their good mood, or interval, than their much more constant and continued refusing. Thirdly, for their subscription in the *Council of Florence*, he cannot but know, how invalid it is to infer their submission

submission to the *Popes power*, else it were great unkindness to account them as great *schismaticks* since, as before that *Council* (of the *Greeks doctrine* in this *Council*, I have also spoken in the *reply*, Ch. XI. Sect. I.) Lastly, for Bp. *Brambals* citation out of *Gerson*, Part of the *Bishops words* are, that the *Greek Church* never acknowledged any obedience to be due from them to the *Bishop of Rome*, and he that is acquainted with the *Chancellor John Gersons* writings, or but with as many pieces of his, as are put together by *Goldastus*, in his *Monarchia*, will not doubt that the same was his sense also, and we need no further evidence, than the words thus cited from him; for sure they that bid the *Pope live by himself*, *res suas sibi habere* (the solemn form of divorce) cannot at the same time acknowledge any such power, as *S. W.* pretends to, or any more than that of the *Prime Patriarch*, or beginning of unity, which that learned *Bishop* was there willing to acknowledge.

5. He next replies to my mention of the *Politick Problem*, whether the *Bishop of Rome* be probably able to administer so vast a Province, the truth of which I thought belonged to prudent persons to judge, and especially to *Kings* intrusted by God with the care of their own Realms; And first he is willing to interpret my words of such humane policy, as was to be had among heathens, and streightway to advance to such a fastidious despising of my conclusion drawn from the *Christian Kings* being nursing Fathers to the Church, as to make it equally to infer *Nero* to have right and title to be head of the Church, whilst he remained an heathen Emperor. ] But all this hath no more appearance of weight or earnest in it, than will briefly be answered, by my telling him, 1. that I spake of *Christian policy*, or skill of managing and regulating the external matters of the Church, such is this of dividing or bounding of Provinces, appointing of *Bishops Sees*, or *Metropolises*, and the like in such a manner as may most tend to publick good, and as an *Heathen Emperor* by accident may do somewhat in this, viz. by dividing the Empire into Provinces, as we know *Augustus* did by *Macenas's* advice, and *S. Paul* in his ordaining *Bishops in Churches*, follow the *razis* order, as



he found in the *civil notitia*, so now that *Princes* have received the *faith of Christ*, and undertaken the defence of it, sure none is more fit to judge of all things of this rank than he, whom in every *Nation* God hath appointed to be *Supreme* over all, even *Ecclesiastical* persons, viz. the *Christian King*, as (both in this particular, and more generally) had before been proved to be the sense and resolution of the *Christian Church and Councils*, and as the very title of *Father*, which the *Scripture* gives *Kings*, in relation to the *Church*, *Isa.* 49. 23. doth demonstrate; For to the *Fathers* power, *subjection* and *obedience* in external things is *relative*, as even by the instance, which he thinks most confutes it, is manifest; for though *Ioseph* was but a *foster Father* to *Christ*, yet the text assures us, *Christ* lived in obedience to *Ioseph*, for else it could not be truly said, that he was *subject* to them, in the plural, *Luk* 2. 51.

6. What he adds in conclusion of that *Self*. as a consequence from my words, that *by making the King in each nation Judge of this Politick Problem, I make the party in the controversy to be umpire of it* ] can really have no place here, where I am speaking, not of the point of *right*, whether the *Pope* be rightfully the head of our *Church* (for if that were the thing now under consideration, I should acknowledge the *Prudential* or *Politick Problems* it self to be very *unseasonably* interposed) but whether it be most for the good of our, or any particular *Church* abstracting from the point of *right*) that the *Pope* should be head of it, or whether he being himself of but *finite faculties*, and at such a distance from us, and many other *nations*, he be fitly qualified to administer that vast *Province*, one *Monarch* over the whole *Christian world*, For of this it was evidently, that I there spake, and in that I thought it reasonable that the *Prince*, that is the *Common ruler* both of *S. W.* and of me, should be deem'd the most competent judge betwixt us, what is best for either of us, and for all others in the same condition with us, which is farr enough from making either party the *umpire*, as *S. W.* suggested me to do, and is only angry with me, because I would not let him be guilty of the same fault himself, which he
- unjustly*

unjustly accuses me of, for if the Pope should be umpire, as he would have it, 'tis visible that a party is umpire. And so much for his first Section,

### SECT. IIII.

*The first ages most competent testifiers of tradition. Scripture a witness of Apostolick practice, and not only Tradition. Scripture as infallibly interpretable as Tradition, or Papal decrees. The four first Councils prefer'd before all subsequent, Why? The Articles of faith consign'd in them, not to be increased. Authority of Councils. Docibleness in a Church no fault. Not learning of Rome our only charge. Belief without Infallibility. Purity the flourishing of a Church.*

- i. **H**IS second Section though well lengthened with exaggeration and sarcasme, is but a recitation, and enlargement of the same mistake of my sense, which the Cath. Gent. had hit on before him, concerning my mention of the first 300. years, and the four first general Councils, as if I rejected all the rest of the Church, which was not comprised within those bounds, as erroneous, and such as I refused to be tried by, for the Doctrines in Controversie between them and us; Whereas it is most manifest by the occasion, and whole contexture, that I mention'd the Scripture, and those as the safest Depositaries of all that faith which was delivered by Christ and his Apostles, and so as the most competent testifiers of tradition, which certainly they must be, if either he that was an ocular witness, or lived nearest the times of such, be more creditable, and authentick for the relating a matter of fact, than any other, no more honest than he, which hath not so good means to attain to the knowledge of it. Do not we *ceteris paribus*, give more credit to one eye-witness, than to many that were not such, but make distant relations from

times which were long before them, offering no testimony, or record of any *actions*, for what they say? Or indeed is it possible for us at this distance by any optick to discern or judge, what the Apostles did or taught, if it were not conveyed to us by some who lived in, or soon after their times? Is there any satisfactory motives to induce belief of a matter of fact (such it is, that the Apostle did institute, or teach this or that) but the authority of the Reporter? and is there any proper ground, whereon to build this sort of authority of one man, or society of men above another, but the consideration first of the means, he hath to inform himself rightly, then of his fidelity, that being not deceived himself, he was not presumeable to be willing to deceive others? So that what infallible judgement soever the Church of this or any former age can be deemed to have, yet sure matters of fact, such are all traditions, are not the proper matter whereon to exercise it, 'tis not imaginable that the most invincible Pope or Council, should be strength of that, unless they have also (which I suppose they pretend not) immediate revelation, and inspiration annex to it, affirm infallibly, either what S. W. hath written in *Schism disarm'd*, or what Simon Zelotes preach'd in *Britaine*, or indeed that ever he was here, or any one Christian Doctor for many hundred years, or consequently what *Depositu*m was intrusted to our Church, any farther than they are advertised by some Records of the times, wherein each thing was done, or of the succeeding times, within such a distance, as it can by some sure means be conveyed to them. What can be more plain and evident than this? What less lyable to those ridiculous consequences, of being judged by those that speak nothing of our differences, of making the whole Church first pure, then impure, then pure again, as it suits best with my purpose, of expressing a plain tergiversation, and the like which are affixt to my mention of the 300. years, and the 4 general Councils? But of this I have spoken enough, in the Reply, Ch. 8. Sect. 3.

2. But S. W. hath one special y here, wherein he surpasses the *Cath. Gent.* His first objection is against my but naming Scripture for any way of judging of Apostolical doctrines and traditions.]

traditions. ] The concordant testifications of the first ages of the Church, and the foure general Councils I had particularly named, as means to convey to us the knowledge of Apostolical traditions, only I set Scripture in the front, as verily believing that at least some Apostolical practises and doctrines, were conserved there, suppose it were Christs sermon on the mount, or his institution of the Sacraments, or his very death and resurrection &c. And I must be arraigned and chastised, and very demure arguments formed against me for no more but this; For first he will ask. *Are those doctrines clearer expressed in scripture than in the depositories of the Church, or no?* If they be, saith he, what needed we those Depositories? If not, how can we judge of them by scripture? ] I answer, what need hath the world of the itch of disputing, which suggests arguments against the suns giving light at noon day, and S. W. his invention serves him as well on such a theme, as for the defending any of his most precious concerns. Or if a man is bound either to be a schismatick, or to render puntual satisfaction to all such forked dilemmas as these, which like the brute in the fable mistook his own eares for horns, it then sufficeth me at the present, that which soever is most obscure, should receive light from the more perspicuous, and so that sometimes the scripture should illustrate the Depositories of the Church, sometimes receive lustre from them, and such very good friends as are the writings of the Apostles, and the records of their preachings, live amicably and profitably together, and administer each to the others necessities, and we receive our instruction from both, when they are both willing to afford it, and content our selves with either, when the other is silent, and never question Gods bounty, what need we have, or what benefit we can reape of that which he hath afforded; It being visible both in these, that that which is not needfull at one time, may be beneficial, nay necessary at another, and in hypobesi, that this is the very case of scripture, and the faith once delivered to the saints (as that is mentioned by, and so is a disparate thing from the scripture) that one lends at one time, and at another time borrows light from the other.

3. As for his singular instance, to prove how difficult a thing it is to judge when things are clear in scripture, when not, from the Doctors not being satisfied from thence, that S. Paul converted Jews, S. Peter Gentiles, 'tis long since demonstrated to be a calumnie, and that all that I said was no more than what was affirmed by the plainest words of Scripture, set down as intelligibly, as ever any tradition unwritten can be delivered, or as the Pope or Council can define any thing. viz. that by compact between those two Apostles and some others, where they met in a City of mixt inhabitants, one should betake himself to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles. And therefore, as to that supernumerary exception, let S. W. but tell me what sure rules he gives us to settle our judgement, when things are clear in the definition of a Pope or Council, when not, or in case of a doubt, what the meaning is of such supposed infallible decree ( which if it want an interpreter, is a barbarian to him that understands it not, though in the spirit, it delivereth never so infallible an oracle ) and I will not faile to satisfie his importunity, and direct him to as proper and safe means to interpret scripture also, or else I will not impose on him the believing this or that sense of it.
4. The equality of the authority of all Councils he also presseth, against my naming but the *soure first* ( which the *Cath. Gent.* was not acute enough to take notice of ) But besides many other grounds of difference between those *soure first*, confestly Oecumenical Councils, and the fourteen more which he sets under that title ( which I shall not now insist on ) I have already more than intimated the reason which in that part of my discourse gave the deference to those, because those were so near the first times, that they were competent witnesses or judges of the records, which were then produced for the truths, which were there defined as from Apostolical tradition. To which I farther add, because the Creeds or summaries of the credenda were in these so consign'd, as that they might not afterwards be enlarg'd by any to any new matters, as appears both by the Nicene Creed, form'd by the Fathers of that first famous Council ( the Athanasian being but an explication of that ) and the express words of the Ephesine Council Can. 7.

ἵνα μὴ ᾖ ἐξέτασθαι that it should not be lawfull for any man to produce, write or compose any belief, beside that which was thus establish'd by the Fathers of Nice. And that they which should dare συνδίδαι δευκομίζειν ἢ δευσιάζειν τῆς διδασκίαν ἐκείνης ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας, to compose or tender or offer any such other Faith to any that were willing to convert to the acknowledgement of the truth from Judaisme, Gentilisme or any other heresy whatsoever, if they were Bishops, should be degraded, if Laick's anathematized or excommunicated; which as it renders a direct account of my pitching on this way of trial, whether the Church of Rome's conditions of Communion are too severe to us or no, so is it our evidence, that we are not hereticks, who beleve all this faith of Nice and Ephesus &c. or if we were, and for no less than heresy cast out by the Church of Rome, they must not under pain of degradation and excommunication, I may add the crime and pain of perjury also, (the Pope at his Consecration swearing to observe inviolably all the ordinances made in the eight first General Councils) impose any new articles of belief upon us, (I mean such as were not in substance comprehended in those former Creeds) in the way to our readmission or return to their Church's peace.

5. By the way, when there have been in the Romanists account so many General Councils above the number of the 8. first, I might aske, whether in the Popes Consecration-Oath he swear the observation of all the whole number indefinitely? Or if he do not, whether I may not as seasonably retort the Question, as S. W. could propose it, whether all the Councils are not of equal authority, there being nothing found to authorize the first eight, which was not found in the ninth, tenth &c. And then sure that answer that can be so easily retorted upon the respondent, is no unrefutable answer.
6. What now hath been said, demonstrates sufficiently how little engagement lies upon me by force of the mention of the four first Councils, to imbarke in a new Ocean of Controversie, concerning the sacred and obligatory authority of all Councils, any farther then their determinations appear to be grounded on Apostolick tradition, so far indeed my words obliged



obliged me, and to that I have spoken already, (and I suppose, yielded as much, as is demanded by many *learned Papiſts*) but to any more my leisure is not so great at this time, as to invite me to expatiate so unnecessarily, though if it were seasonable, I might safely adventure on the question in the very terms, that S. W. hath proposed it unto me, viz. with his interposition of those two exceptions, unless their votes have not been free, or some other known defect have been in the managing of it. In which second rank of exceptions, I should not think fit to name the *Primate of England* his not consenting to the Canon, as S. W. will be forced to decry the Canon of *Calcedon*, because the *Pope* consented not to it, and this after he hath rebuked it in me, as illogical and illegal, to commit the *Umpirage* to a Party.

7. The last onset is against my extolling the *humble docible temper* of our Church, i. e. in plain terms against imitating our Saviour, who did more then commend or extol humility, even *μαγεiζεν*, pronounces it a *prime ingredient* in blessedness, and commands us to learn and transcribe it from him. If it were an hypocritical or false humility that I had thus extol'd, and I were now chid for talking like a saint (as just before I was, when I did but profess, that our ignorance, if we should be found to mistake, is an unaffected ignorance, which S. W. such is his *Christian temper*, resolves to be a conscientiousness to my self, what pitiful shifts I make use of instead of grounds) If I say, the pretending to the humble and docible temper, whilst it were far from us, had been the matter of the charge, this had been but the old S. W. still, and I could not with reason *ξενίζεσθαι* think strange of it, having been so long so intimately acquainted with his humor, and taught to expect such constructions from him. But it is the very humility which we profess to have, the docibleness which I verily thought had been our strictest duty, which is become S. W. his greatest scorn. Truly Mr Dr saith he, it is a wonderful commendation to your Church, that she is yet to be taught; pray when will she be of age to leave going to school? ] I answer to this question, I confess I am forced to speak like a saint (but that is not indeed like an hypocrite) in the words of S. Paul, when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be

be done away. For now we see through a glass darkely, but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known. Since I first read those words, I thought I had reason to expect nothing in this world above an imperfect fallible estate, which signifies not any sceptical ἀνατομία, any doubt of the truth of any thing, which we beleave our selves to be taught by the Apostles of Christ, or an imperfectness, or darkness of any truth, which from him either by written or unwritten tradition hath been surely and clearly conveyed to us, ( We sure believe all the Articles of the Creed as firmly as any Romanist believes them ) but an imperfection in respect of the object or of the light, some things being believed by others, which we do not beleave, because we have yet no convincing motive to induce the belief of them, other things also, wherein though as far as appears to us, they are false, and not reasonable to be believed by us, at least by divine faith, as long as we have no divine ground of that faith, either from scripture or tradition; yet because we believe our selves fallible, and that we may possibly come, even in this world, to see more than yet we see, therefore humility and docibleness, is in this respect, all that we pretend to, and trust it will finde a more favourable acceptation at his hands, to whom we desire to approve our selves, than here with this disputer it hath met with.

8. But it is evident enough, that it is not our humility or docible temper, that hath seriously disoblged S. W. If we will but give him leave to choose a mistress for us, we shall then be allow'd to be as humble and docible as we please; For so it follows. *Is it docibleness or humility to forsake a mistress which had all the qualities which could give her authority?* ] To see, whither passion or interest will drive one! Twas even now a fault that we were not out of our Prentice-like Tutorage, that we did not set up for our selves, to profess truth as a Church should do? and that he thought the Church should have been the pillar and firme foundation of the truth ] and lest we should do so indeed, become his scholars, and having ruminated upon this his first lecture, reply to him, that upon that very account our Church acknowledges no mistress upon earth,

earth, no not the *Totius Orbis Domina*, the *Universal Mistress*, the *Roman See*, being for all necessities sufficiently furnished by that *depositum* which the *Apostles* left with us, and for what remains dark and undiscovered to us, secure, that the *knowledge* or *explicite belief* will never be exacted of us, Upon this sudden apprehension, a pin is fallen out of the *Machine*, and the *scene* is perfectly changed, we must now be disciplin'd afresh, that we will set up for our selves, that we will ever be of age, that we have at length out-grown our *Papillage*, that we are not so docible, or rather so tame, as to believe all that can be told us by one, whose *Protector* S. W. assures us she is infallible, when in the very truth there is no one thing she doth, or can tell us, that we have less reason or authority to believe, than that the *Roman Church*, which is this *Mistress* all this while, is either infallible, or free from many gross errors, and have no greater prejudice against learning of her, than this, that she hath no other possible means to infer the belief of many of her doctrines, but this fallacious circular one, because she cannot erre.

9. What yet farther follows in reproach of this magnanimous piece of our docible humility, that we holde *Articles of faith* upon that authority, which it is an article of our faith that it may deceive us, ] hath been answered many times over, viz. that we may reasonably believe without doubting what yet is made known to us, by an authority, which we know to be fallible, having so little reason to distrust its testimony, though it be fallible, that I adventure my life confidently upon no securer terms. And indeed the magnanimity or temerity is not lessened but increased, by my taking up all my belief in gross from S. W. his infallible guide, for that she is truly so, as she pretends, I am far enough from being infallibly ascertained, so that the balance or competition hangs but thus, betwixt a fallible authority, believed or affirmed by it self to be infallible on the one side, and another, or the same fallible authority believed to be fallible, on the other side, and which of these two is really the safest guide, the one that leaves no place for caution to S. W. the other that leaves me as safe, but more cautious ( for certainly if these guides are really such,

ascannot mislead me, my believing of them, though I think them, as all humane things, fallible, will not render them fallible, if they are not, or me deceivable by them, who really cannot be deceived) I now leave S. W. in his humble pusillanimous fit of believing nothing but what is represented by an infallible authority, to consider, and 'tis possible it may goe for reason, and not for folly or fansie, in his severest retirements.

10. What he means by asking, why the Primitive times must needs just end then when the Church began to flourish | expounding that by [the times when the fathers began to write against our doctrines] I cannot well divine, who think Christianity may flourish, when the profession of it is outwardly persecuted, ('tis not the grandeur of professors, but purity of Religion, which is the true verdure and flourishing of it) and who am assured, that in the time of the four general Councils, Christianity was in all respects as flourishing as ever : & that the coming in of new doctrines into the Church, which had not been taught by the Apostles, is the decay and withering, not the advancing or greater flourishing of it. I shall rather ask why the Church must then attain to 'its plenitude of authority with S. W. when it begins as he saith, to write against our doctrines, when it is certain we embrace no doctrines, but what the Church delivers us from the Apostles, and are accused by the Romanists, not for introducing more doctrines, than they acknowledge us to have received, but only for questioning the truth of, and tradition for some which they have introduced, and for which they cannot pretend Apostolical tradition, unless they finde them testified in those first ages which were next the Apostles, (and so are the only competent testifiers of what is Apostolical) which ages if they have testified the truth of all the Romish doctrines, and the Romanists take up their doctrine, upon their testification, then we cannot be blamed by a Romanist, who are by his very objection here acknowledged to believe all that they have testified. And this is all that is due to his second Section.

## SECT. V.

*Retaining Apostolical Government, one indication that we are no Schismatics. Vindication of my method. The one sort of Schism with the Romanists. Altare contra altare, Schism: yet all Schism consists not in that. The Primate in each Church. The Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical causes, wherein it consists. Of Liturgies and Ceremonies, and Discipline. Of Sacrilege. Of the Mass. Of the Popes Monarchy, and Festivals.*

1. **I**N his third Sect. his first dish, or iest ( for it is with the Stationer under one, with the Author under the other of these notions ) is raised out of the view of my method again, which when all is done, is as exact, as he could have taught it to be ; That dividing from our Ecclesiastical Superiors was fitly set for a first kinde of Schism, that against subordination, and that casting off all government quite, was a species of another kinde, by way at least of reduction, as the institutions of Christ and his Apostles, are reducible to the faith of Christ, hath been vindicated already ; And all that is now behinde to be justified in this place, is, that external communion being one part of unity, and the offences against that one part of schism, our retaining and living regularly under that form of Government, under which the Apostles founded Ecclesiastical Assemblies, is one evidence of our not being guilty of schism against external Communion. And to this purpose what proofs can be needful, when it is once considered, that external Communion is nothing else but *ἑνωμασις* joyning regularly in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and that that is stiled being *ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ* within the altar, in Ignatius's phrase, in communion external with all those whom God hath set over us, and with all those that keep close to them, all others that live out of this, being, as S. W. told us even now, a multitude, but not a Church. And indeed when the rules of the Church

Church are the *Masters and Ministers* of the *Assemblies*, who have the *ordering and transacting* of all in them, what possibility is there of considering *external communion*, without an explicate consideration of this head, the *forme of Government* appointed by *Christ*, and the *regular living* under it.

2. To this I shall only add, that if there had been any *infirmity* in my *method*, and if that were the very *default*, which he would have reprehended, the *reverting desultorily* to the matter of *Government*, S. W. would have been the *unfittest* person in the world to *complain* of it, or upon this one score of the *immethodicalness* of my process, to *feast* his neighbours as he doth with the news of my *preaching* in a *wilderness*; For certainly none can be more *guilty* of it in the very *kinde*, than he, for the *denying* the *Popes Supremacy* being his *schism* of *schisms*, as the *denying* his *Infallibility* is his *heresie* of *heresies*, 'tis consequent and certain, that whensoever he comes to distribute *schism* into its parts, *Denying* the *Popes Supremacy* must be the root and branch in every one of them. Thus very unsuitable it is to S. W. his condition, to *blame* other mens *methods*, who if he were never so *subtle* an *artist* or *methodist*, could not serve his *rules* and his *hypothesis* at once, but must be fain to *divide* his *theme* (*Schism*) as the keen *stomack* did his *short Commons*, or the blunt *Friar* his *text*, into one bit, or part. For that is the *breviat* of the *Romanists divinity*, that all that live in *obedience* to the *Bishop of Rome* are *Catholick*, and all that do not, *schismatical*.
3. But he tells us next, that *Arians* and other *hereticks* have after their *breaking from* the *Church of God* retain'd the *authority* of their own *Bishops* ] I answer, that when *heresie* and *schism* went together, and the *Bishops* themselves were not the *ring-leaders* of it ( as among the *Arians* it was ) there generally the *hereticks* renounced the *authority* of their own *Bishops*, and set up others against them, and so *erected altar against altar*, i. e. *Bishop against Bishop*, the ordinary stile of *schismaticks* in the *Fathers*, and notorious in the instance of the *Donatists*. But then 2. I grant that retaining the *authority* of their *Bishops*, is not, being taken alone, any certain argument,



gument, or evidence of not being *schismaticks*, and therefore I took it in *consort* with others, and made it but *one* of *six* indications, on our side, for our not being *guilty* of this one *branch* of *schism*, against *external Communion*; and that I hope was just as S. W. would have directed me. This being still one *branch* of *schism* in them that are *guilty* of it, though all *schism* do not consist in *this*. Which also may be useful advertisement to him, if he please, and minde him, that the *adhering* to the *authority* of the *Bishop* of *Rome* is no certain *defensative* against *schism*, and that there may be other *schismaticks* besides those, which are either by, or without their own *default* or *consent*, *divided* and *separated* from that *See*.

4. What he here adds of my not telling him of the main hinge of our Churches Government, which is of the King being it's head and supreme in Ecclesiastical matters] is a special device, For I ask, doth he beleieve the King to be in any Nation head of the Church? If he doth not, why am I to be rebuked, for not putting him into my scheme, and so for not telling him of it? I acknowledge indeed that I do not tell him of it, and that with very good reason, because in my poor opinion, the King makes no part in our Hierarchie, the Primare of each Nation is he, whom, according to the Apostlick Canon, and that of Antioch, we acknowledge. The Apostolick Canon is exprefs. Τὸς ἐπισκόπους ἐκαστοὶ ἕδντες εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγῶναι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν the Bishops in every Nation ought to know the first or Primare among them, and to account him as their head; and the Canon of Antioch is as full, τὸς καὶ ἐκαστῶ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπος εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει μεγιστῶ ἐπισκόπον, the Bishops in every Province must know the Bishop which presides in the Metropolis, and do nothing of common concernment without him. As for the King, we know the title and power which by our doctrine belongs to him, viz. to be Supreme over all persons in all causes whatsoever. That he is Supreme the Scripture tells us in many places, and particularly S. Peter, and how farr this Supremacy extends in respect of Persons, the Fathers of the Church have made no scruple to affirm, without excepting of any; so

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p. l. 17.

Saint Chrysostom on Rom. 13. 1. Πᾶσι ταῦτα διατίθεται, καὶ ἱερῶσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, καὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον, The precept of subjection to Kings as Supreme, belongs to all, both to Priest and Monks, and not to seculars alone, and, καὶ ἂν Ἀπόστολος ᾖ, καὶ ἂν Διαγγέλις, καὶ ἂν προφήτης, καὶ ἂν ἐπιστοῦν, though thou be an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Prophet, or whosoever, thou art under this precept of obedience to the higher powers. And indeed the matter is clear, that if as men we are born Subjects, 'tis neither in the power of our baptism, which makes us of men Christians, nor of our Ordination, which makes us of Christians Priests, Bishops, Metropolitans, Primates, to rescind the obligation, and oath, under which we are born, to quit us in the least degree of our allegiance before incumbent on us. And as for persons, so for causes also, the Supremacy of the King is universally extended, the Church having its foundation in the Kingdom, and not the Kingdom in the Church, and Christ having interposed no exemption in this kinde, save what the law of God and nature had alwayes supposed, that we must serve, obey, and fear God, more, and rather than men, (*timendo Majestatem contemnere Majestatem*, i. e. adhere still to the supreme) when there is a competition and unreconcilableness betwixt their commands. But when there is none, then subject and prostrate all our obedience before him, who bears Gods image and superscription, being indeed his vicarius or proxy, commissioned by him. From whence it is visible what causes they are wherein the Church or Ecclesiastical persons depend not on the Prince, what powers they have which flow not from him, viz. those to which their calling from God, or office to which he hath commissioned them, doth oblige them, and which they cannot omit without the same woe, under which S. Paul was obliged to preach the Gospel; Agreeably we know, these things the Bishops in this Nation have done in the name of God and as Ministers of his, and commissioned by him, in their own names, The Censures of the Church were never issued out, as the civil acts of judicature, in the name of the Prince, but after the example of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 5. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Bishop, as his Officer and Minister and Ambassador. In a word

word the *internal* acts of the *Ecclesiastical Function* are those, wherein the *Primate* is under *Christ*, the chief in each *Christi-*  
*an nation*. But the *external* acts, or causes of the *Church* it  
 self, such are all those, that in the *discourse* of *schism* have  
 been attributed to him, are as regularly subjected to the  
*Prince*, as the *Bornug*, whatsoever is most purely *civil* or  
*secular*.

5. When therefore he saith, we *substitute the King instead of*  
*the Ecclesiastical head we rejected*, i. e. *the Pope*, The meaning  
 if it have any truth, must evidently be this, The *Bishop of*  
*Rome* having assumed a *Primacy* in this *Kingdom*, and usurp-  
 ed a *transcendent uncanonical* power over our *Primate*, such as  
 neither *Apostolick*, *Nicene*, *Ephesine*, *Antiochian*, nor any  
 other *antient Canon* afforded him, or gave him any ground to  
 pretend to, contented not himself with this, but assumed as  
 confidently the *Supreme Regal* power, as far as to *Ecclesi-*  
*astical causes* and persons, in *external* things, such as no way  
 belong'd to a *Primate* by the same *ancient Canons*, but were  
 reservey'd as the *Privileges* of *Majesty*, to every *Christian*  
*Prince*. Consequently at the return of each part of this  
*usurped power* to its due *chanel* again, that which really be-  
 long'd to the *Ecclesiastical Primate*, reverted to the *Arch-*  
*Bishop of Canterbury*, and what as duly, and regularly be-  
 longed to the *Supreme Monarch*, returned to its proper seat of  
*Majesty*.
6. And thus, I hope, I have if not satisfied S. W. yet secu-  
 red his *seducible* reader from being *imposed* on by him, in this  
 his grand *particular*, which promised such *flowrs* to his *Crown*,  
 such *advantages* to adorn his *triumphs* over us.
7. His next *fling* is at my *method* again, but they that have  
 eyes in their heads, cannot choose but see, that they that ac-  
 knowledge *Episcopal*, nay *Papal Government*, may yet not  
 live regularly in *obedience* under it, and so that as the want  
 of that *obedience* is a several branch of *schism*, so to secure our  
 selves from being *schismatical offenders* against *external* com-  
 munion, the *obedience* to, as well as acknowledging of  
 our *Lawfull Superiors*, was to be mentioned in my de-  
 fence.

8. In his answer to my third plea, as he calls it, many passages there are, before we finde the least motion toward truth, or earnest, or arguing: For that 1. all schismaticks meet at such appointed places as I spake of, viz. Churches, or 2. observe such set times, fasting or festival, the fasts and holy dayes of our Calender: thirdly, that Copes and Surplices are Sacramental: Fourthly, that we preach such doctrine as our first fore-fathers (i. e. the Apostles) sent us not to preach: Fifthly, that we imbue tender minds with tainted doctrine ] are all equally fictions; and Sixtly, that our prayer and praises is almost all out of their Mass and breviarie, if, being taken out of the antient liturgies of the more Universal Church, it can yet be truly said to be taken from them, that have varied from the ancient form, yet sure it cannot be argumentative against us; for why must we that are blamed for receding from them, be blamed also for this act of not receding.

9. Seventhly, then, As for ceremonies, of which saith he, we accepted from the Primitive Church only what we thought convenient, the same authority that recommended them, recommending more to us ] I answer, that 'tis sufficient that what we took from the Roman Church, was such as they had from the practice of the Primitive Church, no obligation lying on us from thence to adhere to that Roman order in all other ceremonies, which we finde not to be Primitive, or to observe every other rite, which the Primitives did: For as to those which we do retain, what need we own any other authority for retaining them, then that of the Primitive practice? and then why should the same, i. e. the Roman authority, from which we had them immediately, oblige us to receive all other that the Romanists use, but the Primitive Church did not use? and for those which the Primitive used, and we retain not, why are we more guilty therein than the Romanists are, who certainly do the same thing, either in the same, or other instances, retain not all ceremonies which the Primitive Church observed, witness the standing, not kneeling in the service of God betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, and on every Sunday in the year, which sure was of antient Primitive, but is not of Modern Romane, any more than of English use,

use, and so proclaims the liberty of the *Churches* in retaining or not retaining, i. e. of choosing and culling out some ceremonies that are most salubrious, without burthening the Church with the greater weight and number of all, that have at any time been used.

10. As for our discipline, which he saith is too weak to hold us together in unity, professing fallibility being, saith he, too weak for that ] The answer is obvious, First, that pretension to infallibility is not discipline. Secondly, that the censures of the Church, which we are wont to understand by that phrase, are the same both with them and us, the weapons of our, as well as of their spiritual warfare, and the Apostle tells us, they are mighty through God, for the bringing down of strong holds, but with neither of us have that force, when sons of the Church rebel against, or cast off their Parents. And this is all that our experience tells us, that the censures have lost their force, since the Governors of the Church have been cast off, and I suppose the Church of Rome hath no fence against that; when any members of their Church renounce obedience to them, what force is there in respect of them, that do so, in all their thunderbolts?
11. In this place p. 257. after his answers to three particulars of the plea concerning our not being guilty of this schism against external Communion, here is a very excellent prize played; My fourth particular concerned all that under any of those three former heads, the Romanist requires us to add farther to that which we voluntarily receive. And before he will proceed to that fourth, he must once more look back and take a second survey of these three, like him that after once saying grace could not fall to his meat, till he had exercised his gifts in praising God better. And what was the designe of this? Why that in this review he might tell his reader one great mystery, which yet he had once revealed to him before, that D. H. who mentioned some things wherein he was no schismatick, omitted others wherein he was. But why did he not stay, till to the other three particulars these were added? The reason is evident, for then his exception, as far as there was any colour for it, had been prevented, the very next that follows, taking notice

notice of the *Principal*, and of all that are *material* of those, which he saith are omitted.

12. And then what doth this special enterprize of his amount to ? But this in effect, that *D. H.* having mentioned six things, he had yet gone through but *three* of them, which is most true, because *S. W.* at his *welchmans baite*, would needs stand still in the *midst*, when the very next *step* or *line*, had else certainly given him a *view* of the rest of them. And was not this a fair reason why he should thus glean after himself, review and pick over his *clusters* again, and minde his reader, beside those *answers* that were already given (and already proved to have no force in them) first that we had cast out the *Popes authority*, and secondly, had been guilty of *Sacriledge*, and again, denied obedience to their *Churches*, i. e. the *Popes authority*, and ruin'd religious houses, i. e. committed *sacriledge*; Where, as *sacriledge* is certainly (as hath been said long since) neither *schism* nor any branch or part of it (or if it were, the *Romanists* would finde good store of *schismaticks* among their own subjects) and as this is not the *fault* but the *miserie*, not the *guilt* but the *pest* of our *Church*, so the other is particularly named, and spoken to by me, in the fourth particular, and can no more be said to be omitted by me, than the former three which he hath survey-ed, might be said to be omitted, before he entred on the survey of them.

13. One thing indeed he mentions more, that we left out all the most sacred parts of their service books the Canon *Mass*, and what ever concern'd the heaven-propitiating sacrifice, and highest and soule-elevating act of religion; and again, that we took out of their *Mass* book only the slighter things which were enough to serve us to cry *Lord, Lord*. ] From this I acknowledge to learn two things to be affirmed by *S. W.* first, that we which retain in our services the prayers to the holy blessed and glorious Trinity, but do not take in prayers to *Saints* and *Angels*, are by *S. W.* judged to retain only the slighter things. Secondly, that the sacramental partaking of the real sacrifice of *Christs* body and blood, commemorative of that sacrifice once offered upon the *Cross*, and applying to us the propitiation of



that, if it be not yet farther, the *same* sacrifice offered now by the *Priests*, which was once offered on the *Cross*, and that by means of his *stupendous transubstantiating the Elements* into that very body (one of which *S. Augustine* tells us is a *savage thing*; and *S. Chrysostome*, that what the *Priest* there doth, is rather *ἀνάμνησις* than *συνία*, a commemoration of the sacrifice of *Christ*, than the sacrifice it self; and of the other, our reason assures us, that it implies many contradictions, and so impossibilities in it) is none of the most sacred parts, none of the *soule-elevating acts* of our religion. In all this I acknowledge we are not of *S. W.* his minde, nor have as yet discern'd in his temper any great effects of that *soule-elevating act of religion*, who yet I doubt not hath been at *Mass* in his dayes, and if our not opining with him in these particulars (to which our not practising is but consequent) must be schism after all, and we irremediably cast out from the *Romanists* peace and mercy, there is no help for it, that I know of, but by appealing to a more equal judge, then is our profest enemy in this matter.

14. At length he is perswaded to proceed to the fourth head, which was the consideration of the particulars, which the *Romanist* requires us, but we deny to receive, viz. the *Popes* Monarchick power over us, and the whole world, and the use of more ceremonies and festivals, of both which I affirmed that they were without precedent of the ancient Primitive Church, usurpations or impositions of the present *Romanists*. To these he hath nothing to say, but that the supremacy of the Pope was brought in 900. years agoe, (and they that now live were not alive then) proving it only from our granting of it, and that ceremonies and festivals are indifferent things, which 'tis lawfull for them to recommend to their Subjects.
15. To these I answer, First, that I said not of the *Popes* supremacy that it was an imposition of the present *Romanists*, but that that, and the other things mentioned, were usurpation or imposition of the present *Romanist*, and if it were usurpation (though of some former *Popes* before this last age) this will suffice to verifie my speech, and 'twas truly all that I meant by it, and he may have heard of him, that had a  
Legacy

*Legacy* given him either of the *black horse*, or *cow*, and suing the *executor* first for *one*, then for the *other* of them, was twice *non-suited*, till he laid his plea exactly by the words of the will, either for *one* or *other*. The same is *S. W.* his portion at this time. Secondly, That we in no wise grant, that for 900. years the *Pope* hath been possess of the *universal supremacy*, nor indeed acknowledged to have it in this *Island* of ours, witness the treatise of *schism* C. 6. throughout. And therefore this must be better proved than by our *concession*, and so needs no *refutation* from me, but that of *denying* it. Thirdly, That if the *Popes* power over us, were *usurped* only, and so we none of his *Legal Subjects*, he may then retain and exercise his power of multiplying *ceremonies* and *holy-days* over his own *subjects*, without our being at all concern'd in the *obligation* to observe them. And so much for his *third Section*.

## SECT. VI.

*Un sincere professors admitted to Communion, and such as may turn Schismatics. No paternal relation of Rome to us. The foundation. Tradition. Denying Romish Infallibility the great Schism.*

1. **H**IS fourth Section sets out with a full cry, wilfully misunderstanding my words, concerning our excluding no *Christian* from our *Communion*. By *Christian* he will understand all *nominal Christians*, who though by all the world else call'd *hereticks*, and which though they deny all the points of *Christs* doctrine, yet profess *Christs* name.
2. But first when I spake of *Christians*, it were hard that my words should indeed be understood of the quite contrary, of *hereticks*, and *assumers* of the name, without any of the reality of the *Christian faith*, that the word *Christian* must signifie, and be understood in the notion of *unchristian*, to enable *S. W.* to dispute, or confute me.

3. Thirdly,

3. Secondly, when I expounded *Christian*, by *such as hold the foundation &c.* must it still be suggested, that *all the no-Christians* are such, that *Simon Magus* himself (whom he here names in ranke with my *Christians*) do indeed acknowledge the foundation laid by *Christ and his Apostles*? I wish it were now considered, who is the hospitable friendly person, the most charitable to hereticks. 'Tis true indeed our Communion is such, that hypocrites who are not uprightly what they profess to be, may finde reception among us, ( but 'tis as true that hereticks continuing such are cast out by us ) Our judgement truly is not so invincible, that we can search mens hearts, or look into thole closets by any other perspective, than that which their actions and professions allow us. And I have not yet been assured that S. W. his infallible Church hath assumed to be scrutatrix cordium to have any sure test, to descry and purge out of its bowels all unsincere professors, that are not really what they pretend to be. I am sure S. Peter himself, to whom they pretend to owe their infallible chair, did baptize *Simon Magus*, when he had not *γυνώσκων* *αἰσθανόμενος* the genuine purpose, as S. Cyril saith of him, and so *ἐκφανίσθη* *ἀνὰ τὴν ἐκπόσιν*, had his body baptized, but not his minde illuminated, which he did not long disguise, but demonstrated it to all by very early actions. *Act. 8. 23.* and after proved the *πρωτότοκος τοῦ σατανᾶ* the first born of Satan, and beyond all the world beside, set himself against S. Peter, who had thus baptized, i. e. admitted him into his Church. And unless the modern glasses have helpt the Church of Rome to means of profounder inspection than S. Peter had then met with, I doubt not but they will upon consideration acknowledge, that hypocrites may impose on them, as well as us, and that those that are baptized into a Church, may heretically and schismatically oppose it, and that this is but common to men, and cannot hope to be remedied, untill Rome Christian, as well as Rome heathen assume to be deified, and to communicate the same divine nature to their frailer brethren. And now let S. W. say, if this be not the full importance of his first answer.

4. Next he is to please himself with my phrase of excluding none from

Cyr. Hieros.  
 Θεολογ. Π.  
 P. 2.

from Communion, that will either filially or fraternally embrace it with us, i. e. in plain terms, that the Governors of our Church do not causelessly excommunicate the sons of this Church, nor any true son of any other true Church, for all such they look on as brethren. And here he hath great Ouations, that we can admit none that will paternally communicate with us, that we have as much curtesie as may be, but not a dram of humility nor subiection to superiors ] But the matter is clear, we do not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome our superior. All that are so, we obediently live under, as many of us as are under authority, but do not exact from our English Primate that he should acknowledge another forraign supreme over him and us. And that is all the news S. W. hath told us in that paragraph.

5. Next when I say we acknowledge the foundation laid by Christ and his Apostles, he must first perswade his Reader, that I call him fool, and then ask Mr D. what he means by acknowledging the foundation laid by Christ and his Apostles? And who knows but I may again be accused of calling my Catechist fool, if I answer this question? But I shall do it in as secure a stile as I can, and assure him I mean, what I have written an intire treatise on, the *Depositu*m both in the scriptures and by Oral tradition of the Apostles committed to the Churches which they planted, of which the Church of Rome was one, and but one. And this supersedes ail the force of this Paragraph. For certainly more than this S. W. will not pretend himself to mean by the foundation (as p. 266. he confesses) only he hath a reserve, I know, that his Church must have the inclosure of the priviledge to expound to us infallibly, and tell us what this is, first to interpret Scripture, and then to testifie of tradition. And herein I doe not oblige my self to comply with him, as upon many other reasons, so upon this, because I have no infallible proof offered, nor any other indeed, besides their own affirming it, that they are infallible in either of these.
6. When the remainder of his displeasure falls on me for talking of fundamentals, and not naming what they are, I again answer, that I wrote a treatise of that subject, which was too big

big to come in by way of *parenthesis* in that place, and therefore staid for the *Presb.* till that of *Schism* was printed off. But saith he, if we thus interpret the foundation, we must admit only *Catholicks*, since only they (i. e. in his stile, only the *Romanists*) hold this foundation. For this I must not demand any proof or reason, but am to look on it, as one of S. W. his *indemonstrable principles*, which are to be confirm'd only *a posteriori*, by his saying it, or by some such like *irrefutable Topick*, and howsoever severe an exacter he is of probations from others, I shall not so much as expect from him, that he shall afford that any probation.

7. But it seems his heart misgave him, after the delivery of those words, for fear we should grant him his *position*, and according to his *argument* oblige our selves to admit the *Romanists* to our *Communion* (which yet he knows we never refused them, if they would *sincerely* come to it) and therefore he presently *retracts* again, we must not, saith he, admit them neither, being it seems resolved, that the ball of contention shall be held up for ever; otherwise I assure him we should not yet break with him upon those terms, which alone here he mentions. Since, saith he, you deny this way of bringing down faith to be sufficient, it follows that you must not admit *Catholicks* neither. But what is this way, which he saith we acknowledge not to be sufficient? why he had before set down that, the *solid sense* of *Christs* law written and planted in the tables of mens hearts by the *Apostles*, and thence by a well linked chain of *universal tradition* derived to our times. This being all, and tradition, or planting in mens hearts no way excluding written traditions, which we ordinarily call *Scripture* (for 'twere hard that a thing should be the less delivered by the *Apostles*, because it was written by them) I shall yet continue my *hospitable* humor, and resolving this *solid sense* of *Christs* law derived from the *Apostles* to our times by *universal tradition* to be perfectly sufficient (say S. W. what he please) to all that thus receive it, and live by it, I shall admit S. W. upon this profession to our *Communion*, and then I hope, if he be not one of those *nominal Christians*, which even now he talkt of, there might be an end of this controversy.

8. But

8. But the fit of railing seifeth him again in the next paragraph, and the mention of our earnest desire to have the freedom of external Communion with others, and the addition of a very few words of Scripture, the one heart and one lip, hath under the notion of preaching, so put him out of all patience, that his pen never dropt ranker gall since the beginning of his work; and truly we that are wont not to invite, but to debort railers from our Communion, are not, whilst he is in this moode, very fond of beeing admitted into his company. Only by the way we shall learn from him (because fits of rage bring forth mens own thoughts undisguisedly, and so deliver some truth) what is the only impediment of our readmission to his favour and Communion. First, if we will but reacknowledge a certainty, and secondly, the never erring rule of Faith, and thirdly, the voice of the Church, i. e. three sounds to the same sense, then we shall be received with open arms &c. From whence I conclude, that all our schism consists in not acknowledging the Romane infallibility, and so that we dispute in vain all this while, whilst we speak on any other theme but that.
9. And truly I that have written a full tract on that, long before, in defense of the Lord of Falkland against the answer and reply of the Romanist, did not think I was again bound to reprint that, and croud it into this period.

## SECT. VII.

*The Romanists excommunicate. The Liturgie their only grievance. Reformation no Schism. Our excommunicating the Romanists, how groundd.*

1. **N**OW follows his attempt of answers to my sixth particular, which said that the impediments which obstruct external communion are only imputable to them, First because the Pope excommunicated all Catholicks that came to our assemblies. ] And his answer is, was it not well done think you? ] And that



is but the *acknowledging* all I there affirmed : For if they cast us out from all external fraternal Communion, and justify their having done it, then 'tis not imputable to us, that we separated from them. What motives they had to do this, belongs only to that other dispute, whether or no we were justly excommunicated by them, and that cannot be debated here, without resuming the consideration of the several Acts of our Reformation, which is again to recite the greatest part of this Book ; For sure it must not for ever be supposed without proof, as here he doth, that we maintain heretical doctrines ; Or if it must, yet secondly, unless some of our heresies be inserted in our liturgie ( which now when he had most provocation to assume, he hath not pretended ) 'tis still that Papal Bull that hindred their joyning with us in our Liturgie, and nothing in our Liturgie it self ; Thirdly, all that here he pretends for the justice of that Bull, is, that holding us hereticks they could not reasonably let the people goe to be taught false doctrine, to hear the Popes supremacy rail'd at as Antichristian &c. ] And that is in effect to excommunicate nothing but our Sermons, for those only have at any time been guilty of what is here objected, and then also I may demand, why the same Bull did not excommunicate Pope Gregories Epistles ( or him for his Epistles, as Honorius was after his death condemned for an heretick ) which makes it a character of Antichrist for any one to assume to be Universal Bishop ? However by this arguing it is supposed, that they might have been permitted to come to our liturgie when there was no Sermon : And yet we know their practice ( and that is our best witness of their opinion of the obligation ) is quite contrary. They can read our Books, where all that our Sermons can say, may be said, as largely, and as bitterly and they can for curiosity be present at our Sermons too ; And in brief 'tis only our liturgie, with which they cannot have any peace, and yet certainly this hath none of the pretended heresie in it.

2. Next he hath no patience that we should affirm that the Bull in the tenth of Q. Elizabeth was the cause of the separation, when first, saith he, I have laid out knot by knot how the unity of the Church was unloosed in the time of Henry the eighth &c. in casting

casting out the Papal authority out of this Island | And therefore he will press this over again, and when he hath done so with all his Rhetorick, I may yet satisfie my self with what hath been already answered, that the Pope had never duely any supreme power over this, nor universal over all Nations, and that renouncing an usurper, casting off a barely pretended power, is no rejection of an authority, for by that I must suppose a real, and not an assumed power to be signified.

3. The same answer is sufficient to the other part of his charge, concerning our forsaking their doctrines and practises; I doubt not but we receded, and that voluntarily from those, which we with the Romanists had formerly been used to; but reforming an error will never be a schism, though S. W. be in never so ill humor about it, we may depart from our own ill habits, and yet not depart from our selves, forsake the riots, wherein we had gone on with our intemperate brethren, and still keep external Communion with them, and never need the recalling of our youthful sins to make our company the better. So that still it remains, that if external Communion with any other fellow Christian may be preserved without acknowledging the Popes Supremacy (and to suppose it may not, is to beg the question of the whole Book,) and without continuing of erroneous doctrines and practises (and such we are ready to prove those to be which we have left) we never schismatically departed from their external Communion, untill we were cast out, nor would ever voluntarily have gone from any thing that was Christian in them (such, I presume, is external Communion of Christians) if we had not been violently removed from it.

4. As for our rejecting Romane Catholicks from our Assemblies, upon their avowed contumacy against the orders of our Church, which he next presseth, that sure is no more, than every national Church is accustomed to do, as long as such discipline is like to prove to edification, else the Censures were useles in the Church. And when he desires to know, why the Church of Rome might not do the like, or why she had not as great authority over those who were once hers, as our Church over those who were never ours? The answer is obvious, because this Nation of ours neither is, nor ever

duly was part of the *Bp. of Romes Territorie*, nor can be pretended to be so, without manifest violation of the *Canons* of those *Conncels* which the *Pope* himself hath sworn to preserve; whereas every native by *baptism* entred into the *Church of England*, is duely and by force of all *antient Canons* a member of the *Church of England*, under this or that *Bishop* or *Metropolitane*, and so it is not the same punishable crime, to have cast out an undue usurped *sovrain power*, as to persist in contumacie and separation from an undoubted unquestionable just power of our immediate superiors. And so still this shews on which side the *schism* truly lies chargeable.

## SECT. VIII.

*The charge of Pride averted. Confession of fallibility. Questioning the Romish infallibility, our Pride. Disbeliefs caused by pretended pride, make not all Communion unlawfull, much less excusable error without Pride.*

1. **T**O my second reason, by which I proved the breach to lie on their side, their imposing such conditions on our Communion, that we cannot subscribe without sin against conscience. His answer is, that this is a sinful pride of our understanding to disbelieve all our teachers, and yet to acknowledge ourselves but fallible in our contrary belief ] By the frame of this objection compared with the Romanists great principle of infallibility, one would think, that if not the maine, yet some part of this our sinful pride charged on us, consisted in thinking our selves fallible, or in pretending conscience for the believing of any thing, whilst we acknowledge our selves fallible; If this were it, then the only way to amend this fault or error, were to assume infallibility, for then 'tis certain, that this could be no ingredient in our charge, either for the constituting, or aggravating our crime, that we acknowledge our selves fallible. But what crime so ever this will be deemed in us, 'twill not be pride certainly, and it must, if it be any thing,

thing, be our *sinfull humility*. But if this be not it ( as I cannot indeed suppose, that he that counts *infallibility* the prerogative, and peculiarity of his *own Church*, should really think it our fault that we *confess our selves fallible* ) what then is it wherein our *sinfull pride* consists? It must be sure set down in these words, that we *disbelieve all our teachers*, and *think our selves to understand more of Gods minde than all the world before us.* ] But then this affirmation wanted some proof, for sure we do not *disbelieve all our teachers*. The word of God *written and unwritten* ( such as appears to be so ) and deposited by the *Apostles* in the *Church*, is certainly our lesson or *ἰσχυρὸν*, and our teachers *διδασκαλοι*, are *living guides*, our *Bishops*, using the assistance of the *Priests*, and if the later corrupted *Church of Rome* were our teacher also ( as indeed it assumed that office ) before the *Reformation*, yet sure it was not *all our teachers*, or *all the world* before us; The *Primitive purest times*, from whence we had *confestly* our *Creeds*, and all our *necessary doctrine*, must not ( to gratifie S. W. ) be quite turned out of the world. So that again our *enormous pride* is crumbled away into this one *atome* of *questioning* the *Romish pretensions* of *infallibility*, of comparing and preferring the *antient humble*, before the *modern assuming Church of Rome*, which as S. W. calls *pride*, so others that are as *disintereffed* as he, call *necessary caution* and *prudence*, and making use of the best means that God hath afforded us, of *judging truth* by, and a *necessary care* neither to *violence* our *faculties*, by *forcing* them to see, what with the utmost of our *intention* we cannot *discern*, nor to *charm* our *consciences*, by *dissembling* and *professing* the *contrary* to our *present conviction*. As for the *Church of Rome* being our *Master* and *Father* and *Mother* ( which is again the *postulatum*, without which his *argument* is not able to proceed one step ) he knows what is the name of that *Elench*, it having, next *contumelie* ( to which all other must be content to yield the *deference* ) deserved more of him for the filling up his *pages*, than all his other *materials* together.

2. If it were certainly *pride*, that produced all our *disbeliefs*, which brought us under the *Romane Censures*, I should not doubt

doubt to yield to him that we are to *blame our selves*, so far as to the occasion of our *disunion*. But when the matter in hand is but their *surmise* of our *pride*, and when the question is of the *lawfulness* of their retaining with us *external Communion fraternal* (for that is the only thing that in this latter part of the treatise I undertook to consider) I see no convincing reason why a *Romanist* which may possibly be as proud as I, or however, not free from all other *filthiness* of the *flesh* or *spirit*, and knows more of it by *himself* than by me, may not lawfully hold *external Communion* with me, and those others, who may possibly be (though without revelation he cannot be sure they are) *guilty of pride*? Suppose a *Romanist* should be *drunk*, yea and vent some *heretical pravity* in this *distemper*, were it *unlawful* for another *Romanist* of the same particular *Diocess* with him, before, or without his *immediate superiors* *Excommunicating* him, to preserve *Christian society*, or were it necessary to renounce all *external Communion* with him? If it shall be said, it were, instead of exacting the *reason* of the *affirmation*, I shall again ask, but what if he only *surmised* the other to be *drunk*, and the *doctrine* he vented to be *heretical*, and this upon no other proof of the truth of his *surmise*, but only because he express himself to think somewhat, which was contrary to the *Romanists* sense in *religion*, which of what moment soever it were, it were yet confessed, that if he did believe it without any fault of his own (if it were not caused in him by *drink* or such other *distemper*) twere but a *blameless*, at least *excusable mistake* in him; would that *Romanist* think himself in conscience obliged to break *Communion* with such a man, only by force of the *Popes Bull* for *excommunicating* of *hereticks*? If he would not, I should be glad to be shew'd the disparity betwixt that last case, and the case set down here by S. W. in these words [ *If it were pride* (that is if not signifying possibly any more, than that he *thinks* it was *pride* in us) which made you think otherwise, then it is not *innocency* in you, or sufficient excuse for your *Non-Communion* ] In the mean, I suppose it is clear from his very *affirmation*, that 'tis our *antecedent pride* that makes us *schismaticks*, and neither our sub-

sequent

sequent doctrine nor practice; for schism being the great unexcusable sin now objected against us, that which makes us unexcusable, must be it that makes us schismatics. And then I am sure that being a vice of the minde lies open only to Gods, cannot come under S. W. his cognizance, and that is all that I need reply to that answer.

3. On occasion of my offering to contest our Negatives by grounds that all good Christians ought to be concluded by, he first asks what these grounds are? Whether any infallible authority? But to that we have oft spoken already. Secondly, whether I think our Saviours command to hear the Church be such a ground? And that question being propounded by the Cath. Gent. is alio answered already, Repl. Ch. 9. Sect. 1. and what he hath added to it by way of amplification, hath both in that, and the Reply been distinctly prevented, and so there remains no more of his fourth Sect.

## SECT. IX.

Of judging. S. W. his pretended moderation. Our not hearing any other Church. His impossible affirmations of their infallibility. One faith. S. Cyprians temper Pope Stephanus's temper. Cyprians words to Cornelius. The privilege of the Roman See in Cyprians time. Cyprians behaviour to it. Firmilian of Stephanus. S. W. his sense of Faith without knowledge. Difference betwixt fundamentals and superstructures.

1. **H**is fifth Sect. is designed for justification of the Romanists charity in judging and despising us, and first for judging: And he presumes he hath given u testimonies of their great moderation, as well as no uncharitableness, that when we acknowledge no Church to be heard, he makes us only Schismatics and hereticks, and doth not advance to those harsh terms which our Saviour himself hath laid down, of accounting us heathens and Publicans ] But first I may have leave



leave to demand how he which thinks those words of *Christ* to belong to us, as we stand ( *truly* ) chargeable of *not* hearing the Church of Rome, can avoid proceeding to that higher pitch, or harsher terms, of accounting us very *heathens and Publicans*? Or if those words do not at all belong to us, how then from them he can justify his milder *Censures* of judging us *schismaticks* and *hereticks*? The Dilemma is obvious, either that text of *Mat.* 18. 17. is his direction for his judging of us, or it is not; If it be, how can he escape accounting us *heathens and Publicans*? If it be not, how can it justify his calling us *hereticks*? or indeed to what purpose was it at all produced in this matter? Secondly, is it indeed true, and doth not S. W. *prevaricate* when he pretends to thus much moderation, as to bestow on us those milder, and not proceed to the other harsher terms against us? He hath by and by these words. *How can we then, seeing evidently they heard not any Church judge otherwise than that our Saviours words are true, i. e. that they are in a sad condition* ] and then what that sad condition must signifie, 'tis easy to resolve, from the presumed truth of those words of *Christ*, thus applied to us. And I am sure we have these words in their Canon Law, *Peccatum paganitatis incurrit, quisquis dum Christianum se asserit, Sedi Apostolica obedire contemnit*, He incurs the crime of *heathenisme*, whosoever affirming himself a Christian contemns the Apostolick See, citing the words of *Samuel*, and the application of *Pope Gregory* the seventh, that disobedience is the sin of *witchcraft*; and non acquiescing as the sin of *Idolatry*. And it being certain on one side, that we do profess our selves *Christians*, and yet think not our selves obliged to obey the See of Rome, nor consequently have paid that obedience thereunto, I see not how those principles, which have carried S. W. so far as he professes, should set him down, before they had brought him home to that highest and most immoderate pitch.

2. But then thirdly, whatsoever our lot be, we must still insist, that the *Romane Church* hath no due claim to our obedience by any right devolved to them from *Christ* or his *Apostles*, or the ancient *Canons*, and so still we are really safe from the penalty

nality of [*si ecclesiam non audieris*] though we have not paid the desired obedience to that See; And till S. W. hath proved the justice of their claim, and of that consequence, that he that hears not their Church, and yet hears his own, doth yet acknowledge no Church to be heard, he will never be able to justify the charity of their judging us, upon force of that text.

3. And when he father extends his words, that at our Reformation we joynd not our selves with any other Church whom we might be said to heare ] the answer is obvious that a national Church, *αὐτονόμος*, independent from any other forrain jurisdiction, needed not to joyn with any other Church, as to hear, i. e. in Christs sense, to obey that; The fraternal Communion is all that is our duty in respect of others, the filial, or that of subordination or subiection was not incumbent on us; And sure S. W. that doth not pretend that the Greek or any other Church, save only the See of Rome hath authority over us, had much forgot himself, when he made this any part of our charge, that we joyn'd not with, so as to hear any other Church.
4. His second ground, on which he justifies their judging to be no uncharitableness, is the infallibility of their Church, which saith he, *their ancestors have beleieved ever since Christs doctrine dawning to the dark world* ] which is in effect, that the Church of Rome was infallible before it was, had its inerrability before it's beeing (for without doubt Christs doctrine did thus first dawn to the dark, i. e. the Gentile world, before it illuminated the Roman Climate, many other Churches of the Gentiles having received the faith more early than that of Rome) but also that it's infallibility was thus antiently believed; By whom he tels us not, but hath set it in such large pompous terms, that it is not only not true, but not passible, by any other means, save that of divination; And of this we have not heard that any antient Augur hath predicted, and now I suppose 'tis too late, so many hundred years after, for S. W. to take that office upon him. In a word, to judge us hereticks, and defend the charity of it, because their Church is infallible, to prove that infallible because they have

believed it so, and for the confirming of that, to vouch no one testimony, and yet to resolve, that so 'twas believed before it was possible either to be, or to be believed, is the pregnant and solid way of probation, by which his charity is defended beyond all possible confute in the second place.

5. His third way of propugning it is that text of scripture, *One faith, one hope, one baptism*, from whence he resolves that either they or we must erre against faith under penalty of maintaining a contradiction, and then by Christs words he that beleeves not is condemned already, he that is certain he beleeves, and hath that one faith, cannot make conscience of judging the other, since the other is condemned already; Nay, saith he, if he judge him not to be judged already, he must judge himself to be a selfe-judg'd unbeliever ] And then, beyond all expectation, here is suddenly a cry raised, of the *Doctors blundring*, and *destroying all reason*, and that serves for a new made-dish in the bill of fare, to fill up the one and thirtieth room at his table: To this plea of his the answer were already given, if we had but as little charity, or so much ill language as he, to call him *heretick*, or any other such ill name, which he can frankly bestow on us, for then the one faith being as strongly, i. e. by our own words, confirm'd to be on our side, as it is now concluded to be on his, by his own presumption; there were no syllable behinde to be farther answered. But without making use of such an *auxiliary*, which I so much dislike in him, I answer secondly,
6. That each of us may very possibly have imbraced that one faith, which the *Apostle* speaks of, nay 'tis most evident each hath; For what was that one faith, but those articles of belief, which were then deposited in all Churches, and into which all Christians were baptized in that one baptism? And 'tis certain both they, and we have uniformly received that in the *Apostolick Creed*, as that from the traditions, which in every Church were to be met with, was explained by the *Nicene Fathers*, and established by that, and the following *Oecumenical Councils* to be the one faith of all Christians.
7. Our agreement therefore in all these heads of faith, is no doubt sufficient to give us title joyntly to that one Faith,  
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and for other differences which are reconcileable with the believing of these, be they true or false, they are certainly no part of this faith. If they shall appear to be true, they are like Gold built on the foundation, and so superstructure not foundation; if they be false (as we must believe your additions to be, and we that have no additions at all, cannot be accused by you for what we have not) they are then the combustible matter, the hay and stubble, which will take fire, as soon ever that triall comes. Herein therefore evidently lies the difference betwixt you and us. We conceive you guilty of many fowle errors, but yet do not pronounce you unbelievers, because the one faith deposited in the Church is received, and not rejected by you, but you that have no cause to pretend, that we have superstruck any such positive errors, and yet as little doubt, but we have received the one faith, as that signifies the Apostles depositum, or the Nicene Fathers explication of it, from the tradition of the Church, do yet accuse, and condemne us as unbelievers, because we receive not all other doctrines, that your Church (contrary to the exprefs command of the Ephesine Fathers) hath thought fit to impose on us. And our telling you this, brings upon us a worse censure yet, the charge of destroying our reason, as well as our faith; He that will say what we now say, must it seems, be sent a grasng with Nebuchadnezzar, we were infidels before, but now we are become irrational; Ere we accused you of uncharitableness, we were but heathens, but since, we are metamorphosed into brutes. And this is the sum of S. W. his third defence or Apologie for his judging us. I see 'tis our wisest way not to complain, lest some ruder fate still remain for us, as the proof that he is not uncharitable.

8. His fourth defence is, that their judging may indeed be error, but malice or uncharitableness it cannot ] But this having been the Cath. Gent. his allegation, hath received it's answer in the Reply, ch. 10.

9. What he answers to the words of S. Cyprian, *neminem damnantes, neminem à communione nostrà arcentes*, that he speaks of his own temper towards the rest of Gods Church (and that about a private opinion only) but neither he, nor any other Father

admitted to their communion those who had been condemned by all the Churches in communion with the See of Rome ] comes now next to be considered, and to it I shall answer these few things. First, that my words having on purpose designed to shew the likeness of our, and the unlikeness of the *Romanists temper*, to that of *Cyprian*, and consequently the danger of *schism* to them from judging of us, if this be granted, as necessarily it must, that this was *Cyprians temper*, and that this ought to be other mens *temper* also on the like occasions, this is all that I need ask in this matter. For that this rule should be no farther applicable than to the matter of the present difference betwixt *S. Cyprian* and others, concerning the *baptisme* of hereticks, or that it is not equally (by parity of reason) to be extended to all other differences which touch not the foundation, there is no other reason here rendered, but that this of *rebaptization* was not, but these other matters of difference between the *Romanists* and us are defined by the Church: To this then I answer, first, that the contrary to *S. Cyprians* opinion was at that time defined by the then-Bishop of Rome, and earnestly maintained by him, and some others with him, as shall by and by appear. Secondly, that betwixt the *Romanist* and us, the question being principally this, whether the *Romane Church* have done well to enter so many new articles into their belief, and to exact the profession of them from all that are admitted to their Communion, quite contrary to the express interdict of the *Ephesine Canon* so often mentioned, and withall the matter of those articles being so farr from infallible or certain truth, that we doubt not to evidence of some of them, that they implicate a contradiction, and so an impossibility to be true, and the ground on which all are founded at once, the *Roman infallibility*, being it self farr from being induced by any infallible medium; These things I say, being considered, I desire that *Cyprians temper*, may be compared with the temper of those that thus defined these articles *de fide*, and in what degree soever it shall appear, that the making those definitions *de fide*, and condemning and excluding all that cannot uprightly and cordially imbrace them, hath been contrary to *S. Cyprians temper* and rule for the

the preserving the unity of the Church, so far those decrees may be rescinded, and cassate, or if not, still I suppose it clear, that this is quite contrary to *S. Cyprians* rule, and that all the judging and excommunicating of others, that is consequent to this, is as the principle it self, to which it is consequent, i. e. destructive to the peace of the Church, and that is schismatical. Thus I am sure \* *Firmilianus*, and the \* *Inter Cyp. Eastern Bishops* with him pronounce of *Stephanus Bishop of Epist. 75. Rome, lites & dissensiones &c.* What contentions and divisions have you caused (saith he) through the Churches of the whole world? What a great sin have you heaped on your self, whilst you have cut of your self from so many flocks or Churches, for you have cut off your selfe. Doe not deceive your self, for sure he is truly a schismatick, who hath made himself an Apostate from the Communion of Ecclesiastick union, for whilst you think you may excommunicate all from you, solum te ab omnibus abstinisti, you have excommunicated your self alone from all others. And so on, much more to the same purpose. 117.

10. Thirdly, Because it is here by *S. W.* suggested, that as *Cyprian* knew very well what belonged to Church order and discipline, so neither he nor any other Father admitted to Communion those who had been condemned by the *Romane See*, and the Churches in Communion with that ] I desire it may be remembered, first, what difference there was betwixt the condition of the *Romane See* in *Cyprians*, and in these dayes, no one of those doctrines were then defined, which now are by them defined and imposed on all communicants, no infallibility of that Church assumed or pretended, No monarchick authority over all other Churches and Bishops, as appears most evidently by those very words of *Cyprian*, Ep. 55. to *Cornelius*, which *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* make such use of to the contrary, when on occasion of *Cornelius's* receiving some to his Communion, which *Cyprian* had censured, he tells him that this is the great cause of schisms and heresies in the Church, quod sacerdos Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos & ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur, that the Bishop is not obey'd, that he which is alone the Bishop and judge in Christs stead, is not considered as such \* *Famel. Ed. p. 68.*



*such*, i. e. that when *Cyprian* and *such* as he, had excommunicated offenders, the *Bishop of Rome* received them to his *Communion*, as the \* rest of the *Epistle* makes it evi-

\* *Pax vera falsa pacis mendacio tollitur, salutaris finis matris noverca intercedente precluditur &c.* p. 69. *Honor ergo datur Deo, cum sublata penitentia nec ulla exomologesi facta despectis Episcopis atque calcatis — communicatio non communicantibus offeratur ? Ibid.* *Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis — ut unusquisque sua causa illic audiat ubi est crimen admissum, & singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit ascripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, rationem sui actus domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus presumus non circumcurfare, nec Episcoporum concordiam coherentem sua subdola! & fallaci temeritate collidere —* Ib. p. 70. *Nec utilis aut consultus est pastor qui ita morbidas oves gregi admisceat —* Ib. *Nulla cum talibus commercia copulentur — finis ab eis tam separati quam sunt illi de ecclesia profugi —* p. 71. \* *Cont. 2. Ep. Pelag l. 1.*

dent; His words also of *Pope Stephan* in the beginning of *Ep. 74. ad Pompeium*, abundantly evidence the same, being written with that sharpness, that was not agreeable from an inferior to his superior pastor. All that then belong'd to the *See of Rome* *S. Augustine* sets down, by \* pre-eminence in celsiori fastigio specula pastoralis, in the higher roof of the *Pastoral watch Tower*, which he there makes reconcileable with

the communis cura omnibus nobis qui fungimur Episcopatus officio, the common care and solicitude of all Bishops, including evidently the *Bishop of Rome* in that number. And as long as this equality of power (allowing the *Bishop of Rome* the dignity of place) was thus preserved, it could be no prejudice to any other, that none that was denied *Communion* by the *Bishop*, should be allowed it by other *Bishops*, the same *Canonical* reason obliging him, that he should not receive any, that were excommunicated by any other *Bishop*. But then secondly, when the *Bishop of Rome* did not thus discharge his duty to other *Bishops* and *Churches*, the dignity of the *Romane See* it self did not free him from the note of *Schism* and *heresie*, as is also most evident in the passages betwixt *S. Cyprian* and *Pope Stephanus*, when *Stephanus* had failed in his part, nostrum est, saith he, *Ep. 67. consulere & subvenire, qui gubernanda Ecclesia libram tenet: es —* It is my part to consult and aid, who hold the balance of the Church — then admonishes him of his duty, Quapropter facere te oportet — and, *Dirigantur in Provinciam a te literæ*; And *Ep. 74.* he tells

tells Pompeius of Stephanus, *hæreticorum causam contra Christianos & contra Ecclesiam Dei asserere conatur*, he endeavours to assert the cause of hereticks against Christians, and against the Church of God, and, *magis ac magis errorem ejus denotabis*, thou shalt more and more observe his error, accusing him of impertinence and contrariety to himself, unskilfull and imprudent passages in his decree, which may serve for a competent intimation, what respect S. Cyprian bare to that See of Rome when the Bishop thereof misbehaved himself.

11. 'Twill not be amiss here to recite what S. Augustine resolved in this matter. In his Book *de Unic. Bapt. Contra Pelag.* c. 14. he makes this comparison betwixt these two Bishops of Carthage and Rome, Cyprian and Steven, *Duo erant eminentissimarum Ecclesiarum Episcopi, ambo in unitate Catholica constituti. Quorum Stephanus baptismum Christi in nullo iterandum censebat, & hoc facientibus graviter succensebat, Cyprianus autem in hæresi vel schismate baptizatos, tanquam non habentes baptismum Christi, baptizandos in Ecclesia Catholica existimabat, multi cum illis, quidam etiam cum isto sentiebant, utrique cum eis in unitate consistentes.* There were two Bishops of most eminent Churches, both in Catholick unity, Steven resolved that the baptism of Christ was not to be iterated in any, and was very angry with them that did it: Cyprian thought that those that had been baptized in schism or he else as not having: he baptism of Christ (some of those hereticks denying the Holy Ghost, as he elsewhere presseth) should be baptized in the Catholick Church, many were of his mind, and some of Stephens &c. Here now is the full meaning of the words, which I briefly cited out of Cyprian, when Cyprian was on one side, and the Pope on another in a contest, that divided the Christian world into different opinions, the Pope pretending Apostolical tradition for his side, and vehemently insisting on it, S. Cyprian adhered to his opinion, opposed and refused the Popes position and his pretention to tradition (as appears by

\* Firmilianus in his confutation of Stephens Epistle) and never \* *Cypr. Ep. 75. Quantum ad id pertineat quod Stephanus dixit quasi Apostoli prohibuerint, & hoc custodiendum Apostolis tradiderint, plenissime vos respondistis, neminem tam stultum esse qui hoc credat Apostolos tradidisse — Stephanus infamans Petrum & Paulum quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint.*

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\* Cyr. Ed.  
Pamel. p. 115.

yeilded to him it it, and yet would not condemn and break Communion either with him, or with those that joynd with him. Adde unto this what \* Firmilianus farther affirms, *Eos qui Roma sunt non ea in omnibus observare que sunt ab origine tradita, & frustra Apostolorum auctoritatem pretendere* --- that they at Rome do not observe all those things that were from the beginning, and that they do in vain pretend the Apostles authority, that customs Apostolical are varied by diversity of times and places, nec tamen propier hoc ab Ecclesia Catholica pace atque unitate discessum est, and yet men never brake the peace and unity of the Catholick Church for this, and that when they seem to oppose custome to truth, no man can be so vain, as to think that a good plea, or any better than the Jews would be for the rejecting Christianity, or upon that account to refuse to leave darkness when he sees the light, telling Cyprian that this was the Africans case against Stephen, and that they to the custome of the Romans opposed a custome a'so but that of truth, *ab initio hoc tenentes quod à Christo & ab Apostolo traditum est*, holding from the beginning what was delivered by Christ and the Apostle.

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Cyr. Ed. Pam.  
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12. This then was another part of S. Cyprians temper to prefer that which he resolved to be true Apostolical tradition, before that which the Romanes pretended to be such, and yet not to break Communion with them, whereas Stephanus (saith Firmilianus, at that time dissenting from so many Bishops over the world, brake the peace with all of them, sometimes with the Eastern, sometimes with the Southern or Africanes, would not admit their legates to any speech with him, forbad receiving them into their houses, denied them not only peace and communion, but house and entertainment. Whereupon Firmilian asketh this question, Is this the keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace? to cut himself off from the unity of charity in all things, to estrange himself from his brethren, and contra sacramentum & fidem continuacis furore discordia rebellare, to rebell against sacrament and saith by the furie of obstinate dissention? and then concludes, *& tamen non pudet Stephanum*, and yet Stephen is not ashamed to patronize and defend hereticks against the Church, and for the vindicating of them to divide the Church,
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and call Cyprian a false Christ, false Apostle, deceitful workman. Whatsoever S. Cyprians temper and practice was, it seems Pope Stephens was not so meek. Here is breach of Communion on his part, and yet the farr greatest part of the world held communion with Cyprian, when the Romane See, and those that were in communion with that, had thus divided themselves from him.

13. All this I hope may suffice to vindicate my vouching of Cyprians temper and rule of peaceableness, against the contrary practice and humor of the Romanist; I shall be glad now to hear, whether S. W. take any joy in the commendation that he bestowed on that Father, that he knew what belonged to Church order and discipline. For if he did, I hope we that have so exactly transcribed his copy, in this particular, have not offended against either.
14. What he here adds of my admitting all to our Church that call themselves Christians ] was formerly shew'd to be a calumnie. And for the short but keen touch of an opinionative faith, which he mentions on occasion of my supposing that the differences between him and us, are but differences in opinion, saying that he sees no reason we should trouble our selves to write Books in defence of an opinionative faith, and adding, It were better in that case to eat and drink, shake hands and be merry, nor trouble our selves with thinking whether there be a heaven or no, which we can never come (the ground of faith being but an opinion) to any certain knowledge of. ] I should hope this signifies that S. W. is advanced very nere to an end of his prizes, for sure he will never be able much to transcend this pitch, which he hath here arrived to.
15. To it I answer, first, that I had thought that faith is by all men distinguish'd from knowledge, and that how certain, and undoubted soever the grounds of it are, yet being of things not seen; or inevident, knowledge in strict sense it cannot be; And I had thought that this was it, that made Faith and the works of faith to highly rewardable, that it is of things not seen or inevident, nay oft contradictory to the light of natural reason, or experience to flesh and blood &c. whereas the consenting to a demonstration, which alone is science or knowledge
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hath not been thought so *magnanimous* and *heroical*, and consequently *rewardable* an act, nor (by the same reason) the state of *vision* and *comprehension*, which is our *reward* rather. And therefore it cannot but be very strange to my ears to hear such *conclusions* as these, so bluntly, and without all *provocation* calmly delivered, that it were better to eat --- i. e. turn *Atheists*, than only to entertain our selves with a belief of heaven, without any certain knowledge of it.

16. But passing this by, mee thinks it should be possible enough that there might be some difference betwixt the clear doctrines of *Scripture* ( that *Christ Jesus* came into the world to save sinners, and the like, the several articles of the *Apostles Creed* ) on one side, and all the additions and superstructions of the *Romanists* on the other; There are I presume, but two wayes imaginable to make them of equal certainty, either their being all equally delivered by the same authority of *Apostolick tradition*, or by the same *Infallible* testifier, the *Church of Rome*. And as there is very little proof for the former of these, the *Apostolick tradition* being no way evidenced for the particulars in debate, so for the later, (beside many other) methinks the example even now brought of *Pope Steven*, should *ad hominem* at least, to S. W. be a competent prejudice against it.
17. The doctrine which he taught against S. *Cyprian*, the *Roman See* then taught as eagerly as could be, affirmed and testified it to be *Apostolical tradition*, and *custome* of the *Church*, and as many as in this adhered to him, must be supposed to have done the like, ( and S. *Austin* himself in many whole Books together confesseth, that the truth was on *Stevens* side, though the charity and humility on S. *Cyprians* ) and so if the *Romane See* be *infallible* either in affirming or defining; or in testifying of *Apostolical tradition*, this doctrine of *Stevens* must be as certain and indubitable, as any article of the *Credo*. And yet S. W. himself hath even now confest, that this was but matter of *Opinion*, or about a private opinion only, and then I hope by parity of reason, I may be allowed to have learnt from him the same language, and to assume, that the doctrine of transubstantiation, nay of the infallibility of the

the Church of Rome, is no article of the *Apostles Creed* in our account, ought not to be so in the *Romanists*, and therefore in any reason they ought not to *damne* us, to drive us from their *Communion*, for not assenting to these *opinionative articles*, or if they do, that this is an ill *reason*, or *indication*, that the *schism* is on their side, (wheresoever the truth should be found to be) if we may judge by *S. Cyprians* rule, or by *S. Augustines* answer to the *Donatists*, often objecting *Cyprian* in defence of their own *rebaptization*, viz. that *Cyprian* erring in that point, with so much, and so constant *charity* and *humility*, was to be preferr'd before *Steven* maintaining the truth with so much pride, and uncharitableness; And thus we also know in the *quartodeciman Controversie*, though the truth was on *Victors* side, (as I have no obligation now to yield it on the *Romanists*) yet was he justly reprehended by *Irenæus* for his pride in cutting off from *Communion* the *Asian Bishops* for the contrary error.

18. What he adds in the last place, about *begging the question*, is soon answered, that I count it not a *begging of the question* in the *Romanist* to call us *schismaticks* when we deny and offer to prove the contrary, but their bare calling us so, without any offer of proof for it, or the supposing it sufficiently proved, and taking it for granted, and from thence building conclusions upon it, as on a principle, when it is not proved with any *Solidity*, and when at that very time, when 'tis taken for granted, it is known to be the principal, if not only question, as in this present controversy, whether we are *schismaticks* or no, it is most manifest.

19. As for his good words which, before he leaves this first part of judging others, he must needs bestow upon my arguing, that it equally favours the perfectest *schismaticks* that can be imagined ] it appears before this what truth there is in them; If *S. Cyprian* and such as he be the perfectest *schismaticks* imaginable, then he hath aimed something right, but otherwise he hath not, for he hath been the measure, by which alone I have directed my arguing in this matter.



## SECT. X.

*Of Despising. Breach of equal Communion, when just, when Schismatical. S. W. his notion of Tradition, useless to him. Tradition hard to be known, falsely pretended, sometimes concealed. Prosperity of the Romane Church. Our not casting out the Romanists. Our neither judging nor despising them. Schism against the Universal Church or Councils.*

1. **T**He answer, to the second branch, that of despising their brethren now follows, and his advantages against my arguing seem to be great, and in effect these, that no Church must excommunicate any, lest they be guilty of despising them.] But I answer, that this is a clear misrepresentation of my process or arguing. For first, it is evident, that in that place I spake only of fraternal or equal Communion, not of the Governors inflicting censures on any of the members of any Church, but of the Governors and members of one Church cutting off from their Communion the Governors and members of another Church; as when Pope Steven and those with him brake Communion with Cyprian and the rest of the East, and South with him, or as the Jewish and Gentile Christians, neither of them subject to the other, but remaining in their several cætus, separated the one from the other, Rom. 14. This therefore shews the mistake or perversion of my words.
2. Secondly, speaking of the differences betwixt the Romanists and us, which I must have leave to think are but of that nature, that they ought not to break Communion or Charity among Christians, what I thus affirm of such differences, must nor, cannot with any justice be applied to those greater differences betwixt those that believe the Apostles depositum intirely, and those that reject any part of it; Those that do thus divide themselves from the unity of that Faith, which was by the Apostles delivered to all their plantations to be believed,

believed, that deny any *article* of it, may without any guilt of despising, or breach of *Christian* charity, nay upon designs which are perfectly *charitative*, be rejected from our *fraternal Communion*, as in the *Apostles* times, when it was *uncharitable* walking, and such as ended in the *Schism*, for the *Gentiles* to despise the *Jews* weak consciences, who thought it unlawful for them to have those *liberties* which were really allow'd them by *Christ*; yet I doubt not but it was perfectly *lawful*, and *charitable*, and even *Christian* duty, for the *Orthodox Christians* to renounce *Communion* with the *Gnostick hereticks* and *Schismaticks*. And so there now appears more reason in my arguing, than S. W. was willing there should, without any appearance of *reason* to the contrary; The plain issue of it being no more than this, that they which judge on one side, and they which on the other side *despise* their fellow *Christians*, agreeing with them in all those *articles* of the *Christian* profession, which the *Apostles* deposited in every *Church*, as the only necessities of belief, and the *Symbolum* or *Tessera* of *Christian* *Communion*, and which upon either of these accounts (mentioned to my hand by the *Apostle* *Rom.* 14.) either of *judging* or *despising*, i. e. either of *thinking* that those whom they judge, doe that which is not *lawfull* for them to do, or that those whom they *despise* make not use of that *liberty* that *Christ* hath purchased for them, shall break *society* with those other, refuse *fraternal Communion* with them, i. e. will not live with them as with fellow *Christians*, only upon such an account as this, that they cannot think all those things *lawful* or *necessary*, which they think *lawful* or *necessary*, these are directly the *schismaticks* which the *Apostle* looks on as such, and beside these there is not any *species* that I can discern of this third sort of the second *branch* of *Schism*, that which is an *offence* against that *charity* which is due from every *Christian* to every *Christian*; and we being not guilty of either of these, and the *Romanist* being visibly guilty, it remains evident enough, on which side this last sort of *schismatics*, and to whom it is regularly to be imputed.

3. On this head of *despising* our brethren, whom we conceive to be in *error*, I had mentioned some grounds, on which it

was

was rational for us, who believe the *Romanists* erroneous, yet not to despise them; And as if I offended in this, i. e. either in not despising them, or in thinking I had reason not to despise them, I must be confuted in this also, So prompt is S. W. and so equally qualified to contradict every thing that can be said by me, be it never so much for, or so little against his interests. But the best is, here is little said, (beside expressing the *magnanimous* humor of chastising every one for an enemy that appears before this Disarmer) to require any return from us, only I am there taught my utter ignorance what tradition is, which indeed I had taken (and sometimes he hath in this tract, given me hopes it was no mistake) for that which pretended at least to be *Apostolical* tradition, but I am now told, that (in respect of us that now are) it signifies no more, than what doctrine was held by Christians ten years agoe. and in respect of them that lived ten years agoe, what was held ten years before that, and so forth. ] This rarity I shall not now busie my self particularly to examine, it being indeed the resolving all into the present affirmation of the *Romane Church* of these last ten years, and really making tradition no proof of the truth of their doctrine, and yet putting on the specious name of tradition to disguise that in, or adorn it with; All that is pertinent to my present purpose, is equally granted me by thus setting it, for it is still hard for the multitude to discern by their own ears, what was held all the Church over (and not only within the pale of the *Romane Communion*) ten years agoe, or indeed to judge, whether what within these last nine years hath been defined in the very *Romane Church*, were eleven years agoe held by the Church or no, and consequently whether that which is now held, be tradition.

4. For certainly some difference there must be betwixt holding and receiving, betwixt affirming as true, and affirming as tradition. He that knows that three years agoe the Pope and his conclave made a decree to confirm some doctrines maintain'd by the *Molinists* against others, may be yet to seek, whether before that Bull came out, ten or twenty years agoe, that Church held those doctrines, and without knowing  
of

of that, he cannot be said to know what is *tradition*, even in the *Romane Church* of this last age, in that particular. And so still by S. W. his good leave, I shall be so far moved by the consideration of the *difficulty* for the *multitude* in the *Romane Church* to *understand tradition*, as to resolve, though I deem them *erroneous*, yet not to *despise* them.

5. Only let me assure him, I did not think that the *Romanists* themselves did thus industriously or *affectedly* keep traditions reserved from the sight of the people, like the ark of the Testament and Moses tables, as he expresses it, I did rather believe that they were too prodigal of that treasure, that they communicated to them many more traditions, than ever were by their ancestors really received, imposed on them many things for traditions, which were the erroneous doctrines of men. And the only things which I seriously spake of being *Apostolical* traditions, the distance of the object, and the want of light was that, which in my conceit, rendred this search difficult to the multitude, and not only the reservedness of the *Romanist*, who yet I must fear hath fail'd also in this kinde, keeping close some parts of *Apostolical* tradition, else the power of Bishops and Primates in each nation would appear to be greater, and the Authority of the one Bishop of Rome much less than now adays is pretended.
6. What he adds sixthly for the comparing the *Romanists* and our persecutions, is founded in a willing mistake. The prosperity of the *Romane Church* I spake of, being not that of the *English Romanists* here at home, but of those every where of their *Communion*, which sure hath long been such, as to give them occasion, to describe it by the City set on an hill, and among the notes of the Church, to set down Prosperity for one; And that being all that was pretended or thought of by me, I deserved not his so serious rebuke for that.
7. Any more than lastly, for saying they had the literal sound of *Hoc est corpus meum* for their doctrine of transubstantiation, which sure if they have not, they have nothing imaginable to pretend for it, for as for the Fathers and Councils, and perpetual doctrine and practice of Gods Church, which he is pleased

pleased to vouch for recommending that sense of Christ's words to him, it will want much better proofs, than that of his affirming it.

8. After his lastly, he hath one peale against the Doctors nonsense, in saying we are far from casting them out of the Church. To which end he asks, *Whither we would have cast them? and how we can cast them out of a thing that never was?* ] To which I answer, first, that casting out of the Church signifies, I suppose, all kinds of excommunicating, or renouncing communion with any; And that I did no otherwise mention this, than that they by having first cast us out, made it impossible for us to be guilty of it; And I should be glad to be shew'd where the nonsense of that speech consists, or with what shew of sense he could mention my speaking of casting them out, when I distinctly said it was an impossible thing, and only rendred those so many reasons for our not despising them, and not for our not casting them out?
9. Secondly, supposing this Church of England to be a particular Church (as I may have leave to suppose it) and that S. W. was baptized a member of this particular Church (as I believe also he was) what difficulty can there be in conceiving the manner, how our Church might cast out S. W.
10. Nay Thirdly, it being manifest, that there is a rejecting from Communion, which the members of one Church may be guilty of toward the members of another, viz. the disacknowledging that other to be a member of the Catholick Church, and so, as much as in them lies, giving judgement to the casting her out of all the society of Christians, and it being as evident, that that was the thing, which this latter part of the discourse of schism treated of, contrary to union fraternal, 'twere, I say, no other wise impossible, but from their having done it first, for us thus to cast out the whole Church of Rome, it being no miracle for one particular Church thus to break and refuse Communion with another.
11. He will have one word more ere yet he will leave this point; And there are foure syllables of some length in that one word, The *breviate* of the first of them is, that in the Reformation we judg'd and despised our Governors; of the second, that

that many of our brethren since have writ books to shew that Governor is Antichrist; of the third, that the whole world before by their contrary belief condemn our new reformed doctrine; of the fourth, that they despise not our persons, but only our reasons, as being on fallible grounds --- ] fit to be railed at, to the end of the paragraph.

12. To these I answer briefly, To the first, That the Pope, whose power only we cast out, and judged it an usurpation over us, might most justly be discharged from that his usurped power, without the guilt of judging or despising any of our true and legal Governors.
13. To the second, that as I am none of those who have written any Book or line to shew that the Pope is Antichrist, so I presume they among us, that have at any time done it, have neither judg'd our Governor, the Bishop of Rome being not such, nor yet the Church of Rome it self, which he hath hitherto told me, that we acknowledge to be a true Church, which we could not do if we judg'd it to be Antichristian, but only the Court of Rome, in respect of some enormous practices, chargeable particularly on that, and not common to all those that preserve Communion with them.
14. To the third, that the Church Universal of the first and purest times, which yet is a considerable part of that all, is not, cannot be pretended to have believed contrary to our reformed doctrine, and so we were far from judging or despising that vast authority, when we only desired to reforme the errors that had crept into these latter and corrupter ages, acknowledging still the foundation to have remained intire among able, whom we thus desired to reform.
15. To the fourth, that I no otherwise charged on them the despising of us, than as they rejected us from their Communion ( which in the Apostles time was the noxious effect of despising ) and that sure belongs to our persons and not to our reasons, unless it be, that without any respect to them, they still continue their uncharitableness, and indeed finde our reasons such, that despising or seeming to do so, is one of their skilfullest arts of ( diverting rather than ) replying to them.
16. After his thus large survey of this second sort of schism



against *mutual unity and charity* in the ninth and tenth Chap. of the *tract of schism*. It is strange he should think fit to close his answer to them with this observation, that I have omitted the two chief branches of schism, first, from the body of the Church, and secondly, from General Councils; whereas the schism against *mutual or fraternal communion* belonged expressly to the former of these, and the General council being a representative of the whole Church, any schism from Councils truly General, is by me most willingly acknowledged to be schism from the whole Church. But of this I have spoken at large in the *Reply Chap. 3. Sect. 1.* and so am no farther importuned by any difficulty in his fifth *Sect.*

## SECT. XI.

*Structure on his last Section. The stile of the late Church of England examin'd. Christianity where no well ordered Church. Faith inferior to wisdom.*

1. **H**IS last Section now remains to be spoken to, to which upon several accounts it is needless for me to make any large Reply, particularly because his being herein but the *Longitude* to the *Catholick Gentleman's Monogramme*, an addition of colours from his *Rhetorick*, but not of any real answers, I have in the *Reply chap. 11.* prevented all but the scorn and ill language, against which there is no *Antidote*.

- Yet if there be any *incidental glance*, which may seem to have
2. any the least difficulty in it, I shall briefly take notice of it, and remove it and so conclude.

- And first, the objection which I propos'd from the express words of one of their late *Profelytes*, who frequently stiles ours the late Church of England, he is pleas'd to wave, and change it quite into another forme, and then to cry out, that I am quite out of the way. ] But sure I am not out of the way that was propos'd to me to walk in, for if it were lately the Church of England, then twenty years agoe I (and perhaps that piece of S. W. that wrote this last part of *Schism difarm'd*) was a member

member of this Church, and not only of this shadow or Ghost of it, To him therefore that acknowledged it the late Church, I address that last chapter peculiarly, as to this present S.W. who thinks we were never a Church at all, I had offered the whole foregoing treatise of schism, to prove we were not so much as guilty of any sort of schism; And then with what colour of truth can he charge on me the mistaking of their objection, when both this was before my eyes the very words of the objection, and that to my knowledge vulgarly prest by several of their party, and indeed the principal parts of that chapter formerly written for the private satisfaction of some, which were solicited and prest with this very objection, & when the objection as he sets it anew, was the question of the whole tract of schism, and was not now to be proposed in the last chapter, when it had been answered in all the former.

4. Secondly I must it seems be set to teach S. W. his eyes to discern what is before them, he saith I was so eagerly zealous -- that I put first and thirdly, but quite forgot secondly ] A heavy crime indeed, if it had been true, and not to be past without his discipline, if the Printer had chanced to put thirdly for secondly. But let the 177. page be reviewed, and 'twill justify all, but my rebuker; For having undertaken to answer that objection by degrees, and having set down the first, page 175. &c. In the midst of p. 177. I mention a conclusion irrefragably following from thence, which I say is the second proposition, and then regularly proceed to the issue with a [thirdly] in the bottom of that page. What an habit hath S. W. arrived to, from which such acts as these can follow thus glibly and gainlessly?

5. Thirdly, this judgement of the irrationalness of our sufferings, for the maintaining of an uncertain opinion, being founded in our doctrine that Councils may erre, from whence he concludes that the meeting where our Articles were made may erre also ] hath oft been prevented by the account that I have given of belief; In a word, that which we have believed and practised, and thereby brought sufferings upon us, we are verily perswaded in our Conscience before God, and have from Apostolical practice, and tradition been by our Church

raught, to be the *truth* of God, And if this be not enough rationally to infer an *obligation* and *ingagement* on us to adhere to this, though it cost us some *indurance*, or if to S. W. his discourse this appear *irrational*, I shall much suspect that he will never think himself obliged to *suffer* for the *defense* of the *Romish infallibility*, having no possible *medium*, besides his own phanſie which he can so much as *pretend*, to give him any *stronger belief* of that.

6. Fourthly, for the *number* of those that have fallen off from our *persecuted Church*, I am not obliged to give any other account, than that herein we are but parallel to the *purest ages* and *Churches*, when the *Gnosticks heresie* of which *compliance* with the *persecutors* was one known part, carried away so great and considerable a number from the *Orthodox assemblies*, and *profession*, and are sure yet far more *prosperous*, than the *Catholick Church* in *Athanasius's* time, when *Arrianism* had over-spread the whole world.
7. Fifthly, when by that *series of faith coming by hearing*, that *from preaching*, that *from mission*, and supposing that *mission* is an *act of jurisdiction*, he will first infer that our *Bishops* and *Presbyters* have no *jurisdiction*, and then that we have neither *mission*, *preaching*, *hearing*, nor consequently *Church*] I shall make no stay to admire his *logick*, or extraordinary *concluding faculty*, but ask him in plain terms, whether a *Presbyter* ordain'd by an *English Bishop*, or a *childe* yesterday baptized by an *English presbyter*, be not as truly a *Presbyter*, or a *Christian*, as any other which was ordained or baptized by the same or any other *Bishop* or *Presbyter* of this *Church* twenty years agoe? If he be not, from whence the *invalidity* or *nullity* of these latter acts proceed? If he be, what *concludency* then can be imagined in S. W. his argument? As for our resort to the *secular power*, how little that is to this matter, is shewed in the reply p. 157. and hath formerly been cleared in these papers.
8. Sixthly, 'tis a little strange, that when I say of our *present persecution*, that the *same tempest* hath with us thrown out all *order* and *forme*, *Bishops* and *Liturgie* together, which visibly belongs to their retaining *none* of these, who have cast us out

of our Churches, not to our retaining none of them, who if we would have forsaken them, had not been cast out, he can make use of this, as my own confession, that now all order &c. is cast out, and therein, and not in our serving God in private families, to found his proof of the invisibleness of our Church. These are rare sights indeed, to make my accusing a fault in others, to be indeed the confession of it in my selfe.

9. Seventhly, when upon proposing to consideration for the future, whether in case Bishops stand, or it be not our faults that they do not stand, this objection can ever be improveable into a charge against us or our posterity, he reprehends my logick severely, and makes it all one, as if my body being cut into Atomes, I should yet conclude, that if this were not my fault, it were still a well ordered body } I answer, first, that my question in this case was not whether this would be then, when order were destroyed, a well ordered Church, but whether it would be chargeable on us, or our posterity that it were so disordered? Secondly, that in his very instance, in that case of the mincing my body, 1<sup>st</sup>. my soule might yet continue unmangled, and intire. Secondly, that if that misfortune of my body were befallen it, without any default of mine, God would never charge it on me, how loudly so ever such a charity, as hath S. W. might revile or triumph over me; Proportionably, that the soule of Christianity remaining to those, who shall outlive those hands who baptized and admitted them into the Church (as he that ever was such, may sure continue a Christian, when those that brought him into the Church are either gone or cast out of it) and what hath perished of the outward forme or body of Government being lost without any fault or guilt of theirs (their infelicity, which they could not prevent, and not their crime voluntarily brought upon themselves) this sure will never be lookt on by God, as any dangerous want of order, or as that which shall be any way chargeable upon them. Order is required to the well being, but not necessary absolutely to the being of a Church; an orderless, or a secret society of brethren may be a Church still, as any number of converts in a City, before the Apostle, which was gone to some other City, had yet placed any Governor over them. 'Tis certain a baptized person

person is, and continues a *Christian*, if he have not by some fault of his own, fallen from that *priviledge* ( here I speak not of those who are not *baptized*, and yet if they were *qualified* for it, and wanted it by no fault of theirs, it will not be *chargable* on them neither ) and a number of such *baptized* persons, wheresoever cast by what *tempest* soever, will never be *condemned* by God for not having a *Bishop* or *Presbyter* in their company, when they earnestly *desire*, but cannot have him. And this was the plain sense that S. W. had *disguised* into such an *illogical* conclusion, the Reader now discerns what *logick* it was that *assisted* him to do it.

10. Eighthly, when he saith I have spent this whole chapter, except the first paragraph to prove 'tis not our choise or fault that we are persecuted ] I answer, that when the whole objection of this Chapter is that which is taken from our being persecuted, there was nothing pertinent to answer, but that 'twas not our fault, nor consequently any matter of charge, or objection against us.
11. Ninthly, what the *Catholick Gent.* simply cited from Mr. Hooker, S. W. hath somewhat improved, fansying that Mr. Hooker did ground his speech in the *uncertainty* and *sandiness* of our foundation. Than which nothing could be farther removed from all appearance of truth, as appears by the true occasion, and importance of his words, set down in the Reply p. 154. &c.
12. Tenthly, when speaking of their assurance of their Churches not failing, he calls it a seeing with evidence, perhaps more than *scientificall* ] I shall not now dispute the grounds of his assurance, that the promises made to the Church in general, shall certainly be performed to the Papacy howsoever they behave themselves, ( to that I have spoken in the Reply p. 153. ) but only ask what possible sight or evidence he is capable of, in this world, which is more than *scientificall*, whether indeed faith is, or may perhaps be more than science, or vision, which is one branch of science, i. e. in effect whether the state of the viatores here be, at least in this respect of evidence, more perfect, than that of the *Comprehensores* hereafter? Or if it be, why p. 303. when he comes to magnifie *Rushworth's Dialogues* and *Mr. Whites Apologie*, as the means of clearing to men this

this point of *Infallibility*, he is yet so meek in his expressions, as but to say we may see it as visibly as it is possible any thing can be made to the eye of reason ] whereas the eye of reason, being but an humane eye, and the evidence that is capable of, being sure no more then *scientific*, we had our expectations raised to an higher pitch than that, and so are already defeated in our hopes, and competently discouraged ere we come to take a closer view of them.

13. As it is, I am now once by *Gods blessing* gotten to an end of one long journey, and shall breath a while, before I obey S. W. his summons to set out a fresh, upon such another.

*The powerful Prince of peace  
restore that blessing of peace  
to his divided Church.*

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The End.

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The first of the  
principles of the  
constitution is that  
the people are the  
source of all power  
and authority.

The End

A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F

Mr. C A W D R Y ' S

Triplex Diatribe

Concerning Superstition, Wil-worship,

A N D

*Christmass Festivall.*

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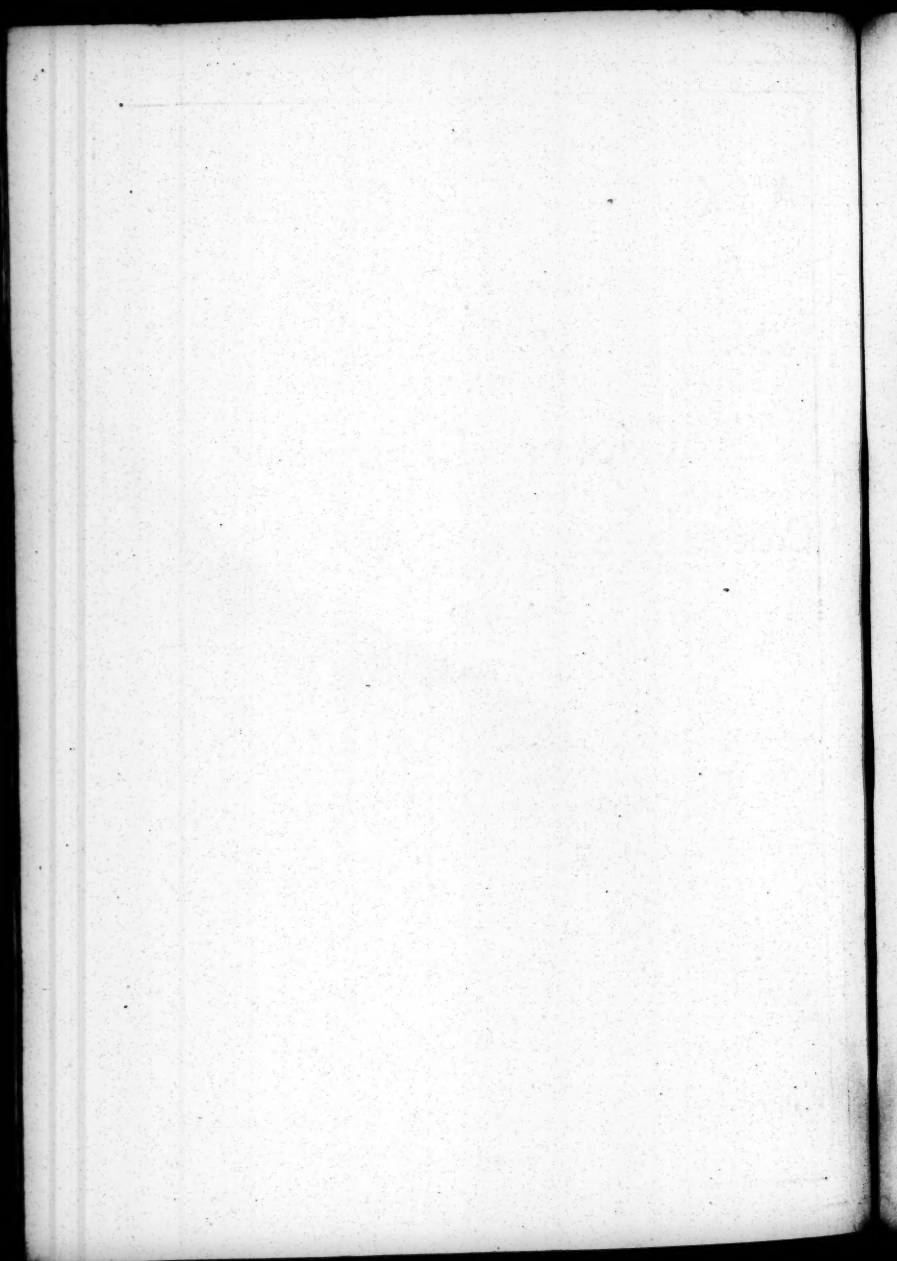
By *H. Hammond D. D.*

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L O N D O N,


Printed by *J. Flesher*, for *Richard Royston* at the  
*Angel in Ivy lane. 1655.*



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A Preface to the READER.

1.  Hat Mr. *Cawdrey* hath taken great pains to shew me the infirme parts of *three* little Tracts of *Superstition*, *Will-worship* and *Festivals*, I am now obliged to take notice, and to design the vacancy of a few days to clear those brief discourses from all the *misprisions* and *exceptions*, to which some contrary *hypotheses* of his (how true shall in due place be examined) more then the want of *evidence* in the *Tracts* themselves may have rendred them *liable*.

2. What on the *two* former heads I wrote many years since, I confesse, I expected not to see arraigned at this time, being designed as part of an *επιμνηστρον* or *διαμνηστρον*, which might help to reparaire the *breach*, at least mollifie the *Paroxysme*, by removing two of the *five* specious charges, under which the blameless ceremonies, and *customary practices*, and *observances* of the Church of *England* were by dissenters *oppugned* and rendred *odious*. And what was then said, as I could not discern wherein it came short of *Evidence* of *conviction* (if I had, I should certainly either have *cleared* or *supprest* them) so it was never my fortune in *nine* years space to hear from any, that it lay under an ill *character*, but on the *contrary*, that it had in some measure performed what it undertook, freed our Church from those *two* accusations, and *demonstrated* them, as applied to us, to be perfect *calumnies*. And I have but one *Petition* to the Reader,

at his entrance on these debates, that he will calmly review those *two* Treatises, with *three* more designed to the same end, and upon his strictest survey advertise me, wherein I have failed in my undertaking.

3. But it is come to passe, what *Arrian* long since taught me to expect, that as when *general discourses* come to be applied to particular cases, *τοὺς ἡ μάχη γίνεται*, then the contention begins, so when the grounds, more universally laid for the justifying our Church, were in a tract concerning *Festivals*, and especially the day of the *Nativity of Christ*, brought home to the clearing that celebration from either of those two (as from all other) charges, then *Mr. Cawdry's hypotheses*, in which, I suppose, his way of managing his opinion of the *morality* of the *Sabbath* had engaged him, found themselves to be concerned, then the commemoration of the birth of *Christ*, though but by one anniversary (being not easily reconcileable with the grounds which he had laid for the *Christians one weekly Sabbath* in the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment* of the *Decalogue*) was solemnly to be indicted and, as in a *Chancerie bill*, all imaginable evil to be affixed on it, and the customary riot of *festivities* being not sufficient to render it odious, the more formidable charges of *Will-worship* and *Superstition* must be revived, and by the necessity of this consequence, to save his *φανόμωρα* and *διδασκεῖν ὑποδείξει*, all that I had said on either of those two subjects, though never so clear, must now be called to a severe examen, and so store of new tasks provided for me.

4. And me thinks tis possible that old \* *Nahum's* word may not here be unreasonable *לְטוֹבָה אוֹ לְרָעָה* even this also for good, To which purpose I am willing to remember what *Alexander Aphrodisæus* told the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, in his Preface to the Tract of *Fatalitie* and

and *Free will*, that whosoever would point him out any *doubt* or *difficulty*, that remained in that matter, after the reading of his *treatise*, he would account it a great *favour* and *honour* to him, rendring this reason for it, because it was not easy *ὁ ἐν ἐπιστάτῳ* in one *Tract*, to do two things exactly, both *dilucidely* to *expound* the matters of which he principally wrote, and all those other things also, which were *usefull* to the *explicating* thereof.

5. And the same I desire may introduce my address to this *Diatribist*, and the tasks by him set before me, The subjects which he hath chosen to consider with me being such, as well deserve some *care* from each of us, that we neither *deceive* others, nor our selves in them, I mean, perfectly *practical*, concerning a peculiar *Christian duty* incumbent on us, in that of *Festivals*, and again a more *universal* duty, that of *obedience* to our immediate *Superiors*, and to the *universal Church of Christ*, from which we must not depart or be affrighted, upon pretense of *Superstition* &c. and yet ought warily to secure our *obedience* from that and the like guilts, when there is any *real* danger of them. And beside these, there is somewhat of a more *sublime* consideration, (on occasion of that of *Will-worship*) the *freewill offerings* which will very well become a *Christian* to bring to *Christ*, rewardable in a *high* degree, though they are not under any *express precept*, such are all the highest *charities*, and *devotions*, and most *heroical Christian practises*, which shall all not onely be *degraded* but *defamed*, if every thing be concluded to be *criminous*, which is not *necessary*, if all *uncommanded* practise be *unlawfull*.

6. Now this *Diatribist* having undertaken to *examine* what I then wrote, and done it with so little *partiality* to me, that I have no reason to suspect he hath left any



## A Preface to the Reader.

*minate difficulty* unmentioned, I shall hope that the descending to a *particular survey* of all his *objections* will probably prevent any *future* mistake in these matters, and upon this score, as *S. Augustine* thought it *necessary* for those *heathens* which *deified* all their *benefactors*, to build one *altar* and pay some *homage* to their *enemies*, because they deserved to be numbred among their *benefactors*, so have I not grudged the *tribute* of my *pains*, at least that of a ready, though *laborious* obedience to this call of the *Diatribist*, but apprehended this *opportunity* of removing all *doubts*, which can recur and require solution; entertaining my self with some *slender hope* that the *Reader* may reap some *small benefit* thereby in order to *christian practice*, the one thing which I desire to propose, as the *end* of all my *meditations*, and never to be drawn by the importunity of those which differ from me in opinion, into any *contention* or *ingagement*, which hath not this aime visible before it; the *seasonable checking* and *reformation* of some *vices*, (such sure are those which here I desire to *prevent* and *remove*) or the *confirmation* and *increase* of *virtue*, to the *glory* of *God*, and the *multiplying* of *fruit* to our *account*.

7. That this hath been the onely aime of all hitherto *publisht* by me, even of those discourses which are most *polemical*, I am so fully satisfied in my self, that I doubt not to approve it to any, that can make question of it, where *difference* of opinion doth not either by *close consequence*, or more *immediately*, lead into *vitious practice*, I shall never willingly *contend* with any man, or make reply to the *contentions*: But in *Doctrines* which have *immediate influence* upon *practice*, tis *obligation* of *charity* to indeavour the *disabusing* of all, and not to permit or suffer any such *fruitfull*; and *noxious error* upon my *neighbour*. Under

*A Preface to the Reader.*

8. Under which head because I cannot but place the *rejecting of Children from Baptisme*, and find some *objections*, offered by Mr. Tombes, to what I have written on that *subject*, I have therefore drawn a short *defence* of that *Apostolical practice*, and vindicated my former discourse from his *answers*, and *exceptions*, which being offered to the *Reader*, as soon as the *Printer* will permit, I shall not doubt of his leave to shut up the *Palæstra* at this time, having sufficiently cloyed him with these *Spectacles*.

9. And it is my wish for him that he may continue to have the *ease* (at least) of a *Spectator*, that it may be his lot, though for some moneths it hath not been mine, *ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν*, to live *peaceably* and *quietly* with all men, a felicity of which we are all to be *ambitious*, *φιλοτιμώμεσθαι*, and a *grace* that we are all, not in *prayer* only, but by *real* indevours to contend for, and to hold it fast, untill it be violently *wrested* from us. 1 Thess 4. 11;

10. As it is, I have with *patience* fortified my self for the *present* undertaking, and to make it also as supportable as may be to *others*, abstained from *transcribing* the entire severall *Sections* of his *Diatriba*, and onely repeated as much as *exacts answer* from me, not omitting (as far as my *wit* would serve me) any the *least* particular, which can be thought to have *energy* against any of those things, that are asserted by me in those *Tracts*, save only when the same things once *answered* have again, whether in *words* or *sense*, been repeated by him.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
 3<sup>ex</sup> DIATRIBE  
 CONCERNING  
*Superstition, Wil-worship, and Christmas  
 Festivall.*

CHAP. I.  
 Of M<sup>r</sup> C. his Title Pages.

Sect. 1.

*Philosophy Col. 2. 8. Fables and endlesse Genealogies;  
 1 Tim. 1. 4. Tit. 3. 9. The propriety of that Text  
 Col. 2. 10 Mr. C. his discourse.*



AND first the *Title page* will deserve a *curfory* view, especially the place of *Scripture*, where- with he hath chosen to *adorn* it, *Col. 2. 4. 8.* by which the *Reader* is directed to look on his *threefold exercitation* (as he is pleased to call it) *with Dr. H.* as an especiall *antidote* against that *Philosophy &c.* of which *S. Paul* fore- warns men to *take heed* in those two *verses*.

On this occasion I shall not need inquire, what provocation Mr. C. had to express such *unkindness* to, and *jealousie* of *Philosophy*, (certainly not the same that *S. Paul* then had among his *Colossians*) but on ly remind the *Reader* what is \* elsewhere shew'd more largely, that the *Philosophy* there branded by the *Apostle*, was that which the *Gnosticks* divinity was too full of, taken out of

*Numb. 1.*

2.

\* *Annot. on  
 Col. 2. a. and  
 1 Tim. 1. a.*

B

*Pythagoras*



*Pythagoras* and the *Greek Poets*, *Antiphanes*, *Hesiod* and *Philistion*, and especially *Orpheus* his *Theologie* or *Genealogies* of the *Gods*, and so promiscuously styled by the *Apostles* φιλοσοφία καὶ κενὸν ἀπατην, *Philosophy* and *vain deceit*, in this admonition to the *Colossians*, and μύθοι καὶ ἀπειροὶ γενεαλογίαι *fables* and *endless genealogies* (how out of *Night* and *Silence* comes forth *Chaos* &c.) in his directions to *Timothy* 1 *Tim.* 1. 4. and μωροὶ ἐπιστοὶς καὶ γενεαλογίαι, *foolish questions* and *genealogies*, in his *Epistles* to *Titus* c. 3. 9.

3. And then how conveniently this was accommodated to any, or all those *three* discourses concerning *Superstition*, *Wit-worship*, *Christmas Festival*, must be discerned by his answer to all, or any of these few questions, 1. Whether any *Gnostick* principle of *Theologie* hath been discovered in any of those *three Tracts* which he hath undertaken to chastise. 2. Whether it be a piece of *Apostatikal* or *heretical pravity*, a branch of *heathenisme* or *Gnosticisme*, to maintain the celebration of *Christs Nativity* to have nothing criminous in it, either under the head of *Superstition* or *Wit-worship*. 3. Whether all *institutions* of the *Church*, though in themselves never so *blameless*, are yet to be lookt on, as συναγωγὰς *acts of dispoiling Christians*, and little less then *Sacrileges*, and whether they are all comprehended under that style of *Traditions of men*, and *rudiments of the world*, in opposition to ἐκ τῆς Χρῆστ, *after Christ*, of which the *Apostle* so carefully warns the *Colossians*. Lastly, whether all *probable*, or *concludent*, nay even *demonstrative* discourse, be to be warded and averted, as *deceits* and *beguilings*, because capable of that title of πλανητικαὶ, which the *Apostle* there useth, whether we render them literally *probabilities of speech*, or with our translation, *enticing words*?

4. When *M. C.* hath accommodated any satisfactory answer to these few questions (all, or at least some one of them) he may then be qualified to attempt justifying the *charitableness* of his *title page*, and the *propriety* of his *select Scripture*, but till then, he may give his *Reader* leave to *question* one of them.

SECT. 2.

Mat. 15. 8, 9. Gal. 4. 9, 10. *Deum sic colere quomodo seipsum colendum præcipit.* Christmas no irrational custome.

THE same reason I have to put in my exceptions to the title *Numb. 1.* pages of his two other exertations, and in like manner, 1. to demand, how commodiously the words of *Christ, Mat. 15. 8, 9.* condemning their worship as vain, which teach for doctrines the commandments of men, are affixt to the second *Diatribè* concerning *Wil-worship*, when he cannot but know, that that *Text* is particularly handled in the first leaf of the treatise of *Wil-worship*, and demonstrated neither to belong to humane laws in general, nor to any institutions of the *Christian Church*, but onely to the dogmatizing of *Pharisaical hereticks*, and particularly their urging some inventions of their own, as commanded, and under obligation by divine precept, now when the very *Judaical commanded rites* were so suddenly to be laid aside, nailed to the cross, solemnly cancelled and abolished by *Christ*.

And 2. (no farther to demand his reasons, but) to admire his constancy to himself; that before the *Diatribè* of *Christmas*, and other (sure *Christian*) festivals, he hath thought meet to prefix that text *Gal. 4. 9, 10.* of observing dayes, moneths, times, years, so peculiarly restrained by all circumstances to the *Judaical Sabbaths, New Moons, Anniversaries, and Jubiles*, but no more applicable to the prejudice of the yearly feast of *Christs birth*, then to the weekly of his *Resurrection*.

To which we shall associate his two *Latine sentences*, the one out of *S. Austine* of worshipping God as he hath commanded; the other out of *S. Cyprian*, of the vanity of irrational customes, and remind him that we design no other worship of God upon *Christmas day*, but such as we are sure he hath commanded at all times, that of prayer and thanksgiving &c. and that the incarnation of *Christ* was a competent reason to found a custome of commemorating it after this manner, we shall finde a perfect harmony and consent in all his discords, and that is all I shall return to his frontispices, designed,

designed to infuse *prejudices* into the Reader, to *blast* before-hand, what he meant to answer.

## CHAP. II.

### Of M. C. his Preface.

#### SECT. I.

*His discourse of the causes of my mistakes. Comparing of Superstition and Wil-worship to Heresie. Accounting Superstition our virtue.*

1. **T**Is now more then time that we think of *entring*, and yet there is a *Preface* still behind, which expects to be taken notice of, as being a very friendly *recapitulation* of the grounds of my great *mistakes*, the unhappy *causes* of those my *miscarriages*, which he hath discovered in the ensuing *Exercitations*.

2. But I that am not yet by all his *Diatribe* so *instructed*, or improved, as to discern one real *misadventure* in those discourses, find it impossible for me to be *edified* by this his *charity*; I must be shewed my *disease*, before *Hippocrates* himself can point me out the *causes* of it, and therefore my briefest return to his *preface*, is but to beseech him to reserve his discourse of *causes*, till the effects shall be so *visible*, as to call for it; and if this be not a sufficient *reply* to all of it, What is behind, will easily be referred to this one *head*, the *injustices* and *mistakes* of the *author* of it, which I shall but briefly recite to him.

3. *First*, that he hath thought fit to compare *Superstition* and *Wil-worship*, as they are the subjects of my discourses, with *Heresie*; whereas, 1. *Superstition*, in the proper notation of the word, which first I speak of, and *vindicate* our *Church*, whether in the *ceremonies*, or *observances*, from all appearance of guilt of it, is the *worshipping* of *Demons* or *deified men*, and that sure is worse then *heresie* in every *Christians* account, and so inconveniently compared, so as to be equalled with it. And 2. whatever our *Church*

*Church* hath admitted, is cleared to have nothing of *Superstition* in it in any other *secondary notion* or *acception* of the word; or if it had, yet as long as it is no more but *uncommanded Rites* or *Festivals*, which by the *Diatribist* himself are thus styled, those sure, in any *reason*, will not be capable of this *comparison*, or *accusation* of being so *bad* as *heresie*; and 3. *will-worship* in the one place where it is used in *Scripture*, hath no manner of *ill*, but good character set upon it, being joyned w<sup>th</sup> *Counsels* with *humility*, which I hope is not yet condemned to be quite so *criminal* and *abominable* to *God*, as *pride* and *heresie* is acknowledged to be; however in this *Preface*, before my interpretation of *Col. 2. 23.* hath been endeavoured to be confuted, this so eminent *criminousness* thereof was not with more *reason*, than *charity* supposed by him.

2. That he hath affirm'd, in a *parenthesis*, of some men that they account these (and *superstition* is evidently one of these) *their virtues rather than crimes*; which again if applied to me, or I think to any *Protestant* living, is very *unkind* and *unprovoked*, having no ground in any part of my *Discourse*.

3. That *Will-worship* hath been by him elsewhere demonstrated to be as *criminal* as *Heresie*, which in what notion soever he hath exprest himself to understand the word, is with no truth assumed by him, as far as refers to these *Diatriba*; and if it be elsewhere attempted, 1. He should have referred us thither, if but to *vindicate* his own *veracity*, or else have recited the heads of such *demonstrative arguments* in this place; or in the second *Diatriba*; and yet neither of these are done by him.

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## Sect. 2.

*Of being too Religious ; of the intension or degree. The Messalians, Neglect of Charity, of particular callings, Eccl 7.16. Of multitude of Ceremonies. Too many Ceremonies no argument of too much, but of too little Religion.*

Numb. 1.

**H**IS fourth mistake is, that he hath recited it as one cause of my miscarriages in this business, that I affirm that a man cannot be too religious, and that I attest this both of the intension or degree, and of the extension or number of Ceremonies taken in to the worship of God] Whereas that which I affirm, is evidently this. 1. That in respect of the degree, there is no such thing as nimity or excess in Religion; no possibility of being Religious in too high a degree, Sect. 33. and this is not denyed by Mr. C. nor can be by any pious man; who knows that all his faults are omissions and defects, but never excesses of piety or religion. 2. The main objections imaginable against this, from the practice of the Messalians, or the neglect of the duties of charity and the particular calling, incident to the intense practice of holy duties, were foreseen and prevented there; the Messalians fault was not their excessive practice, but their laying that obligation on themselves and others; the same that Tertullian and the Monasticks were guilty of, in respect of other austerities, and so 'twas their dogmatizing, in their imposition of heavy burthens, wherein their heresie (not their superstition) consisted: And the others crime is his idleness, and walking *ἀτάκτως* disorderly, a crime censured by the Apostle, 2 Thes. 3.11. (yet far enough from Superstition again) and in like manner his want of charity, and so not nimity, but unseasonableness of piety, contrary to the exprels words of Christ, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice.*

3.

And if yet a third objection be offered from the words of the Preacher, Eccl. 7.16. (which yet this Diatribist hath not thought fit to offer) *Be not righteous overmuch, why shouldst thou destroy thy self?* I suppose the answer is obvious, that those words are the intimation of the worldlings objection, who taketh that for excess of duty which brings any damage or worldly destruction upon

upon him, and is answered in the next verse with this solid *Aphorism* of eternal verity, *Be not thou overmuch wicked; why shouldst thou die before thy time?* The fears, and from thence the prudential, but oft times very *impious* practices of the worldling are far the more probable path to the most hasty ruins.

And to still this branch of my doctrine, as far as asserted by me, was neither *untruth*, nor *mis carriage*, nor cause of either in my discourse.

5. As for the second, that of the *extension* or *number* of *rites* and *ceremonies* taken into the *worship*, that there cannot be *too many* of them, is as far from being my *assertion*, as that which is most *contrary*. For upon that head my *conclusion* is, that as some *rites* or *circumstances* of *time* and *place* and *gesture* are absolutely *necessary* to *Religion*, and the *significativeness* of them is no manner of *prejudice* to the *use* or *institution* of them, so if the *Disputers* will yield but this, that even when they are *significant*, the use of *Ceremonies* may be allowed among *Christians*, I shall then in stead of pleading for the *multitude* of such, give my vote to the confirming the old *Rule*, that they be *pauca & salubres*, *few* and *wholsom*; and particularly *few* for five reasons, set down in the following words, *Sett.* 39. and sure that is contrary enough to his reporting of my *opinion*, that there *cannot be too many* of them, and so that which was no part of my *belief*, could be no cause of any *mis carriage* of mine in that *business*.

6. To which if I shall now add, that my granting there ought to be *few* (and so that there may be *too many*) *Ceremonies* in a *Church*, is no way the yielding a *possibility* that a man may be too *religious*; but on the *contrary* when the *too many Ceremonies* either *cause*, or *occasion*, or are accompanied with *inward neglects*, there is not *too much* but *too little Religion*, too much *formality*, but too little *devotion*, too much *outward Pharisaical washing*, but too little *inward Christian fervor*, as there may be πολυλογία and βαρβαρολογία, words too many, but too little *praying* (I may add too many offers of *proof*, but too little *reason*) and remind the *Diatribist* that this was expressly said before in the end of *Sett.* 39. by the token of the *infertile animals*, whose want of blood caused their multitude of *legs*, I shall then sure have given him ground of *conviction*, that there were more than one *calumnies*

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Mat. 6.



in his assignation of the causes, particularly in this of the first cause of my miscarriages.

### Sect. 3.

*Mr. C. his distinctions of being too religious, multiplied unnecessarily. Frequency of duty, if secured from other neglects, no excess, nor criminous. Prayer a branch of Natural worship, Oēs ritus. Excess in trust, &c. as well as in Prayer. The Species of worship, and the circumstances thereof. The wide difference between these. Times of Prayer not limited by Scripture: Set days of worship, Gestures, Prostration. Mr. C. his 3. proofs examined, Deut. 4. 2. considered. Apoc. 22. 19. A view of Aquinas's doctrine in this matter.*

Numb. 1.

**A**S for his distinctions, by which he is willing to clear his way, that a man may be said to be too Religious, either because he gives more to God than he deserves, but so he cannot be too Religious; or, because he gives more than God requires by the Rule of worship. 2. That in regard of worship commanded, especially natural worship, a man cannot be too religious in reference to the intention (I suppose it should be intension) of the devotion, as in love, fear, trust in God (adding in a cautious parenthesis, that in instituted worship a man may be too religious, as if he pray or fast to the wasting his health or neglect of his calling:) but in uncommanded worship, the least addition to the Rule of worship is too much, and such a man may be said to be too religious.] I cannot imagine how he hath by either or both of these attain'd his end, but rather perplexed, then cleared the way for the Reader, which was perfectly straight, and abundantly explicate, before he took upon him to be the harbinger.

3. For 1. the two latter members of both his distinctions are directly the same, and so I am sure there was too much of his distinctions, tautologie I suppose is such a nimicry, and such sure is this [A man that gives more than God requires by the rule of worship is too religious] and [in uncommanded worship the least addition

to the rule of worship is too much, and such a man may be said to be too religious.]

Secondly, for his *Parenthesis*, it was perfectly prevented in the tract of *Superstition* § 33. and so was a 2d. *nimiety*, being added without all necessity or use, it being there acknowledged that in a frequent or intense practice of holy duties there might be some incident fault, viz. neglect of duties of charity or particular callings; and wasting of health through fasting immoderately, bears analogy with these.

But then it was forewarned, that the fault herein was not the excess of Religion, but omission of other necessary duties, and that demonstrated by this, because if that frequency, whether of prayer or fasting, wherein is the supposed excess, be either in another man, or in that man (whose excess is accused) at another time, separated and secured from those neglects, or omissions of those other duties, the very same frequency and intention were his virtue not his crime, which therefore still prejudices this from being an instance of the thing in hand, that a man may be too religious.

Thirdly, his difference, in this respect of *nimiety*, betwixt natural and instituted worship, is perfectly vain and useless to his design, even as he himself hath explicated it, placing love, fear, trust in God under the first head, and prayer and fasting under the other.

For 1. I must remind him that prayer is as properly a branch of natural worship, as love, or fear, or trust can be imagined to be, being, 1. inseparable from trust, 2. a necessary and natural means of acknowledging Gods fulness and our wants, 3. containing under it thanksgiving, praising God, which is the prime way of honouring God (He that praiseth me honoreth me, saith David) and sure that honouring of God, a most peculiar branch of natural worship, dictated by the nature of a creature, and taught by all naturalists that acknowledged any God, (Θεὸς τιμα, in the Pythagorean verses, honour the Gods, and Θεὸν God in Phocylides) and both the petitory and the Eucharistical comprehended under the Θεὸς σέβειν, worshipping the Gods, in Plutarch, which Xenophon tells us πρὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νομιζέται is the primeval law acknowledged among all men, and Hierocles, having defined Piety to be the πρῶτον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡγεμὼν, the captain of all virtues, πρὸς τῷ

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\* Εἰς Χρυσ.  
p. 10.

θεῶν ἀτίαν τῷ ἀναφορᾷ ἔχουσιν, as having respect to the divine cause, he adds that the precept concerning that in the golden verses, had justly the precedence and deference before all laws, to give the Gods that honor which is due unto them, and all things else according to that order \* τῷ ᾧ ἐνημερυνεὶ νόμος ἀμα τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ συνεπείρουται, which the creative law (that sure is the Christians law of Nature) together with their being, had afforded them. But perhaps such evidences as these are the Philosophy against which the Reader was to be forewarned in the title page, and therefore,

7. Secondly, I must adde, to demonstrate the *usefulness* of his distinction in this place, that it is as possible to exceed in *trust*, in *fear*, nay even in *love*, as it is in *prayer*; Thus he that so trusts in God, as not to fear; he that trusts him with the end, so as to neglect the means, parallel to him that prays and neglects his calling; he that trusts and relies and hopes, but doth not purifie, (performs not the Evangelical condition) every one of these is, in proportion with M. C. his instances of prayer and fasting, an excedder in trust, we are wont to express it by presuming.

8. 2. He that so fears, as not to love, that fears where no fear is, that walks accurately ὡς ἄσπορος as a fool, he will be as properly an excedder in fear.

3. He that so loves God again, either as not to fear God, or as not to love his brother also; he that hath a zeal to God, but not according to knowledge, he is in like manner an excedder in love. And yet all this while none of these are religious too much, but in little, though they exceed the bounds of one part of duty, they are defective in another, and tis this defect, not that other exceeding, that is criminous, These things ought they to have done, but not to leave the other undone; and these omissions are their crimes, and as truly so in the natural as in the instituted worship, though if the instituted worship in any branch be preferred before any branch of natural duty, or be more intensely and frequently practised, to the neglecting thereof, this may be a greater fault than if one part of natural worship be intended to the detriment of another either superior or equal to it, as if Sacrifice (which I acknowledge an instituted worship) be intended or prest to the omission of necessary charities, ceremonies to the slackening of the inward service, or the like.

So

So that still all that this *Diatribist's* subdivided distinctions have done for us (beside discovering his own mistakes) is onely this, to propose one sort of things, wherein, in his opinion, a man may be too religious, viz. in giving God more then he requires by the rule of worship, or, as again he expresseth it, by the least addition to the rule of worship, which, saith he, is too much, and such a man may be too religious. And this being the onely product of his distinction, is, as I intimated, so far from clearing, that it is the perplexing and intricating the business, which was formerly clear enough, the leading the Reader not out but into Meanders, an intanglement of the clue, a Sphinx instead of an Oedipus.

For there was no such ἀμύγδαλον before, nothing so difficult, so involved, of so incertain and dubious signification, as this which now he calls [giving God more then he requires by the rule of worship] and explains by [uncommanded worship, and, the least addition to the rule of worship.]

I shall evince the truth of what I now say, and with the same hand clear again what he hath clouded, by asking him but this one question, Doth he mean in these words [more] and [Addition] any new species or sort of worship, neither prescribed by the law of Nature, nor instituted by any positive law of God? or doth he designe onely some circumstance onely, or ceremony, which being not of the intrinsic nature or essence of worship, but onely accidental to it, is not particularly commanded or prescribed by the word of God, the rule of worship? such are the time, the place, the gestures, and such outward, but some of them inseparable attendants of worship.

I shall desire to secure my expressions from obscurity and mistakes, and therefore to be as explicit as may be; Prayer is a species of worship; praying on the Lords day, on Christmas day, observing constant hours of prayer, thrice, seven, ten times every day, is each of them a circumstance adherent to Prayer; some time is necessary and inseparable from Prayer, but every of these times forementioned are not so, he that prays but thrice doth not pray seven or ten times a day, So again the place of prayer may give it a different denomination, either of publick or private; the manner may render it more or less solemn, the gestures more or less reverent or irreverent, the increase, letting down of ardor,

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devout or formal, and there are many sorts, and degrees of each of these, but these do not constitute new or several sorts of worship, but all are accidents of one and the same special of worship, viz. of Prayer.

13. Here then is a wide difference, and if his meaning were of the species or sorts of worship, then I never doubted to affirm with him, that all uncommanded worship is an excess, if he please. (an error, I should rather say) a setting up that for worship of God, which is not worship, nay perhaps quite contrary to worship; and this sure was never justified by me explicitly, or implicitly, in conclusions, or in grounds and principles of thus concluding, and so still this hath not been usefull to me to discover any mistake of mine.

14. The second then is the onely branch remaining, of which his words, as referring to me, can possibly be understood, and then 'twil prove so far from being any misadventure of mine, that it will devolve all absurdity upon the Diatribist.

15. For I shall demand, Hath the rule of worship, i. e. the Scripture, any where prescribed the times, the places, the gestures, and all the circumstances of the worship of God, and that both positively and exclusively, so that he that prays oftener then the Scripture expressly commands, or on any day not assigned to that purpose by Scripture, sinnes in so doing, adds to the rule, gives more then God requires, doth too much, is too religious, is criminous and abominable to God in so doing? every of these must be the affirmations of this Diatribist, if this 2d. meaning be his, and the like he is obliged to say again of him that prays in any place, in any manner, in any gesture, which the word of Scripture, the rule of worship hath not commanded.

16. And because this is by all reason to be resolved to be his meaning, or else his whole Book is perfectly cast away, a meer enuouchia or beating the air, without me or any man else to be his adversary, I shall at the present suppose it so, and shew him, as deictically as he can wish, the absurdities of it.

17. And 1. for the times of prayer, I demand, What hath the rule of worship, the Scripture prescribed? hath it prescribed morning and evening Prayer, and that both positively, and exclusively to any more? If so, then by the standard of this Diatribist's doctrine, Davids or Daniels praying three times a day, adding the

the noon day season to the other two, must be *crimious* and *abominable*: or if he shall pitch upon any other *number* of times, as prescribed by the *Rule*, then I shall add an *unite* more to that *number* and demand, whether that *addition* will adde *abomination* to his *performances*? If he saith it will, though I might press that *affirmation* with *absurdities* enough, yet I shall spare it, and onely demand the *proof* from the *Scripture* for this *assertion*, and when he gives it me forfeit all my *pretensions* to the *understanding* that *sacred book*; but if he cannot produce any such *Scripture*, then is my *Censor* the *guilty* person, the very *dogmatizer*, that *teacheth* for *Doctrines* or *Commandments* of *God*, his own *Dictates*, which I must suppose to be the *traditions* of a *man*, and the doing so, I cannot resist to be a *nimety*, but not of *religion*, that I yet discern.

In like manner for *set days* to be *consecrated* to the *worship* of *God*, for *fasting* or for *prayer*, I demand how many every *week* or every *yeer* hath the *Rule* of *worship* prescribed? Or what *rule* of *worship* shall be appealed to? the *Law* of *Moses*, or the *Gospel* of *Christ*? His *answer* to this question will involve him in *intricacies* enough: If the *Law* of *Moses* be the *rule*, then he knows all the *New Moons* and *feasts* of the *Jews*, and *Sabbatick years* and *Jubilees* must return upon him: If the *Gospel* of *Christ*, which hath certainly *abolisht* all these, and, as he supposeth, set up the *Lords-day*, instead of them all, then 1. I demand in what words of the *New Testament* the *weekly* observation of this is *commanded*? and 2. in what words the *observing* all others but that, particularly the *Feast* of *Easter*, the *annual* commemorative of the *Resurrection*, is interdicted, and whether the *weekly* remembrance of so great a *mercy*, being so *acceptable* to *God*, it be reasonable to think the *annual*, *abominable* before him? And the same *question* soon extends it self to the day of *Christs* *Incarnation*, *Pas-sion*, *Ascension*, &c. and if of each of these he shall define and pronounce them *unlawfull*, without *testimony* and *verdict* from the *Rule* of *worship*, the *Scripture*, then he is the *Dogmatizer*, that hath added to the *Rule*, more *interdicts* then are there to be met with, and so still he is the man *guilty* of the *nimety*.

So again for *gestures* in the *worship* of *God*, I demand, What

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19.



is the *gesture of prayer*, prescribed by the *Rule*? Is it *standing*, *sitting*, or *kneeling*, any, or all of these, or any fourth superadded to these? If the *Rule* have prescribed none, then according to his doctrine again, any of these must be *criminous additions* to the *Rule*, *abominable*, &c. If the rule have prescribed some one, then all others, beside that one, must fall under the same *severity*, that that one, had done, if it had not been *prescribed*: and if all three are under several *precepts*, and so the whole *Rule* obeyed by retaining these *three*, then still I shall mention a *fourth*, that of *prostration*, whether will the old *penitents*, in the *porch*, or on the *pavement*, every man in his *closet* and *recess*, and still the *question* returns, whether this be *criminous*, and by what part of the *rule of worship* it appears to be so?

20. *Necdum finitus* the enumeration of the *Diatribists* inextricable difficulties is not yet at an end, but infinitely *multipliable* by every act of *Religious Fast*, and of *Almsgiving*, the two other sorts of *Gods worship* (as *Aquinas* (owned here by the *Diatribist*) hath defined from the *first* of *Matthew*) the proportions or degrees of each of which are yet no where defined in the *Scripture*. But I suppose it cannot now be *necessary*, that I farther confirm what is so *evident* already.

21. Else I might yet farther proceed from the *duties* of the *first* to the *second Table*, and demand whether any thing that is done (out of the *service of God*) for which there is no *command*, be a *criminous excess*? Certainly the *Analogy* will hold, *God* having given the *Rule* for *justice* and *charity*, as well as *worship*, and then whatsoever of any kind is not under *precept*, must by this argument be under *interdict*, and so there will be nothing left *indifferent* in the world: A *conclusion* that some men which have held *Mr. C.* his *hypothesis* have rationally *enlarged* to, finding it *necessary*, and *unavoidably* deduced from thence: But I discern not yet, that *Mr. C.* hath thus improved his *principle*, though sure whensoever it is for his *turn*, it is thus *improvable*.

22. But *Mr. C.* hath added three proofs to his *affirmation*, and how *unreconcilable* soever with *common notions* that is, yet those must deserve to be *heeded*; And his first proof is this, *If a man or Church may add to the Rules of Religion, then he or they may be too Religious: But Ergo.*

Here

23.

Here it must be remembered, that the thing which he had proposed to himself to prove, was this, that *in uncommanded worship the least addition to the rule of worship is too much, and such a man may be said to be too religious*: And this, saith he, I prove, 1. If a man or Church may add to the rule of religion, &c. Of this 1. I desire to be told, whether it be not a meer *idem per idem*, a proving a thing by it self, and whether that be not contrary to all rules of *sylogizing*, where the *medium* of probation is never to enter the *conclusion*, as here most evidently it doth.

24.

Having said this to the *form*, tis not needfull that I say any thing to the *matter* of this *proof*, it being the very thing that I have spoken to all this while, and by that *distinction*, of the *sorts* and *circumstances* of *worship*, I have competently shewed, that it hath no force against me; that indeed he that introduces any *new part* of *divine worship*, is a *presumptuous assumer*, doth more then he should, because that which he should not do, and so that the *Major* is *false*, instead of *clear*; he that thus *adds*, and *impose*th on *God* and his *word*, is not hereby *too religious*, but too *bold*, and was never pleaded for in the least, by my *treatise* of *Superstition*.

25.

The *inconsequence* of this *Major* will more appear, by considering the *proof* of the *Assumption*, which he annexes, *The assumption*, saith he, is proved by *Deut. 4. 2. where all additions to the word are prohibited*.

26.

But I pray doth he that *prostrates* himself in *prayer*, *add*e to the *word* of *God*? then sure he that *walks* in the *garden*, doth so too, much more he that makes any such *deductions* from *Scripture*, as this *Diatribist* here doth, (for not onely the *analogie* enforceth this, but it is also to be remembered, that the *laws* which had here been given by *Moses*, were all sorts of *duties* of common life, towards *our selves*, and our *brethren*, as well as of *worship* toward *God*, and so this *Text* must exclude all other *uncommanded* actions, as well as *worships*) The words in *Deuteronomy* are these, *Ye shall not add to the word that I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it*, *שמר* *ad custodiendum*, and in the same sense the *Targum* *שמר* *to observe*, or that ye may observe that ye may keep the *commandments* of the *Lord your God* which I command you. The meaning is most evident that they were to perform *uniform* obedience.

obedience to God, not to make any change in Gods commands, either to pretend more liberties, or fewer obligations, or again more obligations and fewer liberties, to be delivered them by God, then those which he had then delivered by Moses, but to set themselves humbly to the performance of his precepts, and accordingly the *Septuagint* renders *שמר* to keep ] *quodammodo* ye shall keep, the *Latine*, *custodite* keep, and the *Syriack*, *sed observate*, but keep the commandments, by that opposition shewing that to be the meaning of not adding or diminishing, viz. paying an obedience to Gods commands. And the same sense in the like words we have again *Apoc.* 22. 18, 19. to shut up the great prophecy in the *New Testament*; And then, I pray, is he that offends against either of these two texts, too Religious? Is it not more true on the contrary, that he is a false Prophet, and a sacrilegious person, that pretends the word of the Lord for that which God hath not spoken to him? But this crime I hope every man is not guilty of, that bowes or kneeles or prostrates himself in prayer, by such outward gestures both signifying, and inflaming the inward fervor of the heart, but not inserting any precept of doing thus, either into the book of *Deuteronomy*, or the *Apocalyps*. And this may suffice for his first proof.

27. His second proof is from the saying of the great School man, that Religion is a moral virtue (or very like it) and stands between two extremes, Ergo, a man may be too much religious, as well as too little.

28. First, I answer to the antecedent, that if it be remembered what the two extremes are, between which religion, in *Aquinas*, stands, the consequent will never be inferred from it. The extremes are on one side Superstition, on the other irreligion, Superstition is again, saith he, of two sorts, either 1. the worshiping of a creature (of false Gods, or more Gods then one, as in *Tertullian* adv. Marc. l. 1. c. 5. speaking of the worshiping of two Gods, Vereretur, saith he, ne abundantia officii superstitionis potius quam religio crederetur, I should fear such abundance of officiousness would be rather believed superstition then religion; and *S. Augustine*, and out of him

\* 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup>. qu. 92.  
art. 1.

\* *Aquinas*, tangis primam chordam qua colitur unus Deus, & cecidit bestia superstitionis, the brast of superstition is destroyed by the first string of the *Duodecim*, the first commandment of the *Decalogi*,

calogue, prescribing the worship of one God.) or 2. cum Dio illegitimus cultus tribuitur, giving undue worship to God, and neither of these notions of superstition will be at all usefull to the Diatribist to prove his conclusion.

29. If from the former of these he should conclude that a man may be too religious, tis plain that this must be his meaning, that a man may be a Polytheist, a worshipper of false Gods, but I hope, in this sense, he that observes the ceremonies of the Church of England, he that commemorates the birth of Christ on the 25 of December, will not be said to be too religious.
30. As for the 2. that of *cultus illegitimus*, or *indebitus*, undue worship of the true God (which alone can possibly be deemed for the Diatribist's purpose) my answer shall be more particular, by viewing & weighing the words in Aquinas which are here referred to: though the place be not set down by the Diatribist, I suppose it must be 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup> either *quest. 81. Art. 1.* or else *qu. 92. Art. 1.* in *conclus.* which indeed hath these words, *Religio est virtus moralis, omnis autem virtus moralis in medio consistit*, Religion is a moral virtue, and every moral virtue consists in the middle, citing it (with a *sicut supra dictum est*) from the former place *qu. 81. Art. 5.* Now the summe of that Article is this, that \* Religion is neither a Theological nor an Intellectual, but a moral \* *Resp. ad. 3.* virtue, as being a branch of justice, in giving to God that which belongs to him, and that the *due medium*, wherein this, as all moral virtue consists, is to be taken, not as the middle point between two passions, the \* *medium rei* (as ordinarily moral virtue \* *Vid 1.2.q.64* is the moderating of passions, reducing them to a mediocrity, or *Art. 2.* temper, or equilibration betwixt the excess and defect) but according to some equality, in respect of God, \* *medium rationis*, \* *Ibid.* interpreting what he means by that, viz. equality, not absolutely, because we cannot give God so much as belongs to him, but *secundum quandam considerationem humane facultatis & divine acceptationis* (by considering what man is able to do, and what God will accept; As for superfluity in such things as these, which belong to the worship of God, there can be none, saith he, *secundum circumstantiam quanti*, as to the circumstance of quantity, I cannot do too much in the worship of God, I cannot offend that way \* *1.2.q.64. Art. 4* but, as \* elsewhere he saith of this, and the like, *tanto est melius*, in *corp.*

*quanto magis acceditur ad summum*, it is so much the better, by how much it comes nearer the highest. All the superfluity possible is as to the other circumstances, and he names but three. 1. *cui non debet*, by exhibiting divine worship to him to whom it ought not to be exhibited. 2. *quando non debet*, by giving it at a time when it ought not, (when having formerly been acceptable to God, tis now outdated) 3. in respect of other circumstances, *prout non debet*, in a manner wherein it ought not.

31. By this it appears already, how incompetent this testimony from Aquinas is, to prove the conclusion proposed by the Diatribist, that every thing in the worship of God which is not commanded by God, is too much. For sure every thing that is not commanded, is not presently forbidden, nor consequently offends against the *prout debet*, as it ought, the due manner, time, or other circumstances of it. If there be any difficulty in that phrase [*prout debet*, as it ought] and it be conceived to signifie so as is particularly commanded by God, and *è contra*, that what ever is done, being not particularly commanded by God, is *prout non debet*, as it ought not, this is certainly a mistake, and very distant from Aquinas's sense, who means by *cultus debitus*, due worship, any acts of worship, \* *qui ad Dei reverentiam fiunt*, which are done to the honour of God, with considering whether they be under precept or not, and consequently with him *cultus indebitus*, undue worship, is such as is done to the dishonor, at least not to the honor of God, as when of Idolatry he saith, that it \* *exhibet divine reverence, indebitè, unduly to the creature*.

\* 2<sup>a</sup>. 2<sup>a</sup> q. 81.  
Art. 5. in corp.

\* Q. 92. art. 2.  
corp.

32. In full accord with this it is that in that other text *qu. 92. art. 1.* Superstition is by him defined to be a *vice opposed to religion in the excessse*, whereby a man gives worship to him to whom he ought not, or not in a manner that he ought, meaning as he explains himself, not that of quantity, but in respect of other circumstances, when either it is fastned on a wrong object, divine worship to that which is not God, (which sure is against, not onely without the command of God) or done in a wrong manner, i. e. when any thing is done in the divine worship, \* *quod fieri non debet*, which ought not to be done, and he \* instances, *si quis temporibus gratia vellet colere Deum secundum veteris legis ritum*, If any man under Christianity would worship God after the rites of the old law, which sure

\* In resp. ad tertium.

\* Art. 2. in resp. ad tertium.

sure are not onely *not commanded* but *forbidden* under *Christ*, and so are a *proper* instance of the *quando non debet* the *undue circumstance* of *time*, mentioned *particularly* in the former place, and convinces that which I assigned to be the *meaning* of it. I need adde no more in this place concerning the *testimony* of *Aquinas*. Other mentions of his opinion in this matter, will hereafter occur, and then I shall have occasion to speake more to them.

33. His 3. proof is from the Doctors own concession, who, saith he, grants *there may be a nimety or excess of religion*, and addes words in such a style as are absolutely *nonsense*, even when the [ *not* ] ( which I suppose the insertion of the Printer ) is blotted out, thus *there may be a nimety in adding, and so is an exceder in the fear and service of God*.

34. But to pass by that, I answer, 1. that the Dr. no where useth that phrase, a *nimety or excess of religion*, the words [ *of religion* ] are inserted by the citer and honestly put in *different* letters, to note them to be his own.

35. The matter is plain, I there speak of an *excess of fear*, but not of *religion* (see the beginning of §. 46. of the Tr. of *superstition*.) and though I after say, that *he that thinks himself bound or obliges others, as from God, when God neither commands nor forbids, and so addes to the commands of God, and fears where there is no reason to fear, is an exceder in the fear and service of God*, yet neither is that *excess of religion*, nor indeed *excess of fear* or of *service of God*. but the meaning is apparently this, that in *fearing God*, and *serving God* he is guilty of some other *excess*, not an *excess of fear of God*, but *fearing* somewhat else, which he phantasies to come from *God*, when it doth not, this fear of that *something* else, is an *excessive fear* more then *religion* suggests to him, and yet the unhappines of it is, this interposeh it self in *religion*.

This will be more evident by an *example*, suppose a man to phantasie that by *Gods law* he ought to *kill* his *Father*, and fears *Gods wrath* if he doth not. this mans *fear* is *excessive*, but his *religion* is not, he is an *exceder in the service of God*, if he do that in *Gods service*, which is no part of it, but quite *contrary* to it, but doth not mean-while *serve God too much*, but *too little*, doth not *exceed* but fall *short*, and so is farre from being *too religious*.



There was certainly great need of *Arguments*, when this was thought fit to be produced to me, who sure knew my own *meaning* when I thus spake, and was likely enough to be able to give this *account* of it. As it is, I have done with his first *discovery* of *causes* of my miscarriages, and shall now hasten to the *second*.

## Sect. 4.

*Excess of Religion. Super statutum. Addition to the Rule. Doctrines. Δυσδαιμονία, Act. 17. 22. Act. 25. 29. Six concessions. Superstitiosus. Worshipping of Angels. Superstitum cultus. Slavish fear. Religion in Epicurus. Fear of punishment in sons; in wicked men. The necessity thereof. Dogmatizing. Placing more virtue in things than belongs to them.*

Numb. 1.

**T**He second cause of the Doctors miscarriages, saith he, is his *misprision*, That excess in Religion is not well called *Superstition*, or that *Superstition* is not excess of Religion. Sect. 27. &c.

2. To this I answer, 1. That my *memorie* not suggesting unto me, that I was at all guilty of this *misprision*, thus unlimitedly charged on me, I therefore read over that 27. and the two following Sections, to discern what it was that had given him occasion to affirm this, and there I find no such thing. The subject of Section 27. being the impropriety of their *expressions*, who resolve *Superstition*, simply and abstractly taken, in all Authors, to signify evil; of Sect. 28. a second *inconsequence*, that the use of *Ceremonies* not prescribed by Christ, should first be called *Superstition*, then condemned for deserving that title; of the 29. a third *inconsequent*, that men should abstain from some indifferent *Ceremonies*, as *Superstitious*, and not expect to be counted *superstitious* for obliging themselves to do the contrary. But sure none of these, nor all together, do at all yield any ground for that *conclusion*, which he hath here *misreported* from them, and that one would think, were a *competent* answer to this second *discovery* of *causes*.

3. But then 2. till the ἀμύβηλον be explained, and agreed on, what is

is meant by *excess* of religion, tis not possible for me to *affirm* or *deny*, to *acknowledge* or *disclaim* *universally*, what I am said to *affirm*. To deal plainly then, and without all *ambiguity*, If by *excess* of Religion he understand the doing of any thing in the *worship* of God, which Gods word doth not *command* (which is the onely thing which is of *controversie* betwixt us, as hath already been manifested) then I stick not to deny that this is *Superstition*, or that *superstition* in any *authentick* notion, or in the *origination* of the word whether *Greek* or *Latine*, doth import or comprehend this, and if he shall flie to any other sort of *excess*, and contend that to be it of which he speaks, this will be then the *fallacie* or lying hid in *ambiguities*, which I took care to deprive him of in the last *Section*.

4. 4. But he expresses sufficiently what *excess* in religion he means, by the proof which he first offers to *confirm* his *affirmative*. For, for this he brings three proofs, and the first is this, because it is an *addition* to the *rule* of *worship*, and so an *excess*, as *super statum*.

5. 5. Here though it be very hard to reduce this to any *formal* or *legal* proof of the *proposition* for which it was designed (and besides, it must be observed, in passing, that the *medium* here used, is no fitter for the proving of this then of the last *proposition*; for it is the *same* to both, and so indeed it is *equally* proper for both, or for what else he please) yet thus much is clear from it, that by *excess* in Religion he means *addition* to the *Rule*, and that we formerly discern'd to signify with him the doing any thing *uncommanded* in the *service* of God, and to that we have replied abundantly in the last *Section*.

6. 6. But he adds for the *confirmation* of his proof, one thing not said before, that all such *addition* to the *Rule* must be *superstition* forsooth, because it is *super statutum*, above what is *commanded*, supposing, it seems, that that is the *notation* of the word *superstition*. And then I desire the *Diatribist's* leave, that it may for once be my turn to make *discoveries* of *causes*, to propose to him, at least for *consideration*, whether this may not be his *etion* *fundamental* *procreative* mistake, the having inconsiderately in his youth swallowed this *etymologie* of the word *superstition* (I am unwilling to phantasie the *Diatribist* to be the *inventer* of it) as

if it were so called from *supra statutum*, above what is commanded.

7. If this be not a right *conjecture*, I shall profess to be at an end of my search of causes; But if it be, I desire him to allow me the favour once to *disabuse* him, by *exacting* this justice from him to himself, to consider whether any *Laws* of derivation, composition or analogie can permit him seriously to believe that [*statutum*] is ingreſſient in compounding *Superſtition*, or that it can be by any Rules deduced from any word in the *Latine* tongue, but *superstes*, *superstitis*, and the rather because *ἑσθαισιμονία*, which is resolved to be the *parallel Greek* to the *Latine superstition*, and is visibly so, if it be allowed to be deduced from *superstitium cultus*, hath nothing to do with *super statutum*, but is in plain words a *worshipping* of *Demons*.
8. Of this sure I have said enough in the *Treatise* of *Superſtition*, to satisfy any Scholar, that knows in the least, what belongs to the use or the nature of words, and so much, it seems, that Mr. C. confesses that the original of the word was *Heathenish*, to signify *superstitium cultus*, and only adds (*δουλοῦν ὑποδίσκει*, in civility or fidelity to his cause) that though this be true, yet 'tis well applied by *Divines* to those additions made to the Rule of worship. But I pray what is this but to grant the premises, and deny the conclusion? 'Tis certain and by him acknowledged, that the original of the word is another thing, not *super statutum*, what then can he tolerably mean by [*is well applied by Divines*] ? can *Divines* do well to apply *superstitio* to *super statutum*, when that is no way the nature of the word? Or can any proof be brought from hence to conclude *superſtition* an excess, or addition to the rule, because it is *super statutum*, when there is no affinity between *super statutum* and *superſtition*? what is or can be unreasonable, if this be not?
9. And so it appears how little truth there is in that which shuns up this first reason [*That which the Old Testament calls addition to the word, the New calls doctrines, traditions of men, idol-worship, superstition.*] In which few words as there be many infirm parts, 1. That additions to the word are in the *N. T.* called *Doctrines* (I suppose he means teaching somewhat else for *doctrines*, Mat. 15. 9. assuming them to be such when they are not:

So again, *Mar. 7. 7.* where yet the word *Doctrines* signifies the *Scripture* or *Doctrines* of *God*, and so the *teaching* their own *traditions* for *doctrines*, is adding them to the *Scripture*, *Doctrines* there simply signifying not that *addition*, but that to which the *addition* is made) and 2. that they are called *wil-worship* (the contrary of which is proved in the *Treatise* of *wil-worship*, and here to suppose it, is a *begging* of the *question*) so sure this is a third, that *additions* to the *rule* of *worship*, are any where in the *New T.* called *superstition*, I desire he will shew me one such place, for my *Concordance* will not afford it me.

10. Tis but a *δὲς ἀρεῶν*, only *twice* there used: First, *Act. 17. 22.* by *St. Paul* of the *Athenians*, whom he perceived to be *θεοδιδασκουμένους* more *superstitions* than others: But these sure never medled with, and so added not to the *true rule* of *worship*, any otherwise then as all that *abandon* it, *adde* to it, live by some other *false rule*, and minde not that; and if they are, for so doing, to be styled *adders* to the *rule* of *worship*, *adulterers* are so in like manner, and so by that measure or *standard*, every *sin* in the world is *superstition*.

11. Secondly, the word is used, *Act. 25. 29.* where *Festus* speaks of *Pauls* *ἰδίᾳ θεοδιδασκουμένη*, *own superstition*, but sure meant not to accuse him of *adding* to his or the *Jews rule* of *worship*, but understood his *own Religion*, and nothing else by that *phrase*. And so still *ὑπὲρ ὅρων*, here are as many *misadventures* amas'd together, as could well be crowd'd into so few words.

12. His second proof now follows, thus, Because as the *defect* in *Religion* is called *profaneness*, so the *excess* is called *superstition*, as standing in *opposition* to it. Alas, it seems there is great need of proofs, for this again, as the former, was the very *medium* to prove the first *proposition*, and so either the first, and this second *proposition* of his are all one (and then why was it cut in two, by *Lucians beetle*?) or else these proofs are very *excellent* instruments, fitted for all turns *indifferently*. However it is, I shall not need provide *new* answers to it, but remand it to the former *Section*, where it was considered to the utmost it could pretend: Only if he please, I shall put it in *form* for him, thus. The *worship* of the many *false Gods* or *Demons* is an *excess* opposed to *Religion*, or *worship* of the *one true God* of *heaven* and *earth*, in  
Aquinas's

Aquinas's opinion, and so alto is the worshipping the true God after an undue or unlawfull manner, *ergo*, the using any Ceremony (in the worship of the true God) which the Scripture hath not commanded, is superstition, and superstition is that: As if he should say, superstition is that, because it is somewhat else, as extremely distant from that, as that which is not God is from God, or as unlawfull (for so is superstition) is from lawfull, for such is that which is not prohibited.

13. 13. A third proof he now adds of his affirmation, and that after the manner observed in his former argument from the Doctors own concessions, and no less then five, nay the fourth number being twice repeated, no less then six of them: And if I have so liberally granted it, I wonder how it came to be my charge, and that as the cause of my miscarriages, that I denied it.
14. But 'tis strange to see what *ἀμετρία ἀνδολῆς* can do, phanſie first, and next accuse me of denying a thing *grosso modo*, and to prove me to have erred in thus denying, produce six several senses, wherein I have granted it, whereas there is in the whole inditement but one pretended, wherein I had denied it. In all reason those six concessions might have reconciled the Diatribist to me, and perswaded him that I was of his minde, rather then one single appearance of dissenting have thus provoked him.
15. The Doctors Concessions, such as they are, are evidently reconcileable with all that he hath proposed, in that Tract of Superstition, and the descending to a particular view of them, as they are marshalled up by the Diatribist, will take away all doubt in this matter.
16. First, saith he, he grants that superstitions may denote such an excess, Sect. 31. Here I demand what Mr. C. means by such an excess? that indeed is thus far answered already, that he means an excess of Religion: But what excess in Religion? The *superfluitum*, every addition to the rule of worship, i.e. every uncommanded circumstance, or Ceremony in the worship of God? Thus he must mean, if he be constant to himself, and if the Doctors Concessions yield him any appearance of proof for his affirmative. But to see the luck of it, this first citation from the Doctor is so far from yielding him any such testimony, that it is indeed

indeed the quite *contrary*; for that which the *Doctor* there observes *Secl.* 31. is this, that the word *superstitiosus* may indeed denote such *excess* from the force of the *termination ofus*, but this no more then the word *religiosus* also denotes, in the opinion of *Agellius* out of *Nigidius Figulus*, and consequently, that 1. *Superstitio* and *Religio* were all one in that same *Author's* opinion: and 2. that it is the animadversion of *Agellius* upon that *Author*, that all such *excesses* are not culpable, or taken in *ill*, but good senses. And then was not this a dangerous *concession*, fit to be called out in judgement against me, then which nothing could be more direct to the *asserting mine*, and refuting the *Diatribist's hypothesis*?

17. If this account of the word *superstitiosus* were not sufficient, to secure my pretensions, which in that place were only this, that *superstition* among all *Authors* signified not any *criminos excess*. I might farther adde, that even when the word *superstitiosus*; is but a bare *denominative* from *superstitio*, and yet is used in an *ill* sense, as when we *Christians* say a *superstitious* person, the account is clear, that *superstition* there signifies *Heathen-worship*, or somewhat proportionable to it \* *worshipping* of others beside the one true *God*; and by analogie with that notion of the *substantive*, the *adjective* fitly denotes him that acts like one of those *false worshippers*, or agrees with them in some eminent *facienda & c.* thing, which is a branch of their *false worship*, as he that makes *observations of dreams*, and *ominous days*, or *occurrences*, is said commonly to be *superstitious* herein, *i.e.* to imitate the *Auguries* of the *Heathen*, and many the like.

\* *Superstitiosum est quicquid ab hominibus institutum est ad facienda & c. tendenda idola pertinet.*  
August: de doctr. Christi: l. 2. c. 20.

18. The 2. *concession*, that the *worship of Angels* is an *excess* or *addition to the object of worship*, and by him styled that crime of [*superstition*] a man would wonder to see produced by the *Diatribist* against me. Tis certain I make the *worship of Angels* *superstition*, *worshipping* those fellow creatures, which a *Christian* ought not to *worship*; But is this an *excess* of religion, or not rather of *impiety*? *worshipping* of the creature *παρα τὸν κτίοντα* besides or over and above the creator. Tis true, this is an *addition to the object of worship*, as *death* is an *addition to life*, *i.e.* *destruction* to the *oneness* of that, which ought alone to be *worshipt*, and admits no rival (*ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, nor *worship*



the one God, if ye impart and lavish out that *incommunicable* privilege to any other) and so *adultery* is an addition to the object of marital love and fidelity: But then what is this to the prejudice of *uncommanded ceremonies*? the using of which *superstitium*, the *Diatribist* is to demonstrate to be *superstition*, for about that onely, he knows, the *controversie* is betwixt us.

19. The 3. *concession* is just parallel to this, and in part the same, *superstitum cultus*, saith he, the worship of the *Worthies* by heathens, or of *Saints* and *Angels* by *Papists*, is called *superstition* Sect. 3. most properly, why? but that it addes to the rule of worship.] I must not repeat what was so lately said, though the *Diatribist* will. Tis evident I affirm all these to be *superstition*, but the using of an *uncommanded rite* is none of these, what heathen worthy, *Saint*, or *Angel* is worshipped or idolized by my prostrating my self in the worship of the true God, by my bowing at the name of *Jesus* &c. As for the reason why the worship of heathen *Worthies* and *Saints*, and *Angels* by analogy, is called *superstition*, it is strange again what care of interest can do. The reason, one would think, was visible enough to the *Diatribist*, in the very naming of *superstitum cultus*, these *Worthies* and *Saints* are *superstites*, supposed to live after death (sure that is the notion of *superstes*) and so the worshipping of such is *superstition*, and as the *Angels*, so the souls of the *Worthies* that thus survive the bodies (and in the heathens theology are removed εις μακρον λίκον, to the fortunate Islands, in the Christians, to heaven or paradise, or *Abrahams bosome*) are solemnly styled *Salvatores*, and so the worshipping of them is *θειονσαιμωρια*, and that is *superstition*. Is not this reason enough for the justifying the propriety of the use of a word, that it perfectly accords with the origination of it both in Greek and Latine? and then what need of his capriccio, [why? but that it addes to the rule of worship] Certainly so doth *sacrilidge* (even when it robbes God] adde to the rule of worship, in this sense, doing something which the rule commands not, no nor permits, and yet that is [not *superstition*.

20. The 4. *concession* produced is yet more strange. A slavish fear saith he, of God, is granted to be *superstition*, because fear of God being worship commanded in the first commandment, slavish fear is an excess of that] and he hath adventured to cite the *scitons*, wherein

wherein is granted by me. §. 24. 25. of the *treatise of superstition*. Herein the Reader will easily satisfy himself by his own eyes; In a word, those *sections* lay no syllable of slavish fear, or any such matter (and yet the Printer hath not mistaken his figures) all that they say, is this, that *superstitio* sometimes signifies in authors any part of *Divine worship*, which in obedience to his God, or for fear of vengeance from him, any worshipper doth perform, a thing which every sect likes in themselves, but dislikes in others of a distant worship, and so either honours or defames with the title as of *superstition*, so of *Religion* also. Then, that it also signifies a trembling fear of Gods punishments due for sinne, such as the *Epicureans*, that denyed all providence, were willing to scoffe out of the world. And of this notion of *superstition*, and equally of religion among the *Epicureans*, and *Cicero* that took it from them, I had spoken there at large, from §. 14. to §. 20. to which I must remit the Reader, and onely adde what there I omitted, that all that is there observed would probably receive much light, if we could retrieve one book of *Plutarch*, which is lost, and in stead of which I can now onely give him the title of it, *περὶ δεισιμασίας* *ἑπιζυγος* of *superstition* to *Epicurus*, differing (it seems, both by the addition of *ἑπιζυγος*, and consequently in the subject of it) from that which is now extant of *Plutarchs περὶ δεισιμασίας*, which hath no considerable aspect on *Epicurus*, or his followers and *Philosophy*, either to defend or accuse it. Of this see the learned *Gassend* in his *Life of Epicurus*.

21. But to return, what pretence can there be thus to change my words in an unprofitable citation (when if it had been slavish fear in his notion of it, of which I spake, yet that had been farre enough from the using of uncommanded ceremonies or instituting of Festivals) and in stead of [that divine worship which any performs in obedience to his God, or for feare of punishment from him, and which *Epicurus* desired to scoffe out of the world] to substitute slavish fear of God, or an excess of that fear of God which is prescribed as worship in the first commandment? ] Can it enter into any Christians heart to think or say, that *Epicurus* was in the right in that part of his Theology, and consequently that it was an excess of fear which *Epicurus* desired to exterminate? This is to say, that all religion, belief of hell, infinite punishments appoirtioned to sin-

ners in another world, are *excess* of fear, and (under the title of *slavish*) *criminous*, and to be *cast out*. This certainly was *Epicurus's* meaning, and the verses in *Lucretius* demonstrate it, where he thus argues,

— Nam si nullum finem esse putarent  
Ærumnarum homines, nullâ ratione valerent  
Religionibus atque minis obistere vatum.

If men should believe endless punishments, they could never resist the religions, and threatnings of the Priests. And who would have expected the *Diatribist* a favourer of this sect, as he must be, if this fear of God, which *Epicurus* called Religion or Superstition, be by him lookt on as an *excess* of that worship of the first commandment? for that was *Epicurus's* very notion of it, placing his own opinion in the *midst*; and as on one side, downright *Atheisme*, denying any God at all, so on the other, *believe* of a providence, of rewards and punishments; which as the mother of fear or perturbation, and interrupter of the passion for the quiet of life (his great aim) and very \* *injurious* to the Gods, he rejected as another extreme, under the title of \* *Superstition*. But of this I have spoken abundantly, and did not foresee that Mr. C. was to be admonisht of this worst principle in all *Epicurus* his philosophy.

\* Quid enim  
interest utrum  
Deos neget an  
insanes?

\* Superstitio error  
in sanus, aman-  
dos timet, quos  
colit violat.  
Seneca Epi-  
col. 114.

22. Yet because he is fallen into it, under color of the ordinary divinity concerning *slavish* fear, and because mention of this *slavish* fear as of a criminous excess, and a branch of superstition recurs very frequently in these *Diatriba*, I shall not resist the invitation of saying somewhat in this place, once for all, of *slavish* fear: By that I suppose he understands fear of punishment, as by filial fear, a reverential obedience, proceeding wholly from love, without any thing of fear in it. Concerning this distinction I shall first demand, whether it have any thing of propriety in it, i. e. whether *sonnes* may not lawfully and reasonably fear punishment from their parents, in case they shall deserve it, even the greatest punishment, exheredation, and casting out of the family, upon their continuing disobedient and refractory to their fathers commands, and whether this very fear be not so usefull to restrain the excesses of youth, and keep them within that obedience, that no parent will ever think fit that the child shall know or think that his disobedience, whatsoever the degree of it may be, shall

shall not be thus *punish'd*, and lastly, whether it be not *duty* in the *childe* thus to *fear*, and proportionably whether this be not *applicable* to every *childe* of *God*, especially being exhorted to it, *Heb. 4. 1. Let us fear lest a promise being made of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it* (adding thereto *Heb. 12. 28, 29.*) and this *distinction* being founded in the likeness between a *childe* of *God*, and a *childe* of an *humane* parent: If this be so, then there can be no *fitness* or *propriety* in the *distinction* thus explicated, nor can the *fear* of *punishment* be *discriminatively* called *slavish*, nor with *justice* defined an *excess* of *fear*.

24. Secondly, The *slavish* fear I shall suppose in the *Diatribists* notion to be such as is in a *wicked* man, and then it must be either the *fear* of *divine* vengeance for sin committed *formerly*, or for sin at the *time* of committing it, or for sin *before* he commit it; and I demand how any of these three *fears* can by a *Christian* duly be called an *excess*, or with any *propriety* *superstition*? For ought not the *wicked* man to *fear* *punishment* for his sins past, when *God* affirms solemnly there is *no peace*, *no peace* to such? be not the *judgements* of *God* gone out against that man, and if that *Lyon* roar, shall not he *fear*, if *vengeance* be denounced from *God* against him, is it a season for him to *cast off* *fear*? or if he doth, is not this *carnal* *security*? and is not the *contrary* apprehension (i.e. *fear*) necessary to reduce him? in a word, are not the *terrors* of the *Gospel* part of the *Gospel*, and on purpose designed to bring such a man to *repentance*, and can he be said to *believe* the *Gospel*, which believes not that part of it, or will they be motives of *Reformation* to him, if he do not *apply* them to himself, in respect of his present state? and can he so *apply* them, who doth not *fear* the *execution* of them?

25. So at the very point of *committing* any wilfull *sin*, ought he not to look upon it, as that against which the *wrath* of *God* is denounced, and can he do so, and *believe* *God*, and not *fear* that *wrath* may fall on him, and that as long as he remains under the power of such *sin*, he remains under the *wrath* of *God*? Are all the *evil abodes* of an *accusing* conscience in a vicious person, *excess*, nay is not the *contrary* the *highest* pitch both of *presumption* and *danger*, the very root bearing gall and wormwood, to *bless* him-

self in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination of my heart, Deut. 39. 19.

26. Lastly, before the commission of sin, when he enters into temptation, is not the feare of hell an usefull restraint to him, is it not both his duty and his bridle, is there, or can there be any excess in that? should he fear, or should he not fear? If he should not, then what can keep him from running into all excess of riot? shall love of God, or virtue? but the wicked man, as wicked, is supposed to have none of that in his heart: But if he should, if it be his duty to fear, and to fear hell, in case he shall thus go on, then still how can it be an excess?
27. The consideration of these few things may perhaps give the Diatribist reason to change his minde concerning slavish fear, and no longer to think it an excess of Religion, nor, as such, capable of the title of Superstition.
28. The truth is, what is amiss in such fear, is a defect, not excess, a want of love, not any unproportionable measure of fear, God is made up of goodness, as well as justice, and the Gospel compounded of promises as well as threats, and the love of Christ ought to constrain us, as well as the terrors of the Lord to persuade, and he that hath a quick sense of one, and none of the other, he is not an excedder in fear, but deficient in love, and so still the mention of slavish fear in this place, and frequently in the first exercitation, is very unapplicable to the purpose, for which it is brought, as an instance of an excess of religion, or superstition.
29. Some little thing more I shall perhaps be forced to say to it hereafter, but this shall not be repeated, and so must be remembered from hence.
30. The 4<sup>th</sup> Concession of the D<sup>n</sup>. is observed to be this, that to affirme God to command, when he doth not, is granted to be superstition, under the notion of nimiety or excess, because that man addes to the commands of Christ. § 46. ] To this I answer, that for them who are resolved to have superstition taken in the sense of nimiety, and in that sense to be opposed to religion, as an extreme to the mediocrity, I did assign this of imposing commandments on God ( and so obligations on our selves, and others) which he never gave, as an excess of fear, a being afraid of God, when we need not, and so proportionable to one notion of

of *δυσδαιμονία*, arising from the consideration of the word *δῖδω* (which may signifie perhaps a *trembling*, and so *cowardly fear*, *δουλία*) in that *composition*, And if hereby I have gratified the *Diatribist*, and yeelded the *Dogmatizer* a *Superstitious* person, I wonder why this might not have been taken notice of in my behalf, and so saved him the pains of *affixing* this *position* on me, that *excess* in *religion* is not well called *Superstition*, which 'tis visible, and by himself now confess, that in this sense, I affirme it to be; see that 46. §. of *Superstition*.

31. Mean-while the *Drs. hypothesis* is still secure, for this no way belongs to the bare *using* in the *private* man, or the *Magistrates* *prescribing* *Ceremonies* in the *worship* of *God*, neither of them doing it upon pretense of *Divine precepts*.

32. The very same reply belongs exactly to my last *concession*, vouched by him, that to *place* more *virtue* in *things*, then *God* or *nature* has put in them, is granted to be an *excess*, because it adds to the *promises* of *Christ*, and called *Superstition* by me, §. 45.] For this is another *particular*, which I allow to be an *excess*, and when it is not meer *folly* fit to be comprehended under the style of *Superstition*, for this farther reason besides those which I there mentioned, because such *beliefs* as these are mostly borrowed from the *heathen δυνδαιμονίαις*, and are *remainders* of their *practices*, as *S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine* Ep: 73. speaks of the *ligatures*, *Execranda superstitione ligaturarum, in quibus inanes, &c. non ad placendum hominibus, sed ad serviendum demonibus adhibentur*, the *accursed superstition* of *ligatures*, among which are the *ear-rings* &c. used not for the *pleasing* of *men*, but to *serve* *devills*. This *testimonie* the *Reader* may subjoyn, if he please, to the *Supellex* already prepared for him in this kind §. 26. of *superst*: and discern how far I have been from *denying*, what I am accused here to *deny*, and yet as far from *yeelding* him any *foundation* of *concluding*, that the *Ceremonies* or *Festivals* of our *Church* are in the least degree guilty of *Superstition*.

34. And so much for his *second discovery* of *causes* of my (*phantied*, not *real*) *mistakes*.



## Sect. 5.

*The innocence of Wil-worship. Analogie with voluntarie oblations under the law. Seeming Contradiction. The authority of Chrysostome and Theophylact. The 2<sup>d</sup>. Commandment. Reducing all sinnes to the Decalogue. Addition to the rule, Worship of Angels. Other sinnes beside that of Dogmatizing.*

Num. 1.

- T**He 3<sup>d</sup>. part of his discovery of causes belongs peculiarly to that of *Will-worship*, thus,
2. *The third, saith he, is, that ἑλεοδρασκεία or Will-worship, is nothing but voluntarie worship, as innocent as the freewill offerings &c.* which proposition of mine I must suppose made up of these two parts, 1 that *Wil-worship* is nothing else but *voluntarie worship*; 2 that being so, tis *innocent*, and as *innocent* as *freewill offerings*: And in which part of these, one or both, the mistake lyes, I am not told, but both together indistinctly are proposed, as my 3<sup>d</sup>. *fundamental miscarriage*.
  3. And then, as to the first, I cannot begin without some remark, that it should be possible to be lookt upon by this *Diatribist*, as a *paradox*, or *mistake*, or *miscarriage* in any man, and such as is meet to be noted, as the most fruitfull mother of many more, that *ἑλεοδρασκεία or Will-worship* should be affirmed to be nothing else but *voluntarie worship*. Where I have no farther appeal to make, then either to the ears of all men of common understanding, or to the *Glossaries* and *Interpreters* of words. For is there any the nicest difference imaginable betwixt *Wil-worship* and *voluntary worship*, save that in the latter [ *voluntary* ] is of a latter origination, from *voluntas*, *voluntarius*; but [ *will* ] though perhaps from the *Latin* originally is yet more antiently *infranchised* among us of *England*, I shall make short work of this, if it be taken for any part of the mistake, by desiring one favour from *Mr. C.* viz. that he will translate either the *Greek* ἑλεοδρασκεία. or the *English*, *Wil-worship*, into *Latine* for me; will it not surely be *voluntarius cultus*, and is not that being turn'd again into *English*, *voluntary Worship*? What can be more evident then this?

But

4. But it may be hoped that this was not my *mistake*, but what follows, viz. that this *voluntary worship* is as *innocent* as the *freewill offering*. But it is not possible, that should be the *mistake* neither, for *freewill offerings* under the *Law* were certainly one *species* of *voluntary worship*, and so known by the title of *innocent*, *voluntary*, and therefore those being *innocent*, tis certain that all the other *fellow species* of *voluntary worship*, bearing proportion with these and having no *circumstance* to defame them, which the other had not, must needs be *innocent* also.
5. That thus it is, and this is the notion of the word in the *only* place where it is used in the *New Testament*, *Col. 2.* hath already been largely vindicated in the *Traкт of Wil-worship*, which the *Reader* is requested to resort to, and the *Annotation on Col. 2.* where many more evidences are added to it, which make it *superfluous* to add yet more in this place; *Only* I must secure it from the *Diatribist's* *ἀντιθέσεις* or *objections*: And the first is by way of *velitation*, that it seems a *contradiction in adjective*, that *voluntary worship* and *uncommanded* should be *innocent*.
6. There is no end of disputing about *appearances*; That may seem to *Mr. C.* which doth not to other men, and *Ammonius* tells me this is very ordinarily observable in *this* very matter, *Εἰς τὸ μέγιστον* *ἐν τῇ αἰδομένη ἀποδόσει* *ἡ μὲν ἀποδόσει, many propositions* seem indeed to be *contradictory*, but yet are not *such*. *ἐξουν. f. 89.* But I shall ask, Is it what it *seems*, or is it not? If it be not, why was this mentioned by one, who can distinguish betwixt *true* and *false*, *colour* and *varnish*, *reality* and *appearance*? If it be, I desire to be instructed, what *Logician* hath so defined *contradiction* as will any way accord to this expression.
7. The *only* definition or description of *contradiction in adjective* that ever I heard of, is, when that which is added is *contradictory* to that which was first set, and *contradictions* we know are *affirmations* and *negations* of the same thing in the same respect, either *formally* which the interpreters of *Aristotle* call *διαγωνίως* *diagonal*, *μαχούμεναι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀντιπαπῶς*, fighting one with another in direct form of *contradiction*, ἢ πᾶς τῇ ἢ πᾶς, the *enunciation* [every man] to the *negation* [not every man] or *interpretatively*, i. e. by certain consequence or implication, as if I should say, *Socrates is not a man*, here were a *contradiction in adjective*.

*adjecto*, because in the *subject* of the *proposition*, he that had the appellation of *Socrates*, was supposed to be a *man*, and yet in the *predicate*, that is *denied* of him. But certainly here is no such thing, either *formally*, or by *implication*, in this *proposition*, *Voluntary, or uncommanded worship is innocent*;] Of *forbidden worship* this were true, for *innocence* to be attributed to that, were *contradiction in adjecto*, but there is a wide difference betwixt *forbidden* and *voluntary*, as wide as between *unlawfull* and *lawfull*, all being *lawfull*, which is *not forbidden*, else there were not *universal truth* in the *Apostles maxims*, that *sin is a transgression of the Law*.

8. I shall convince what I say by this plain instance, *Theophylact* saith of many men ὑπερβαίνοντες πολλὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν that they exceed or transcend many of the commandments; I demand, Do they offend and sin, and are nocent in so doing, or did that holy man think they did? 'Tis evident he did not; for he, after his manner, borrows from, and transcribes \* *Chrysostome*, and in stead of πολλοὶ many, he reads πνευματικοὶ the spiritual; They, saith he, do many things with desire and appetite, and manifest it τὸ ὑπερβαίνειν τὰ ἐντολματα, in that they do even exceed the commands; It appears therefore that to these two holy and learned men, it seemed not, what to Mr. C. it seems, that there is contradiction in adjecto, in affirming voluntary and uncommanded worship to be innocent. A multitude of the like testimonies are put together in the *Annotat. on Col. 2.* which may be sufficient to justify me from singularity, that I discern not the phantied seeming contradiction.

9. But this affirmation again of the *Diatribist* will not want its proofs; four, that pretend to that title, are here annexed.

10. For 1. saith he, *It's expressly against the 2<sup>d</sup>. commandment which forbids all worship not expressly commanded by God.* I must not complain of my eyes, or other faculties, because they are the best that God hath given me; but I may wish for such supplies as Mr. C. hath met with, for else I am sure I shall never see the least glimpse of that which he mentions so expressly out of the 2<sup>d</sup>. Commandment. What is expressly against the 2<sup>d</sup>. Commandment, should, me thinks, oppose some expresse words in it, and then it must follow that there are such expresse words there, which

\* In Rom. 8.

which forbid all worship not commanded by God, and this not only as by worship are meant the sorts and species of worship, but the very accessories and ceremonies of worship, and all the expressions and emanations of the inward fulness of the religious heart. But my *Optick Glasse* will not afford me any such prospect in the 1<sup>d</sup>. *Commandment*: All sorts of graven images, and such like, I have there a fair view of, and an express severe interdict of worshipping them, but for all kinds and all circumstances of worship which are not commanded, kneeling, prostrating the body to the invisible true God, the times and degrees of ardency of worship, the abstinencies, self-denials attendant on it, sure there is nothing said expressly there, either to command or forbid them, and for any general comprehensive phrase, that can rationally contain a prohibition of all which is not commanded, I can say no more, but that the first verse of *Genesis* or any other in the *Bible*, hath as much of this to my eye, as the 2<sup>d</sup>. *Commandment*.

11. The business we are all this while upon, is, the discovering of causes of mistakes, and therefore I must be excused again, upon the score of the example before me, if I once more attempt to shoot my shaft, and by this first argument pass my conjecture of the cause of the prefacers mistake in this matter. It is the solemn practise of some *Casuits*, to reduce all sins in the world to some or other of the *Commandments* of the *Decalogue*; wherein I am not sure that they have aim'd aright, for separate *gluttony* and *drunkenness* (as sure they may be separated, and yet continue to be sins) from some accidental consequences of them, as *wasting of health*, which may assign either of them to the 6<sup>t</sup>. *Commandment*, and the like, and you will hardly tell whither to reduce the intemperate use of the creature; And so for that sort of lying or false speaking which is no way hurtful, or designed to be hurtful to the neighbour, and many the like instances might be given. But on this I insist not with any concernment, but leave it to prudent consideration, what necessity there is, that all laws natural and positive divine should be reduced to one or more of these 10. *Commandments*. This is not that which I meant to say, but farther to offer it to consideration, whether it be not visible, that those *Casuits* which have erred in judging the unlawfulness of some things, have not easily been induced to reduce them to

some or other of the *Commandments*, as offences against the affirmative or negative part, and if not against the words or sense, yet against the *Analogue* of it.

12. According to this practice it is most necessarily consequent, that he that hath been posselt of the *unlawfulness* of ceremonies and worship uncommanded, and hath not so far considered, as to rectifie his judgement in that matter (by weighing this one thing, that whatsoever is not forbidden is lawful, not, whatsoever is not commanded is unlawful) must whensoever he shall write cases of conscience, or comment on the *Decalogue*, reduce this to some interditt under one of the ten heads, and all the other nine renouncing it, force it in by some appearance of *analogue*, to the 2<sup>d</sup>. *Commandment*; And then it falls out, that so many men, disaffected to the Government and Ceremonies of the Church of England, have written on the *Commandments*, that it can be no more matter of wonder, that uncommanded worship should be crowded in to the 2<sup>d</sup>. *Commandment* (and there long agoe imbibed by the *Diatribist*, and never questioned since) then that Mr. Brightman should find the Church of England of this age, among the seven Cities of Asia in St Johns time, or that Mr. Parker should make the using the cross in Baptisme, a breach of every one of the ten *Commandments*, and branch a book in folio, into the *Atbeisme*, as I remember, I am sure, the *Idolatry*; &c. till at last, the *concupiscence* of the Cross.

13. And then I shall but ask this *Diatribist* whether he can heartily believe that the use of that *ceremonie* was really guilty of all those several transgressions of the Law of God, and if he shall *mixen*, beseech him to examine over again his own affirmation here, 1. Whether any one man hath said so fully what here he hath, that voluntary and uncommanded worship is expressly against the 2<sup>d</sup>. *Commandment* (they that onely reduce it thither, fall short of him) 2. Whether they that have thought fit to refer it thither by reduction, have produced any cogent or satisfactory reason for so doing. and the next time he affirms this from them, annex the reason, such as may justifie a most rigid conclusion to the consciences of all others who may be concerned in it, either in order to their own practice, or the judging of others. And I shall not farther exagitate this his first proof.

14. The 2<sup>d</sup> proof is the same we have had twice already, for the asserting the two former affirmations, *voluntarie worship is an addition to the rule of worship, and eo nomine Superstition and that is sinfull.* ] But I have already shewed, that all additions to that rule are not *Superstition*, and that all that is by any called *Superstition*, is not *eo nomine* sinfull, and so I am safe from that proof also.
15. So in like manner from the 3<sup>d</sup>, which is but another repetition, put in form of question [ *Why is the worship of Angels and Saints criminal ? but because it was invented and added by the will of man ?* ] This question was answered long since, that the worship of all creatures is criminal ; because the command is positive and exclusive, that God, and none but the one God is to be worshipped, and though the doing what is not commanded, is not a sin, yet the doing what is forbidden must needs be sinfull, and such is the worshipping of Angels &c.
16. What he here addes in the close of this 3<sup>d</sup> proof, that they ( I suppose, who worship Angels ) do not urge it as a commandment of God ] was sure very unnecessarily inserted, For I never doubted but there are other sins besides dogmatizing, and can now promptly suggest to him competent store of instances ; sure the murder is a sinner, though he teach it for a doctrine from heaven, that it is lawfull to kill his brother, &c. And then why should not the worshipper of Angels against expresse precept ( *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship* ) be a transgressor of that Commandment, though he oblige not, as from God, any other man to do the like ?
17. His last proof is *ab incommodo*, *If wil worship*, saith he, *be innocent, I cannot see how all that rabble of Superstitious worship at Rome can be condemned, for they are not held out as Commandments of God, but traditions of men* ] The answer last given to the appendage of the 3<sup>d</sup> proof is sufficient to this also. Other faults there may be in worship, beside holding it out as the Commandment of God. It may for the object of worship take in somewhat beside God, or for the ceremonies it may multiply them unprofitably, ridiculously, or it may be, pretend more virtue in them, then really belongs to them, and many the like. But these I mention, because if it be true, what is here suggested, that the



worship at Rome, is really *superstitious*, and that there is a *rabble* of that worship there, as is supposed in the *question*, the *answer* is already given by the very *proposal* of it, and hath without any *violence* to my *hypothesis*, which undertook not to justify all, or any other *Churches* in their worship, but onely that of *England*, which is known to be *free*, where *Rome*, I adde, where the *Greek Church* in as high a degree as *Rome*, is guilty. And this may serve for the 3<sup>d</sup> *grand discovery* of *causes*.

### Sect. 6.

#### *The Lawfulness of instituting the Christmas Festival. Of Church Laws.*

- Numb. 1.* **T**He last ground of mistake assigned by the *Distributist*, is, that the *Dr.* takes for granted, That a *Church* or particular person hath power to institute and observe worship not commanded by God, which remains upon him to prove before he can vindicate his Festival (as he and others maintain it) from the double crime of *Superstition* and *Wil-worship*.
2. If this differ from the third (as in reason it ought, else why should it be added to it?) then the mistake is not onely, or so much that I *affirme*, as that I *take for granted*, when I ought to *prove*, that a *Church* or particular person hath power to institute and observe worship not commanded by God. Now I shall at once *prove* my *affirmation*, and apply it to my Festival as he calls it, and shew that I have already proved it, and so not taken it for granted, as is here suggested.
3. For the former, I offer this *probation*, whatsoever is in it self perfectly free or lawfull by the *Law of God*, and that libertie no way retrenched, that a *Church* or particular person hath power to institute and observe, But the *Christmas Festival* or annual commemoration of *Christ's birth*, is in it self perfectly free or lawfull by the *Law of God*, and that liberty no way retrenched. Ergo.
4. Of the major I suppose there can be no doubt, if there be, these three considerations will clear it. 1. Because whatsoever is perfectly

fectly free and lawful, that the Church or the Christian hath power to do, unless that *libertie* be some way retrenched to him; 2. What every particular Christian may freely do, that he may still do, when it is by the Church prescribed or instituted, else that all of the Church prescribing shall render that which it prescribes unlawful, being perfectly lawful before that prescription (and if upon the most Anarchical principles, that should be supposed to have any reason it, then still that liberty is some way retrenched, the contrary to which is supposed in the major proposition.) 3. Because the Church, meaning by that word the Universal Church of God, whether of the Apostles times, including them, chief pastors thereof, or of the purer times succeeding, together with the Governors of each Church succeeding the Apostles, hath the power of Stewards, noted by the Keyes intrusted to it by Christ, and consequently may dispose, order, institute for her members, in those things which she shall judge to tend to the honor of God, and to edification, though it be not immediately commanded (so it be not any way prohibited) by God.

5. As for the minor that the Christmas Festival is thus free and lawful, doth also appear by the no prohibition of God's in force against it, by the lawfulness of praising God, and commemorating the gift of Christ on any day (one or more) in the year, and consequently on the 25 of December, by the analogie of other Festivals among the people of God in all ages, and by the answer to all objections, to the contrary, and the evidence of the matter, that this liberty hath no way yet been retrenched by God, that gave it. And all this severally cleared in the former discourses, and the chief of them again vindicated here, by answer to the Diatribists pretended discovery of my mistakes.

6. On which that I do not now think my self obliged farther to insist, by addition of more evidences, the reason will be soon discerned, by taking notice of the one proof which he here subjoins to this his last ground, in these words. [Which I prove by this one argument, If all additions to the word in matter of worship be criminous and sinful, as prohibited by God, Deut. 4. 2. and elsewhere, then no man or Church can without sin adde any worship to that commanded by God; But the first is true, Ergo.] Where it seems the whole matter is devolved to that one issue, whether

whether the *text* *Dent.* 4. 2. and the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment* (for there is not any other [*elsewhere*] any other *text* by the *Diatribist* produced to that purpose) be sufficient to prejudge the *using* or *instituting* any *ceremonie* or *Festival*, which is *not* *commanded* by *God*; And I hope this *suppletory* to those former *discourses*, which hath considered those two *texts*, hath sufficiently convinced that; And so there is no more now needfull to be added to this matter.

7. Thus have I traced this *Diatribist* through every branch of his *discovery* of *causes*, and shewed, I hope competently, on which side the *mistakes* ly, and if there be no more *miscarriages* in those three *tracts* of *Superstition*, *Wit-worship*, and *Festivals*, then this *Preface*, assigned to that work, hath *discovered* to me, I shall have no need farther to importune the *reader* with a *Superfluous vindication*, unless upon this score onely, that tis possible that the *Diatribist* may not have summed up his *bill* aright, that there may still remain some particular *mistakes* *discoverable* by the view of the *particulars*, which are here omitted in the *foot* of the *account*, and then I must not take advantage of *false reckoning*. And upon this slender *account* I must now still attend his *motions*, and shall do it, in confidence, that what hath been here, in *answer* to his *Preface*, said so largely, will not be exacted of me again at every turn, by way of *Repetition*. On which ground it is evident, that I am to make no *return* to the remainder, which is the *recapitulating* of this *Preface*.

CHAP. III.

*Of Superstition peculiarly. And first of his Prolegomenon on that Subject.*

SECT. I.

*Answer to §. 1. The method used to find the meaning of the word.*

IN his first *Diatribē*, that of *Superstition*, §. 1. I may lightly *Num. 1.* touch and pass over the dislike of my *method* in writing of *Wil-worship* before *Superstition*, together with the *reason*, that being more *general*, this a *species* under it; for though it be certain, that I am not of his mind, that the *former* is a *species* of the *latter*, and so that I cannot admit of his *reason of change*, or that his is, as he saith, a more *just methodical order of tractation*, yet I shall not ingage in a dispute of their *precedence*, but only reply to the latter part of his first §. which directs the manner of inquiring, what *Superstition* is, not by searching into the monuments of *heathen Authors Latine or Greek* from the names or senses by them given, as by the judgement of *Divines &c.*

2. In answer to this I shall need no farther reply then to remind him, that as there is no better way to understand the full importance of words, then to examine them in their *origination*, and their usage among the *best Authors, Masters of words*, not only *profane but sacred*, so sure this is the very *method* I have taken, for *Indiscretion* (and *Superstition*) viewing it in the *antient heathens*, in the *parts* first, then in the *composition*, and so also in the *sacred Scripture* (which I hope is no *heathen Author*) as oft as it is found there, in *Lactantius* and *St. Augustine*, which sure knew what *true Religion* meant, whatsoever he is pleased to suggest of my way and *Authors*, and are as competent judges of *Superstition*, as his later *Divines*, that have reduced the use of

all ceremonies, not commanded by God, to the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment (and to *Dent.* 4. 2.) under the title of *Superstition*.

## SECT. 2.

*Answer to §. 2. Amesius's definition. The matter of the 4. first Commandments. The Affirmative part of the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment. The Diatribist's misadventure about Duty in the midst. No prohibition of either holy days in the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment. Jeroboams alt, 1 Kin. 12. 32. The Rubenites altar, Josh. 22. Naaman's altar. Christmasts Festival parallel to it. The excesses in each Commandment.*

*Numb.* 1. **I**N the 2<sup>d</sup> §. where he shews out of Dr. Ames: how *Superstition* may be truly defined by *Aquinas*, a vice contrary to Religion in the excess, viz. in order to the acts or external means of worship superadded by the wisdom or will of man, when a man renders worship either to whom it is not due, or not in that manner which he ought] he knows this, in the obvious sense of the words, such as from *Aquinas* was lately cited, is perfectly agreeable to my affirmations who make the worship of all but God, and the worship of God in any forbidden or abolisht manner, to be species of *Superstition*. But if by the equivocal phrase [not in the manner which he ought] he mean [in whatsoever other manner, or rite, or circumstance which God hath not expressly prescribed, any appendant of worship instituted or appointed by man] (and not onely any worship, as he cites out of *Amesius*, p. 4.) there is no truth in his definition, nor agreeableness to *Aquinas's* sense, as hath appeared formerly: Tis sure, *Aquinas*, which is cited in the *margent*, hath not owned any such interpretation of [non prout debet] to belong to all uncommanded rites. If *Amesius* have (which I have not commoditie to examine) then he was one of the *Casuists* which I forementioned, as the derivets of this prejudice into the *Diatribist*, and if *Ursinus*, Dr. *Fulke*, Mr. *Perkins* are rightly cited in his *margent*, and their words extended no farther then they designed them, then perhaps we have the

the full catalogue of them, and the *Diatribist* is now of age, to consider whether they have proved, or onely dilated in this matter.

2. As for the grounds which are here laid by the *Diatribist* toward the evincing of it, they are no way qualified for such a structure. For when to the 4. *Commandments* of the first Table, he assigns these 4. things as the *Subject* matter of them, a right object of worship, God alone, of the first; a right master, commanded worship, of the second; a right manner, with all reverence, of the third; a right time, his own appointed day, of the fourth; and thence concludes all excess in any of these *Superstition*, there is scarce any one minute part of sound doctrine in all this.
3. For in the first, which hath most of truth, yet this failing there is, that the right object of worship is not the principal matter of that *Commandment*, but the worship it self, all the parts of that, having him for our God, treating him, addressing to him, as such, and of this there is no criminal excess, which can be styled *Superstition*, the *Superstition* forbidden in that commandment, is not any extreme or excess of worshipping the true God, but the taking in other rivals to that worship, which belongs to the true God incommunicably, and so is the matter of the negative part of that precept, not the nimety of the affirmative.
4. In the second, there is not a word to determine the matter of it to commanded worship, as hath been evidenced beyond all question. The *Subject* of the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment* is the prohibition of Idol-worship; And bending the knee to the true God and none else, observing of *Christmases* &c. are remote enough from that guilt.
5. As for the 3<sup>d</sup> I had thought our Saviour *Mat. 6.* had given us the summe of it, *Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but perform unto the Lord thy oathes*, the negative and affirmative parts of it, and then with what propriety can that be said to denote the right manner of the worship, with all due reverence? Or if it should be extensible so far, then sure all ceremonies that may express that reverence, though not elsewhere prescribed, will be here commanded, and then sure not forbidden in the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*.
6. Lastly, for the right time, God's own appointed day (the Sabbath, I suppose, he means) though that be appointed in the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*,



mandment, yet sure not so as to prohibit all others, we know there was a yearly *Sabbatick fast* (the great day of *expiation*) so called *1/a. 58. 12.* and many other *feasts* beside that of the *weekly rest* in the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*, some of *Gods own institution*, others, as the *feast of dedication* of the *Altar*, in memory of the *purging* by *Judas Maccabaeus*, instituted by the *Jews* themselves and never mentioned in the *Canon* of the *old Testament*; and so the *fasts* of the *first* and *seventh moneth*, *Zac. 7. 5.* And under the *new Testament*, the *first day* of the *week*, that certainly was not the *last*, which the *Decalogue* prescribed, and why the *Apostles*, that instituted that, proportionably to the *weekly Sabbath*, should not (either they, or their *successors*) institute *other days, festival or fasting*, proportionable to the like among the *Jews*, sure there is no manner of *prohibition* in the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*, which commanding one day to be *hallowed*, and allowing the rest for their ordinary labour, doth not yet *interdict* all others, or bind his own, or his peoples, and all *Christians* hands from *prescribing* or setting apart any other.

7. And there being so little solidity in the grounds, how can it be expected, there should be any in the *conclusion*, as he saith, *answerably erected* on them, that *Superstition* may extend to the *whole first Table*, or that every *excess* which he will phantasie *reducible* to any of these, shall straightway commence *Superstition*?
8. That he may farther persuade this, one *observation* he commends to us *fundamental* to this *discovery*, but such as I think never slip from any man before him. His words are these, *The Commandments of God, having every of them a negative and affirmative part (expressed or understood) the duties of Religion do stand in the midst, as virtues between two extremes.* Here I shall not question the *corner stone* of this *foundation*, else I might demand, what is the *affirmative part* of the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*, or how can it be evidenced that there is any, or indeed any more then a *prohibition* of *idol-worship* appendant to the *no other Gods* in the *first Commandment*, which still is but a *negative*, or an *interdict*, or if an *affirmative* be to be understood, must it not be *bowing down* to the *true God*, and so that will not *prejudge*, but *justifie* all outward decent *gestures* of *adoration*, assist, not *oppgne* our *presentions*?

But.

9. But in stead of this nicer *inquiry*, and supposing with him that every of the *Commandments*, hath its *negative* and *affirmative* part. I onely demand how he could think that the *duties of Religion* stand in the *midst*? what I pray is the *antecedent* to which [in the *midst*] relates? there is no other in the *period*, but [an *affirmative* and *negative* part of each *Commandment*] But do the *duties of Religion* stand in the *midst* of the *affirmative* and the *negative* part of each *Commandment*; as *virtues* between two extremes? Then sure the *affirmative* part of the *command* is one *extreme*, and the *negative* is the other, then what is *commanded* in the *affirmative* part, to that which is under *precept*, is an *extreme*, and so a *vice*, as far removed from *virtue*, as that which is *forbidden* in the *negative*, the *worship* of one *God*, a *vice*, as well as the *worshipping* of many; *paying* to *God* our *oathes*, a *vice*, as well as *perjury*; *perfect chastity*, a *vice*, as well as the most *prostitute adultery*, and so in the rest of them: what could have been said more unluckily then this?

10. I would fain believe that the *Diatribist* did not mean thus, and therefore would attempt to affixe some other possible meaning to his words, as thus (without any retrospect toward the former part of the *period*) that the *duties of Religion* stand in the *midst* between two extremes, as *virtues* stand in the *midst* between two extremes. But then to what purpose was the mention of the two parts, *affirmative* and *negative*, of the *Commandments*, premised? for this I am still to seek, and therefore must misdoubt my *οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιμαχον*, that it is not so fit for the malady as I could have wished, and yet I have no better to succeed it.

11. The best of it is, he hath not pursued this *observation*, nor made this *Superstructure* in his *exemplification* thereof; the grossness of it would not permit that. But then to what purpose was his *observation*? sure but to amuse the reader and say somewhat demurely, which should pretend to be a ground of his beloved *conclusions*, that all additions to the rule of *worship* are excess against the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*, additions of ridiculous ceremonies or gestures an excess against the 3<sup>d</sup>, men's instituting other holy days and times, an excess against the 4<sup>th</sup>. And truly what else he please, with as much appearance of truth, or *solidity* of argument, as these are inferred from either the letter of those

*Commandments*, or from the solemn *observation* concerning the *affirmative*, and *negative* parts of them, and the *duties* of *Religion* in the *midst*.

12. 'Tis true, all *worshipping* of *Idols* is forbidden in the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*, but how come all *uncommanded* rites to be *Idols*? All *perjury* (and (by *Christs* *παύσις*) *voluntarie swearing* at all) is forbidden in the 3<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*; but how come *rites* and *ceremonies* and *gestures*, though never so *ridiculous*, to be either *oaths* or *perjuries*, or to bear any *analogie* with, or by that means to be reducible to them? In the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment* the not *observing* Gods designed *Sabbath*, was a *defect*; but what words of that *Commandment* conclude against *insinuating* other *holy days* and *times*, as an *excess*, and that *criminous*, not admissible among *Christians*.
13. If any, it must be [*six days shalt thou labour*] but sure that is not the meaning of them, but the *explication* is to be fetcht from the other part of the period [*and do all that thou hast to do*] i. e. *all thy labour*, and *all that thou hast to do*, shall be finisht, as Gods was, in *six days*, and no other day must be so set apart, as to take off from the *seventh dayes rest* or *Sabbath*: but for such *celebrations* as are reconcilable with that, there is no word nor appearance to the *prejudging* of them.
14. But the *unlawfulness* of this last is confirmed by the *sinfulness* of *Jeroboams* act, 1 *Kin.* 12. 32. He ordained a *feast* like unto the *feast* that was in *Judah*. But the *Diatribist* cannot but know what it was that made that *criminous* in *Jeroboam*, his appointing this *feast* to be kept with *sacrifices* at *Bethel*, which, beside the *sacrificing* to *calves* which he had set up, was also quite contrary to the exprels word of God, which had commanded that all *sacrifice* should be offered, and consequently *feasts* kept at *Jerusalem*, and no where else, see *Deut.* 12. 5, 6. 11. 13, 14. 26, 27. and *Josh.* 22. 16. 19. 29. and *Job.* 4. 20. This sure was the *sin* of *Jeroboam*, to set up *calves* in *Dan* and *Bethel*, to keep the people from going up to *Jerusalem*, 1 *Kin.* 12. 28. 30. to make a *house* of *high places*, and *Priests* which which were not of the *sonnes* of *Levi*, v. 31. and so in like manner a *feast* like unto the *feast* which is in *Judah*; and upon that *feast* day to offer *sacrifice* upon that *Altar*, which he had made in *Bethel*, v. 33.

All

All contrary to that *command* of making *Jerusalem* the *only* place of *sacrifice* and *publike* solemn *worship* to all *Israel*.

15. Nay had that ordaining of a *feast* by *Jeroboam* been separated from that *appendant* sin, of *sacrificing* elsewhere then *God* had *commanded*, and drawing away the people from the *worship* of *Jerusalem*, which was so strictly under *precept*, I shall desire to know, why that might not have been as blameless as the *Rubenites* erecting an *Altar* by *Jordan*, *Jos.* 22. which though it were lookt on by their other *brethren* as an horrible thing, whilst it appeared to be a *violation* of that *Law*, *v.* 13. and 16, 17. yet when it was truly represented to them by *Remonfrance*, that this *Altar* was not built to divert them from *Jerusalem*, or to offer *sacrifice* on, *v.* 23. but only for a *memorial* to their children, that they belonged to the *Lord God* of *Israel*, *v.* 24. 27, 28. and a means to keep up *Religion* in their childrens hearts, *v.* 25, 26. then it was justified in the sight of all *Israel*, the thing pleased the people, and they blessed *God* &c. *v.* 33.

17. And why may not a *Christian festival*, instituted in like manner as a *memorial*, not to draw off any mans heart from any part of *God's* prescribed *worship*, be as innocent as this? And so our jealous *brethren*, the *Diatribists* and those of his persuasion, that came out to dispute against us, imitate them, and lay down that design, and go back to their houses in peace?

18. To which purpose one thing more may yet fitly be added, that *Jerusalem* being the place of *worship*, prescribed by *express precept* to all the *Jewes*, but not so to all other pious people of the world, though even to them also, to all people, it was a house of prayer, if they would make use of it (and accordingly we read of *heathens* that came to *Jerusalem* to *worship*) yet this *precept*, which, as such, lay on the *Jewes*, being not obligatory to the *Gentile* *profelytes*, we know, *Naaman* built him an *Altar* in his own country, and there offered unto the *God* of heaven, and was so far approved in this, that the *Prophet* himself allows him the *mules* loads of earth to be carried out of *Judah* to the erecting of it, And I am persuaded the *analogie* will hold exactly, as to the matter in hand, to a *Christian festival* instituted by the *Church of Christ* which was never bound up to any *prescript* number of days for the *worship* of *Christ*, whatsoever

can be deemed of the *Jewes*, who, though required to do all according to the pattern in the Mount, had yet the liberty of instituting a day for God's service, as is evident by the *Exodus*.

19. And so whatsoever the *Diatribist* can phantasy in the conclusion of his 2<sup>d</sup> §. of the possibility [that there may be Superstition in or against all the Commandments of the first Table in the excessive part, and that it were easie to observe, that many (*Divines* especially) do call the excesses of any Commandment by the name of Superstition] yet I hope the observing of a few blameless, decent, usefull ceremonies, instituting a *Christian* festival for the commemorating the birth of *Christ* (*descensum venerabilis Dei ad humane conservationis rerum mortalium gratiam*, the descent of a venerable God for the saving of mankind, could a \* *Philosopher* say upon the observation of the star at his birth) will not actually prove to be any of those excesses. And then I shall not need enquire what those Reverend *Divines* are, who have been so liberal of the odious title of *Superstition*, as to impose it (very discreetly and charitably) upon the excesses of any Commandment.

\* Chalcepius in  
Plat. Tim.  
p 219.

20. By the way, I am not sure that in every Commandment of the Ten, there are such excesses, I shall suppose chastity the duty of the 7<sup>th</sup> Commandment, and allowing fornication, adultery and sodomy to make up the extreme on one side, either in the excess, or in the defect, shall give the *Diatribist* leave to choose which it shall be, and supposing it must be the defect, (the want not the abundance of chastity) I shall desire to know what is the excess or other extreme, and whether that be by the forenamed *Divines*, placed under the head of *Superstition*, or indeed whether somewhat otherwise criminous; Thus it must be, if the excesses of any Commandment be so to be called, and if in every Commandment, not onely in those of the first table which had been dilated on before there be such excesses (and however the analogie holds for these of the 2<sup>d</sup> table as well as for them) of these he hath oft told us, that the duty is in the midst of the two extremes, how duely, will be discerned by answer to this question, and others, which will be soon ready, when he pleases to call for them, of the same kind.

Se<sup>c</sup>t. 3.

The species of Superstition, Idolatrie belongs to the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment. Superstition to the first. It differs from Wil-worship. The meaning of Illegitimate worship in Aquinas. His opinion of Ecclesiastical rites. Barbarous ceremonies of Baals worship belong not to the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment. Holy days before Popery. Two antient Testimonies for them. The Jewes scrupulosity in not resisting on the Sabbath day.

IN his 3<sup>d</sup> §. some few things may be briefly noted. 1. That he NUM. 1. wrongs Aquinas in saying he makes but three kinds of Superstition, Idolatrie, Illegitimate worship and Divination, whereas it is most evident to any that will turn to the place in Aquinas, 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> qu: 92. art: 1. and art: 2. in corp: that he adds a fourth, *Superstitio quarundam observationum*, citing out of St Augustine the *Ligatures* and such like; And I cannot gesse to what purpose this was misreported thus.

2. Secondly, where he saith of Divines that they refer Idolatrie to the first Commandment, the Divines he means must needs be those that put the first and second commandment into one (such I suppose was Aquinas, and I had well hoped the Diatribist had not been of that perswasion) for else these words [*Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image, &c.*] being supposed to make a distinct and 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, no Divine can be so irrational, as to deny Idolatrie properly so called to belong to, and to be prohibited in that. And if it were true, what the Diatribist addes, that Divination is the worst kind of Idolatrie, sure that must be forbidden under the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment also; But in this I suppose Aquinas was in the right, that made it a species of Superstition, not of Idolatrie, and so it must more fitly belong to the first Commandment, and so must Illegitimate worship, being an offence against the due manner of Gods worship. But these are niceties that we are but little concerned in.

3. Thirdly, this quarrel to his own Dr. Amesius for restraining Superstition to one Commandment, which he will have ly common



to all the four, is certainly causeless; For the worship of many Gods (together with Divination &c.) and the undue worship of the true God, do certainly belong to one Commandment, viz. the first, which by commanding to have no other Gods but that one true God, excludes the *Idolatriam* or demon worship, and by commanding the worship of that one, forbids all undue manners of worship. That he understood by the word Superstition no more but the tendering undue worship to God, was indeed an error in Amesius, sufficiently prevented, and disproved, by Aquinas, and by the nature of the Greek and Latine words, and so likewise that he confined it to the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, when in all reason it belonged to the first; But that being acknowledged his error, this other of not extending it to many Commandments is no way imputable to him.

4- Fourthly, when of that species of Superstition, which he defines by the vice of undue worship tendered to God, he affirms that it is more properly *Wit-worship*, this is but an unproved and improbable affirmation, quite contrary to Aquinas and his own Authors (as far as I can discern) Amesius himself, and a confounding of things very distant.

5- Fifthly, when of Aquinas's illegitimate worship he gives his own gloss, that he means that which is not commanded by God, but instituted and appointed by men] this is great injurie to that School-man; What he means by that phrase will be best learnt from \* Aquinas himself, who sets it down distinctly by distributing it into two parts; For thus that 93<sup>d</sup> question *De illegitimo Deo cultu*, Of the illegitimate worship of God, begins, *Et superfluitate & pravitare viciatur divinus cultus &c.* The worship of God is viciated both by superfluity, and by pravity; by superfluity, if to the worshipping of God ought be assumed, which neither by Divine nor Ecclesiastical appointment belongs to the glory of God nor to the subjecting either of the body or soul to the Creator; by pravity, if the external ceremonie contain anything of falsity in it, which may fall out, saith he, two ways, either by the disagreement between the ceremonie and the thing denoted by it, or by the publike ministers using any ceremonie contrary to the custome of the Church. Thus far are the words of Aquinas: and what could have been more destructive to the Distributists pretensions:

pretensions then this description and branching of *illegitimate worship*, if either here or before, when *Aquinas* was cited, this sense of his, thus exprest, had been considered?

6. That he may never cite *Aquinas* again in this matter, I shall desire him to remember from that *School-man* these 4. things, his undoubted affirmations, by way of *Axioma*, 1. That *illegitimate*, is vitiated worship, and so more then *uncommanded*, certainly that which is *prohibited*, (and this according to the propriety of the word *illegitimum*, which signifies not *without*, but *against Law*. *Legitimum*, saith <sup>a</sup> *Chalcidius*, *est id quod legem sequitur*, *legi-* <sup>2</sup> *In Tim:*  
time is that which follows the Law, or as <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch* defines <sup>p. 243.</sup>  
*νόμιμον, ἀπὸ τῆς νόμου ἐπιστάν, & ὑπὸ τῆς νόμου ἐπιστάν, the command of* <sup>ὡς ἐπὶ νόμῳ.</sup>  
*Law* or that which is determined or commanded by Law, adding, that those good things which yet are not under precept, are not to be called *νόμιμα legitime*; And so in *Leo serm: 1. de jejun:*  
7. *mens: legitima* are opposed to *voluntaria*, as commanded to spontaneous. Now what is Law, saith <sup>c</sup> *Chalcidius*, *nisi iustum* <sup>p. 248.</sup>  
*scilicet honesta, prohibens contraria, but a command requiring honest things, and prohibiting the contrarie? And consequently illegitimum being the direct contrarie to legitimum, will signifie, in the contrarie sense to that which is commanded, that which is prohibited by Law.)* 2<sup>dy</sup>. That the *superfluity* of it consists not in being *superadded* to God's commands onely, but to the Churches appointment, and so that which is ordained by the Church, though not by God, comes not under that style of *superfluous* or *illegitimate* upon that score. 3<sup>dy</sup>. That what tends to the glory of God, or to the subjecting of the body as well as the soul to the Creator of both, is neither *superfluous* nor *illegitimate*, so it be ordained by the Church. Lastly, that the Ministers publicke using any ceremonie contrary to the custome of the Church (such is his sitting at the Sacrament, and the like) is a *pravity*, and that is worse then a *superfluity* in the worship of God. I suppose this may now be sufficient to arme the Reader against the fallacies, to which the frequent citations out of *Aquinas* might subject him.

7. Sixtly, That it is not to me imaginable how or why the barbarous ceremonies of Baals Priests, &c. should be an excess against the 3<sup>d</sup> Commandment, or a taking Gods name in vaine,

which we know is by *Christ* rendred *for swearing ones self*, and when they that cryed nothing but *O Baal hear us*, from morning till night, never used the name of God at all (for sure *Baal* and *God* are not *Synonyma's*) and so cannot be affirmed in vain to use it or take it.

8. *Seventhly*, That dedicating holy days to *Saints* (though *Christ*, whose *Festival* we treat of, be more then such) is neither sily paralleld by the *Diarribist* with *Jeroboam's* feast day at *Bethel* (as we competently evinced in the last *Self*.) nor appropriated by him to *Papists*, when we know such days were dedicated to the memory of *Martyrs*, long before the name or errors of *Papists* were come into the world.

9. A competent evidence we have \* formerly given from the  
 \* *Festiv. p. 43*<sup>8</sup>. *Epistle* of the Church of *Smyrna*, written on occasion of the *Martyrdome* of *Polycarpe*, *St. Johns* Auditor, where having described the passages of his suffering, they conclude with their wish and hope, that *God* will now permit them to meet together with exultation and joy, to celebrate τῷ μαρτυρῶντι αὐτοῦ ἡμερῶν γενέθλιον, the birth-day or natalitia (so twas styled) of his *Martyrdome*, adding the two great ends of such observations, ἵνα περὶ τῆς ἡθλητικῆς μνήμης, καὶ τῆς μελλόντων ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἐτοιμασίας, for the commemorating of such *Champions* constancie, and the exercise, and fitting of others for the future. The circumstances of that *Epistle* make it clear, that such celebrations and dedications of days were then of use before *Polycarp's* death, and that they now expected that this of his should be added to that number, and that so it was, I shall now adde a 2<sup>d</sup> undoubted proof or testimonie of *Primitive Antiquity*, antienter then that of *Polycarp*, in the *Martyrdome* of *Ignatius*, written by them which were present at it, who setting down the day and time of his Coronation, say, they do it so precisely, \* ut secundum tempus Martyrii coagregati communicemus athlete, that assembling together on the Anniversarie of his *Martyrdome*, they may communicate with his *Martyrdome*, commemorate his sufferings and blefs *God* for him, &c.

*Smyrn. Eccles.  
Epist. p. 28.*

\* *Martyrium  
Ignat. p. 8.*

10. These authorities may, I hope, be of some credit with him, who can found arguments on passages in *Aquinas* and *Amesius*, and if *Apostles*, as equitably as *Martyrs*, may thus be commemorated,

morated, the Church of England I hope (whatever become of the Papists) may be vindicated from all *Superstition*, or *excess* against the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment.

11. And then when I have added 8<sup>thly</sup>, that the *Jewes* scrupulosity in observing their *Sabbath*, so that they would not stand up to defend themselves in that day, is none of the excesses we are guilty of, and that this being by the *Diatribist* styled excess of Religion, and that against the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment, and justly called *Superstition*, there is no need of making any more species of that excess, or forcing in all dedication of holy days, into that place I shall not need look any more narrowly to spy out greater store of infirmities in that 3<sup>d</sup> Sect.

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#### Sect. 4.

*The Diatribist's method and caution in setting down the species of Superstition.*

**B**UT because all the former methods were imperfect and Numb. 1.  
unsufficient (even before they were confuted) to erect such a modelled notion of *Superstition* as would serve the *Diatribist's* aimes, he must now in his 4<sup>th</sup> Sect. become humble, in stead of *Magisterial*, implore the courteous Readers pardon, if he be not so logically accurate, to set down (what he is resolved is not easie to discover) all the kinds and wayes whereby this sin of *Superstition* is committed in particular.

2. And to what purpose all this modesty is designed, will be easily guest, viz. to leave the word *Superstition* in the clouds, to involve, in stead of explaining it, that it may continue usefull to him, as a mormo, whensoever he hath a mind to affrighten men out of their obedience to the Church, to which purpose it could not be so commodious, if it were once defined or limited to one or any set number of more Commandments. And though in the 10. following Sections he reckon up pretty store of species of it, yet he must here before-hand make sure of a reserve,

protest his *libertie* to adde more, whensoever he shall have need of them [ *we shall, saith he, labour to express some of them, as we find them held out by Divines and others* ] where it seems *Divines*, such as *Amesius*, *Ursine*, *Mr. Perkins* &c. have not held out enough, but he must have a supply from *others*, which are not *Divines*, (and it would be an odde question to be answered, who those *others* are, when the monuments of *heathen authors*, *Latine* and *Greek* have been so severely disclaimed in his §. 1. and then none but the judgement of *Divines* thought fit to be appealed to in this matter) and §. 14. when he hath completed a large catalogue, he concludes with [ *Lastly to adde no more* ] intimating that there are still *more* to be added; of which he will serve himself, when he sees good.

2. What now follows in the 10. ensuing *Sections*, I shall resolutely passe over, though there be many things very fit to be noted in them, partly because he promiseth they shall soon *recurre* again, and partly because they belong to the other *tracts*, that of *Wit-worship* and *Festivals*, where sure we shall meet with them, and partly because they have been spoken to *already*, and besides, some of them are the *enumerating* of those very *species* of *Superstition* which I have set down in that *treatise*, as such. And therefore so much (after his *Preface*) for his *Prolegomena*.

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Particular exceptions of the Diatribist to the  
Tract of Superstition.*

SECT. I.

*Confidence of innocence no argument of guilt.*

- I Am now more immediately summoned and called into the *Numb. 1.*  
lists by this *Diatribist* §. 15. and the severall Sections of  
the *Treatise of Superstition* must be brought to a strict exami-  
nation, and I hope they will not be unable to bear it.
2. In my first §. there is nothing *disliked*, but onely that I will  
not acknowledge my self or our *Church* *guilty*, before the *trial*,  
and to that purpose I am told [*commonly those that are most  
Superstitious are most confident of their innocency and piety, and  
no marvaile if they understand Superstition as the Dr. doth.*]
3. But to this I answer, that I hope this his *prudent Aphorisme*  
is not *simply convertible*, viz. That they which are most confident  
of their *innocency and piety*, are most *Superstitious* (for if it be,  
I must not be so unkind to wish, or so *uncharitable* to believe of  
the *Diatribist*, that he hath a *good conscience*, nor any longer rely  
on that *Apostle* that hath taught me Gods method of judging of  
us, by the *verdict* of our own *accusing or excusing conscience* )  
and so long tis possible that I may be free from that *guilt*, though I  
am never so *confident*. Mean while I that allow the *Diatribist*  
one *species*, that of *Negative Superstition* for his *portion*, have  
his leave to conclude from hence, that this is the *reason* why he is  
so *confident* of his *innocence*.
4. As for the 2<sup>d</sup> part, my understanding of the notion of the word  
*Superstition* in that *Treatise*, if I cannot justify it to be as good  
as Mr. C. his *superstatutum*, I shall very much accuse my self, and  
in the interim be comforted with his *confession*, that if I have not  
erred.



erred in the notion of *Superstition*, of which he is no competent judge, being a party, then both I and our Church (for the *Romish* I shall not be so sollicitous) are farre enough from this crime.

### Sect. 2.

*The nature of the word. Excess of fear among the Epicureans, Superstitio from Super and sto, not statuo. Aquinas misreported.*

Numb. 1.

THE next or 16<sup>th</sup> §. considers the notion by me given of the *Latine Superstitio, Superstitum cultus*, and having yielded it to be so defined by the *heathens*, yet he cannot think that I will say, that *that this is the onely Superstition to be found in the world*, because I acknowledge an excessive fear of the Deity to have been another kind of it among the *Heathens*, and other kinds also among *Christians*, adding that *some there are, and they no mean ones, that derive it from Super and sto or statuo, as supra statutum, worship instituted by men above the statute Law of God*, but he rather rests in the definition of the *Schooles*, that it is a vice contrary to Religion in the excess which may extend to the other commandments, whereas this limits it to the 2<sup>d</sup>.

2. To all this I need no farther to reply, but 1. That my 2<sup>d</sup> Self. was not designed to give any complete definition of *Superstition*, but to search how much was to be concluded from the *Latine* word, as in the following Sections how much more from the *Greek*, and then to make use of all other proper means, the use of the word in *Scripture* and *Fathers*. to collect the full importance of it; and consequently, if what I vouched out of the *Latine* origination be true, there is no more to be expected of my 2<sup>d</sup> §. 2<sup>d</sup>. That I no where grant an excessive fear of the Deity to have been another kind of *Superstition*, among the *heathens*, but onely that *some heathens*, especially the *Epicureans* which denyed all providence and judgement to come, and scoff at all fear of punishment for sin, affix to this the name as of *Superstition*, so of

of Religion also, whereupon I thought it reasonable that we should *not* (not that we *should*) take our notion of *Superstition* from them, which yet it seems the *Diatribist* is content to do, and so with the *famishing prodigal* to herd himself among the *Epicureans*.

3. Having thus secured my self (as far as pertains to this §.) I may now be allowed to consider the *Diatribist*, and then I find in these few words a competent number of *infirmities*. 1. That mentioning their *Etymologie* of *Superstition*. who will have it *super statum*, he makes them derive it indifferently from (*super* and) *sto* or *statuo*, as if those two were *Synonyma*, whereas certainly [*to stand*] is competently distant from [*to make laws* or *statutes*] and if it be derived from the *one*, it is not from the other.

4. 2<sup>dy</sup>. That deriving it from *sto*, he doth not discern that this is my way of *derivation*, for sure *superstes* is from *super* and *sto*, and so he confirms my *origination* of the word, whilest he thinks he *confuteth* it, *absolves* very frankly, whom he sat down on purpose to *condemne*.

5. 3<sup>dy</sup>. That his forsaking the *etymon* from *super statum* to which so oft he had exprest *kindness*, was again on an undirect ayme, that he might get more *advantage* to his *hypothesis* by that means, not moved with the *absurdity* of the *derivation*, but meerly that he might have more *liberty* to range in, by serving himself on a notion of *Superstition* qualified to extend it to all the *Commandments* of the *first table*, which how those (*no mean ones*) whom for his own ends he hath now *deserted*, will take at his hands, I leave him to consider.

6. 4<sup>th</sup>. That having rejected the *derivation* from *super* and *sto*, or *statuo*, he hath substituted no other, and so left a *rivulet* without a *spring*, a *compound derivative* without an *original*, a *monster* in *art*, as well as *nature*.

7. 5<sup>th</sup>. That making use of the *Schooleman's* definition, he extends it much farther then he knows that *Schooleman* extended it, This he formerly confest §. 3. naming this *Learned Schooleman* as the *first*, who came short in assigning the *species* of *Superstition*, and here he more then *confesseth* it, extending *Superstition* to all the *four Commandments* of the *first*

able, when he knows *Aquinas* made it a breach peculiar to the first of them.

### SECT. 3.

*δεισδαμονία* among the heathens for Religion, so in *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus*.

Numb. 1. **T**He question of the 17<sup>th</sup>. Sect. concerning *δεισδαμονία*, what kind of fear or dread of a Deity was among the heathens noted by it, I have answered already, even that which the *Epicureans* would have driven out of the world, as making the Gods cruel, tyrannical &c. and accordingly in *Cicero*, *Superstitione liberare*, to free men from Superstition, and in *Lucretius*, *Religionibus*, from all Religion and obligation of duty, is explained by *metum omnem Deorum pulsatum esse*, to have all fear of the Gods banish'd from us.

2. If there be any other minute difference observable, it is this, that it is such a *fear* of the Deity as wicked men are in reason to have, (and that sure, though a great trembling, was yet no excess, no more then was very equitably the portion of such) so saith \* *Diodorus Siculus* of *Bomilcar* *δεισδαμονός* ειναι μάλιστα ἐγχεσθῆναι ταῖς πονηρόμοις καὶ μεγάλαις πράξεσιν, they that are about to undertake any notable wicked actions, are generally afraid of the Gods or Demons, and so still that will yield our *Diatribist* no aid toward the support of any of his hypotheses, sure the instituting of our *Christmas Festival*, was no act of such a just dread of vengeance for sin, nor effect whether immediately or remotely produced by it.

3. As for his affirmation that the former part of the word *δεισδαμονία* doth not signify worship, but fear, and not that fear which is oft put for the whole worship of God, but slavish fear &c. this is a clear mistake; 'Tis true indeed it doth signify sometimes a trembling fear (such as I said was the wicked mans portion and due lot, and so not an excess, or unproportionable to his state) as when *Plutarch* saith of him, he wisheth there were no Gods, but

but it doth not always signifie thus, but simply φόβος θεῶν ἢ δαιμονίων the fear of Gods and demmons, and accordingly as Phavorinus in the Epicurean notion of it renders it μετὰ τὸ θεῶν δεινὰ, a cowardly fear toward God, ἢ ὁ ἄλογος τῶν θεῶν, or an irrational fear of the Gods, so Hesychius renders it φοβοδῖα fearing God, or Religion in universum, and the same Phavorinus explains δεισιδαιμονίαν by εὐσεβείας Superstitions, by devout or pious, and addes, ὡς ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος as Saint Paul useth the word Aē. 17, 22.

Sect. 4.

*False worship is not Will-worship. Imposition of hands.*

HIS 18<sup>th</sup> §. being but an approbation of my conclusion, that Νῦμβ. 1. δεισιδαιμονία refers to the Poetical Gods, Angels, or dead men, or indeed any thing but the onely true God, must not be resisted by me; I am glad I have once gratified him.

2. But when he addes, that this clears what he had said, that this is rather idolatry against the first Commandment, which is Polytheisme, then any kind of Superstition, which is the giving of false, i.e. uncommanded worship to the true God against the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, this is but a heap of incongruities; for 1. Idolatry, as hath been evidenced, is a sin against the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, though Polytheisme be against the first.

3. 2<sup>dy</sup>. Though Superstition be the giving of false worship to the true God, as well as worship to false Gods, Demons and Superstites, the soules of men departed (or a dread, which is not a worship, to the true) yet this false worship is unfitly explicated by uncommanded worship, For certainly all such is not false, as out of Aquinas was cleared, especially if the word *Worship* be extended, as this Distributist extends it, to rites and observances, as well as to the substantial parts of worship; such were imposition of hands in benediction among the Jewes, continued also for many uses among Christians, yet never prescribed or commanded by God; and many the like elsewhere mentioned.

4. And this therefore 3<sup>dy</sup>. cannot be truly affirmed to be against the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, which also being spent upon the worship of Idols (all for the interdicting of that) cannot be properly said to consider the worship of the true God, (unless it be the external part, that of bowing down &c. in the affirmative branch of it) which had been the subject of the first Commandment; and to that in all reason all false worship of the true God must be reduced, and not to the second.

### SECT. 5.

δεινδαμονίεσι *Act. 17. 22.* (*The Athenians the most devout of all the Greeks.*)

*Numb. 1.* **W**Hat he saith by way of dilemma §. 19. concerning the use of the word δεινδαμονίεσι more Superstitious, of the Athenians, *Act. 17. 22.* [If saith he, they were so called because they worshipt more Gods, then they were Polytheists, If because they were devout or pious, rather impious in worshipping the true God ignorantly in a false manner, then their sin was against the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment] though true, in some sense, is yet nothing gainfull to his design, which can thrive by no other means but by getting δεινδαμονία or Superstition to denote all uncommanded rites in the worship of the true God.

2. This it no way signifies in that place of the *Acts* but onely their worshipping a multitude of Gods, more then any other nation did, and the αγνωστος θεός or unknown God, for one, and so their being more pious in their course, then other their heathen country men were, or indeed then the Romans, or any else.
3. That this is the truth, and the whole truth, hath sufficiently been evidenced in the Tr: of Superstition, §. 11. and I now adde three testimonies more, to that heap, one out of *Josephus*, l. 2. *Contra Ap:* Ἀθηναίαις δὲ Ἐλλήνων ἐνισβεστάτους πάντας λέγουσ,

*Act.*

All men affirme the Athenians to be the most pious of the Greeks.  
A 2<sup>d</sup> out of Sophocles, Oedip:

"Οδ' ἐνὲν ἑῇ περ γῆ. θεὸς ἐμσταλαί  
Τίμαις σβίζειν, ἢ τε τῶδ' ὑπερφέρεν,

If any know how to worship the Gods with honors (sacrifices and offerings to their Temples) Athens excels them all; The third even now intimated out of Phavorinus, but here more fully to be expressed, who having explicated δεισιδαιμονίαν superstitious by εὐσεβείας pious, subjoyns this testimonie of the Acts, ὡς ὁ θεὸς Παῦλῳ, δεισιδαιμονέστερος ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ, as S. Paul saith, I see that you are more Superstitious, the very place which we have now before us, brought by that learned Grammarian as an instance, that the word is there taken in a good, not ill sense, yet not of any uncommanded worship of the true God, but a pious, though Ethnick devotion toward the multitude of their false, superadded to the one true God, which though in a Christian scale or judgement it cannot be approved, because it is Polytheisme, yet in comparison with other heathens (which was S. Pauls business in that place) it was truly by him looked on as a greater measure of devotion, then the rest of the heathen world were guilty of, and that is all that was meant by that phrase, and to tis not at all usefull to the end, to which the Diatribist would have inclined it.



## Sect. 6.

*Ζήτηματα* *mei* & *idiai* *θεοδαιμονίας* *Act.* 25. *Festus's* scorn falls on the Jews, not on Paul. *Tis idia* his own, not theirs. *Ζήτημα* an accusation. *Festus* put under the notion of a *δαίμων* by *Festus*. *Ἀνίστασις* taken for a demon. *πεδυνώτος*. *ἔραται* *ζῶν*. The Diatribists objections answered. Superstition for Religion simply.

- Numb.* 1. **H**IS 20<sup>th</sup> §. is an arraignment of §. 12. of *Superst.* concerning the place *Act.* 25. 19. *Ζήτηματα* *mei* & *idiai* *θεοδαιμονίας* &c. which I had rendred, *questions* or *accusations* concerning his own Religion or Superstition or Worship, and (to explain what was meant by the word *θεοδαιμονία*) of one *Festus* that was dead, whom *Paul* said to be alive, putting him under the notion of a dead Heros, and so meaning the worship of him by *θεοδαιμονία*.
2. Against this the Diatribist excepts in 3. particulars. 1. It is like, saith he, *Festus* spake in scorn, not of *Paul's* only, but of the whole Jewish Religion, as, saith he, the words may import, and are translated by ours. 2. That what I said of putting *Festus* under the notion of a dead Heros or *δαίμων*, is a strain of Criticisme, compounding things which are in the Text distinct, for *Festus* says (saith he) they had many questions both concerning their own Superstition, and also concerning one *Festus*, &c. adding (to confirme this) that he was accused of questions of their Law, c. 23. 29. and of sedition, seducement, profanation of the Temple, 24. 5, 6. 3<sup>dly</sup>. That *Paul* affirmed *Festus* to be alive, not in part, as the Demons were supposed, but in the whole man, as raised from the dead.
3. To these I briefly answer, and first to the first; For the scorn, it no way appears to be meant by *Festus* against *S. Paul* or his Religion, for *Festus* is at this time speaking in favour of *Paul*, and slighteth the Jews accusations of him, as matters of no considerable moment, and so, if there be any thing of sarcasme in the speech, it falls on the Jews, not on him, and so cannot be any

any ill character on the *δεισιδαιμονία*, in case that be *S. Paul's*, and not *theirs*.

4. As for the *Diatribist's* phansie, that the scorn should fall not on Pauls only, but on the whole Jewish Religion, that cannot hold, for when he speaks of the Jews charge against Paul, he cannot speak of that wherein Paul and they agreed, but wherein they differed, and that must either be *their way*, which Paul opposed, or Paul's way, which they now accused him of.

5. Now which of these two it was, is not determinable by the words in Greek, for the *ἰδία* may either be rendered *his own* or *their own*; Yet that it must be interpreted *his*, I offer this reason to perswade, (whereas the *Diatribist* pretends to none for the contrary, but only that *so the words may import*, and that *our English hath so translated*) The Jews accusation or charge against S. Paul is plainly mentioned in this place; That is the meaning of *ζητήματα εἶχον ἀπὸς αὐτὸν*, they had questions or laid charges against him; the word *ζητήματα* sometimes signifies a charge, complaint, inditement, so c. 18. 15. *ἡ δὲ ζητήμα ὅτι περὶ λόγους*, but if the accusation or charge be of a word; Thus Satan, who is so called, as *ἀντίδικος* an adversary in foro, *διδοβολος* an accuser, is said *ζητῶν* to seek, 1 Pet. 5. 8. (and Luk. 22. 31. *ἐξαιτήσουσιν* to require) i. e. to accuse and charge men, that so they may be delivered up to him as an executioner, to *minnow*, in one place, and to devour, in the other. So to question a man among us vulgarly signifies to accuse him, and that so it signifies here, appears by v. 18. *οἱ κατήγοροι ἡδευίαν αἰτίαν ἐνέποιον*, the accusers brought no accusation of the things which I supposed, *ζητήματα δὲ τινα*, but some questions, that must be accusations again, *ἀλλήματα* v. 7. &c.

6. Whence, I suppose, it will follow, that the *ἰδία δεισιδαιμονία* *περὶ ἧς* of which he was charged, which is the matter of the accusation, or that wherein the offence consisted, was *his*, not *their Superstition*, for how could their own Superstition be the matter of their charge against him?

7. To the 2<sup>d</sup>, that what I said of Festus putting Jesus under the notion of a dead Heros, though it be of that nature that I shall not, because I need not, make it a matter of controversy with any, yet I had this consideration to incline me to it, the immediate subjoining

subjoyning of one *Jesus* whom *Paul* ἔρανος ζῶν contended to live, to be *supersties*, as of their *Demons*, *Festus* and those of his persuasions ordinarily affirmed. To which purpose I remembered what the *Athenians* surmised, when *Paul* preachd to them *Jesus* and the *Resurrection*, Act. 17. 18. He seems, say they, ξένων δαιμονίων καταγγεὺς εἶναι, to be a proclaimer of strange or new *Demons*, where *St Chrysostome* judges it so manifest that those *Gracians* thought *Jesus* to be a *Demon*. that he addes, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀνάστασιν διὸν πᾶς εἶναι ἐνόμιζον, ὅτι ἐισωθῆτος ἡ θνητοῦς σίβην, they took also *Anastasis* (*Resurrection*) for some *Goddeſs*, as being accustomed to worship females also. And then why *Festus*, an heathen likewise, and which understood none but heathen *Theologie*, should not thus mean in words of so neer an importance that will bear it so fitly, I can yet see no reason to doubt.

3. Of this I am sure, that in the one proof offered to the contrary, the *Diatribist* hath strained more, then I have in my *Criticisme*, for 1. When he thus reads the text, they had many questions, that so he might make it necessary to distinguish the question concerning his *Superstition* from that of *Jesus*, he hath inserted the word *many*, there being neither in the *Greek* nor in our *English* any such word, but onely πᾶς ζήτηματα some or certain accusations. 2<sup>dly</sup>. When (on the same design) he again reads [both concerning their *Superstition*, and also] there is no such word, nor any thing, either in the *Greek* or our *English*, answerable either to [both] or to [also] but onely thus, περὶ καὶ concerning his own *Superstition* or demon worship, and one *Jesus*, which was, or had been dead, so περὶ νεκροῦ signifies, whom *Paul* affirmed to live; and 3<sup>dly</sup>. When he addes that he was accused of questions of their *Law*, c. 23. and of sedition &c. c. 24. this proves nothing, which the *Diatribist* would have, for though the *Jews* had thus accused him, yet he had answered for himself in the latter part of c. 24. and cleared himself perfectly from those two charges, from the first, v. 12. and from the second, v. 18. and so again, c. 25. 8. and so still it remains that in *Festus's* judgement (to which *Paul* appeals for the knowledge of it, telling him that he knew he was guiltless from having done any wrong to the *Jewes*, v. 10.) *Paul* was

was not guilty, nor stood charged of anything, but onely of his own Religion, and one Jesus, i. e. I suppose by way of explication (as [ *xai and* ] is frequently *exegetical*) of believing and proclaiming Jesus and the Resurrection, c. 24. 15. which last also being common to him with the *Jewes*, as there he contests, could not by them duely be charged upon him, and so the whole charge, and that which is the *characteristick*, distinctive note of his Religion, is his contending that *Jesus was alive, who had dyed*, which how agreeable it is to *Festus's* notion of a *Demon*, I shall not need farther to declare.

9. As to the last, it is evident that he that affirms *Jesus* to be alive, both *soul* and *body*, doth to a *heathen* ears as much define him to be a *Demon*, as if he said nothing of his *body*: However all that *Festus* here saith is, that *ἐπαύει ζῆν*, he affirmed him to live now after he had been dead, and if to that we adde, that *Paul* preached his *ascension* to heaven, what could a *heathen*, according to his *perswasions* conclude from thence, but that he had attained his *ἀνδρώσεως*, which was all that they required to his being a *Demon*. And so much for these objections.
10. Meanwhile, if all were granted that is here desired by the *Distributist*, that the *Superstition* spoken of was not *S. Pauls*, but the *Jews*, this could no way incommode me, or hinder my *pretensions*, in order to the main, for then, say I, it shall signifie the *Jews Religion* simply, without any character of ill or good laid on it, as in \* *Quintilian*, *Primus Judaica Superstitionis* l. 3. c. 8. author, the first author of the *Jewish Superstition* or Religion, and in \* *Ulpian* that *Severus* and *Antoninus* permitted those to be capable of dignities, *qui Judaicam Superstitionem sequuntur*, who follow the *Jewish Superstition* or Religion, and many the like.

\* *Leg. Qui ad Temp. D. Decurion.*

## Sect. 7.

*The method of search for the original notion of the word. Mr. Cawdries collections from the heathens. Among them Superstition all one with Religion. Plutarch of the Sabbatick rest. Sacrificing children to Moloch, was not to the true God, Jer. 32. 35. Lev. 20. 2. nor a bare uncommanded worship. The glosses of the Etymologist and Phavorinus.*

**Numb. 1.** **T**HE 21<sup>th</sup>. §. is a short dispatch of all that I had said of the use of the word among other *Authors* from §. 14 to §. 27. All which *Sections*, though intirely designed to the discovering the true notion of the word, by that *norma loquendi*, the best rule to judge of words, the use of it among writers of all sorts, are shortly censured as [*a great deal of reading and learning to little purpose, except to cloud the business, to lead men away in a mist from the true and proper sense of the word among Christians.*]

It seems they which receive benefit by being in the dark, are apt to mistake light for mists, and the *Apostle* hath given the reason, *ἐλεγχονται ὑπὸ φωτός* they are reproved by the light. Tis certain the *Christians* took the word whether *Greek* or *Latine*, from the *heathens*, which were before them, and accordingly to judge of the propriety of the use of it, I thought my self obliged to search to the original, i. e. to the use of it among the *heathens*, and finding the *Scripture* use of it exactly agreeable to their acception of it, from whom the *Scripture* had it, and so likewise the *Christian Glossaries*, that of *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Phavorinus*, the *Etymologist* and others, I thought this had been to some other purpose then onely to cloud the business. And because I continue still in the same opinion, I refer the judicious Reader for three eminent testimonies more to the same purpose (out of *Diod. Siculus* of *Imilco*, out of *Heracitus*, *ὁ ἀμύμων*, out of an edict of *Tiberius* set down by *Josephus*) to the *Annotations* on *Act. 17*. By which, and those already produced in the *Sections*, here thought fit to be desisted by the

*Diatribist.*

*Diatribist*, it is most evident that *Religion* and *Superstition* were by them who were guilty of *demon worship*, or when used of them by others, taken, as exactly *Synonyma*, words importing the samething.

3. But against this the *Diatribist* conceives himself out of these very *Sections* to have gained somewhat to object, *It seems*, faith he, the heathens did oft take the word in an ill sense, and branded Religions which they did not like by that name. *Plutarch* taxes the Jews for their *Superstition* in two things remarkable. 1. That when invaded, they would not rise from their seats on the Sabbath day, which was excess against the 4<sup>th</sup>. Commandment, and gross *Superstition*. 2. Their killing and sacrificing their children to *Moloch*, which being an horrid *Superstition*, was (as the former) intended as a worship to the true God, and yet was interpreted no better then sacrificing to devils, *Psal.* 106. 37. which though in other respects it was against the first Commandment gross *Idolatry*, so in making it a worship of the true God (when he commanded it not, neither came it into his heart, as somewhere he says) it was a kind of *Superstition* against the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment; concluding in a word, that the *Etymologist* speaks fully his sense, the word among the heathen is taken for a good thing, but among Christians for impiety.

4. How solid this way of objecting is, will now soon be discerned, 1. By remembring in the general, that at the beginning of the 5. the testimonies brought by me in those *Sections*, were judged to be to little purpose but to cloud the business and lead men away in a mist, and yet now he can express kindness to some of the testimonies, as thinking they may be usefull to his pretensions, which assures me all the other might have been capable of the like favour and friendly reception from him, if they could any way have been perswaded to do him service.

5. 2<sup>d</sup>. To the heathens taking the word in an ill sense, the answer is most obvious, so they did *Religion* too, and indifferently either, when either they that spake were *Epicureans*, enemies to all *Religion*, or when the Religions they spake of were disliked by them, and so sure that proves nothing for the *Diatribist*.

6. 3<sup>d</sup>. This is the answer also to what is observed from *Plutarch*, for he speaks of the religions which he disliked, the Jewish was one of them, and particularly their observation of Sabbath



rests to the ruining their City, which he thought their *Religion* had bound them to, and never dreamt that they had mistaken their *Religion*, or that their 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment* allowed them greater *liberty*.

7. <sup>4<sup>thly</sup></sup> That *Plutarch* mentions the *killing* and *sacrificing* of children, he took that also for a part of some mens *Religion*, and thought he had reason to be dissatisfied with it. and to make it an instance of the *Quantum Religio potuit*, how much evil *Religion* did in the world, still making no distinction betwixt *Religion* and *Superstition*. But here by the way the *Diatribist* hath a little mistaken, in thinking that this bloody worship in sacrificing their children to *Moloch* was as the former (i. e. as that of the strict *Judaical* rest in time of invasion) intended as a worship to the true God.
8. Certainly *Moloch* was no true God, but a false, the abomination of the children of *Ammon*, 1 *Kin.* 11. 7. and 2 *Kin.* 23. 13. thought by learned men to be a deified King of the *Egyptians*, and so a demon, placed among the *starres*, the same that others make the planet *Mars* (see *Kircheri Prodromus Coptic.* 1. 5.) and that sacrifice was the giving their seed to *Moloch* that false God, *Lev.* 20. 2, 3, 4. or the making their *sonnes* and *daughters* pass through the fire to *Moloch*, *Jer.* 32. 45. and so no way intended to the true God.
9. And whereas he saith this was interpreted no better then sacrificing to devils, *Psal.* 106. 37. tis strange he should not see or acknowledge that it was a downright sacrificing to *Moloch*, a *Demon*, and not as to the true God, but then he could have had no pretense to make it an act of uncommanded worship, and so such a kind of *Superstition* as is chargeable on our *Christmas Festival*; and then he had lost all the advantage which this instance was to bring in to him.
10. Toward this he thought to reap some benefit by that text of Scripture, He commanded it not, neither came it into his heart, as he somewhere sayes] But why did he not tell us where God saith this? If his memory had failed, his *Concordance* would soon have helpt him to set down the place. But it was not for his turn it should be examined. The place is *Jer.* 32. 35. and again *Jer.* 7. 31. and truly, belongs to these sacrifices to *Moloch*, but then  
God's

God's not commanding &c. signifies not onely uncommanded worship, but by the figure *uiwos*, ordinary in the Scripture, worship directly forbidden, under threat of excision, *Lev. 20. 2. Who-soever he be that giveth any of his seed to Moloch, he shall surely be put to death, the people of the land shall stone him with stones, and I will set my face against him, and cut him off from among his people. v. 3. And if the people of the land do any way hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed to Moloch, and kill him not, then will I set my face against that man and family, and will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him, v. 4. and accordingly we see it in the Execution, Jer. 7. 31, 32. The valley of Tophet where they burnt their sonnes and daughters in the fire, shall be called the vally of slaughter, for they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place.*

11. And sure this was not the manner of proceeding against those that observed any feast or sacrifice to the true God, which was not commanded or prescribed by God, they that kept the *Eucania* were not thus judged, and therefore this was very little to the *Distributist's* advantage, as now appears by examining the place; it is pity Mr. C. would not consider it.
12. Lastly, For the words in the *Etymologist*, which he saith are fully his sense, tis again a mistake, they are directly the contrary, *Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ ἄγρια μὴ τοῖς ἑλλήσι θεοῖς &c.* It must be known that the word *Superstition* is among the *Gracians* (or *Gentiles*) taken *ὡς καλῶ* for a good thing, but among us *Christians* *ὡς καὶ ἀσεβείας* for impiety. i. e. evidently the heathens and the *Christians* use it for the same thing, the worship of demons, but that the *Gentiles* commend and account good, who use it, but we *Christians* justly deem it the greatest impiety.
13. Agreeable hereto again is that of *Phavorinus* a *Christian* alio. *θεοδιδαιμονία τὸ πάντα σέβειν καὶ μὴ σεβάσματα*, *Superstition* is the worshipping all things, even those which are not to be worshipt, and that *θεοδιδαιμον* signifies *ἀμφίβολον περὶ τῶν πένον, ἢ καὶ ὁ θεοῦ τὸς δαίμονας*, one that is dubious concerning faith (as the *Israelites* betwixt God and *Baal*), or as *Tertullian* saith, if there were conceived more Gods then one, *cultura ejus in anceps deduceretur*, he should not know whom to worships, whether one onely or both, (adv. *Marc. l. 1. c. 5.*) or he also that fears (or worships) demons.

as the *Assyrians* in *Samarina* that feared the Lord and served their own Gods. And so still this is as contrary to the *Diatribists* pretensions as might be. And so much for that *Section*.

### Sect. 8.

*Superstition* always ill, but not always excess. Probations from the use of words among heathens. The *Quare* of *Divorce* vindicated. *Superstitions* not reprocht in the *Romans* by *Polybius*. *Ignorance* not presently *Superstition*. *Αγνοῦντας θεῶν*, *Act. 17*. The *Israelites* worshipping the *Catfe*. *Δουδαῖοι* *vestitus ὑμᾶς θεῶν*. *Superstitiosus* noting excess.

**Numb. 1.** **T**He 22<sup>d</sup>. §. makes a leap from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> over 12. not very brief *Sections*, I suppose it is because he hath no least objection to make against them ( being not else very sparing in this kind ) and yet in them is contained my enumeration of all the notions, wherein the word *Superstition* is or can be taken in the *antient* heathens, *Scriptures*, and *Christian glossaries*, and the premises on which the subsequent conclusions are founded, and cannot be denied while the premisses are granted, and the whole matter made clear, that none of the notions of the word is applicable to the benefit of the *Diatribist's* pretensions.

2. Now in §. 27. it seems some flaws are to be found, as 1. When I say tis inconsequent that *Superstition* simply and absolutely taken should be resolved in all Authors to signifie somewhat that is ill, particularly false worship, this, saith he. is not the question, but whether in *Scripture* and orthodox *Divines* it do not always signifie something evill, particularly excessive and false worship. To this the answer is easie, that I am far from doubting that *Superstition* is an ill thing, and therefore never meant to make that the question, This appears of me, because I every where acknowledge the word, *Greek* and *Latine*, to signifie the worship of *demons* or false Gods, onely I could not but observe in the first place that the *heathens* who are known to worship such *demons*, and not to think that a fault in themselves, did mean no

new ill by that word (whether *excess* or other the like) either more or worse than they ordinarily meant by *Religion*, this being indeed their *Religion* to worship many Gods.

3. This they must have done, if they had by that word understood an *excess* of *Religion*, and by their taking it in a good sense, as *Synonymous* with *Religion*, it appears that this of *excess* was not esteemed the due notion of it.
4. This I thought usefull to be said, that the very title of *Superstition* might not defame every thing as an *excess* in *Religion*, and *crimmons*, to which it was affixt, unless it might otherwise appear that there was really any such *evil* in it, and this I said *negatively* (to shew the *absurdness* of their concluding, who taking the word *Superstition* for a word of an *universal ill* savour, as signifying *excess* of *Religion*, first affixe it to *innocent ceremonies* and *institutions*, to which it no way belongs, and then infer them *nocent*, as being *Superstitious*, without proving any charge of *malignity* against them) and as *preparative* to the discovery of the following *mistakes*, rather than that I ever imagined *Superstition* truly so called to have no ill in it.
5. And therefore of this, any otherwise, then as I now say, and then meant, I shall make no *question*, and on condition he will never apply the word *Superstition* any otherwise, then the *Scripture* and *ancient Christian writers* apply it (i. e. to *demon worship*, or to *undue worship* of the true God, in the notion of *indebitus* or *illegitimus cultus* in *Aquinas*, not to each such *Superstatutum* as he will call an *excess*, the using of each *uncommanded ceremony* and the like) I shall acknowledge the word always to signify that, among all good writers, *heathen* or *Christian*, which we *Christians* justly deem *evil*, and that was clearly the *Erymologist's* meaning, as we shewed in the last *Seet.* and against that there is no colour of *argument* offered in all this long *Seet.*
6. For what if the *vulgar translation* (which he sets as the *only* instance of *Popish Commentators*) render *Συνδαιμόνια* by *Superstition*? what if the *Papists* pretend it not to be taken in a good sense (whom I suppose far enough from yielding themselves to be *Superstitious*) doth that prove that *Festus* meant any *excess* by that word, or indeed any more than *Religion*?
7. Next when he makes his *observation*, that in all my *large discourse*

discourse I bring onely heathens to shew the meaning of the word, and not one Divine, Greek or Latine Father, &c. who take it in a good sense ] this is neither true in the affirmation, for I bring the Scripture and the Christian glossaries to testifie all that I pretend to, nor yet in the application, for I do not pretend the word to signifie that which a Christian counts good, but among the heathen the worship of many Gods, which none but heathens can think to have no ill in it, and consequently I pretend it onely of them, and of those that set down the use of words among them, and of S. Paul when he is not a finding that fault in them, *Act.* 17. 22. and so still this is sufficient to prove that the word originally signifies not any excess of Religion or any other evil, abstracted from that of the *Demon worship* &c. which was all that I had in design to conclude.

8. And in making this use of heathen Authors, sure I have done nothing which I ever blamed in any man else, as the *Diatribist's* margin accuseth me, citing the *Quere of Divorce*, §. 58. where I thought it unreasonable that all the *antient Christian writers* should not be as competent to give us the signification of *μυρία* as *Demosthenes* and *Philo* (and yet made no scruple to acquiesce in the notion, which either *Demosthenes* or *Philo* gave us, §. 57.)
9. For if he pleased to mark, there is here no difference between the heathen writers and others, *Scripture* and *antient Christians*, concerning the meaning of the word *Superstition*, all yeelding it equally to signifie the worship of many Gods ( whereas there that other person whom I opposed, profess a contrariety, and then preferred the one before the other ) To which yet it is necessarily consequent, that in another inquiry, whether *Superstition* were among *Authors* taken in a good sense, some difference should be observed between *Authors* heathen and *Christian*, because it is certain the heathen worship is by us *Christians* most justly lookt on as an ill thing, being the worship of creatures, but by the heathens thought well of, as the *Diatribist* here confesseth, *practised* and *commended*, and so not lookt on any otherwise then Religion it self, *ὅτι καλῶ λεγόμενον*, in the *Etymologist*, used for a good thing; consequently, the thing which I contest, is not this, that the worship of *demons* is or ever was true or lawfull, but that beside this, supposed by *Christians* but denied by *heathens*, to be evil (adding the

the like of *illegitimate worship*) there is nothing else which hath been lookt on as *simply* bad in *Superstition*, particularly not the *excess*, as that signifies *unprescribed uncommanded worship*, which is the onely matter of the present contest with such as the *Diatribist*.

10. And he doth but *perplex* and *disturbe* the matter when he saith the *question* is, whether it doth not always in *Scripture* and *Orthodox Divines* signifie *excessive* and *false worship*, for he must set the *question*, as eliewhere he doth, of *excessive*, as that signifies no more then *uncommanded* worship, without the addition of being *false*, it being evident that I defend not *false worship* of any kind to be *good*, but that *ceremonies* or *institutions* not *commanded* by *God* may yet be perfectly *lawfull* and *blameless*, and that that is the onely *question* between us.
11. For the *text* of the *Act. c. 25. 19.* I have answered already, and evidenced that *Festus* meant nothing ill by *Superstition*; and the *Drs.* words cited from *Sect. 24.* of the ordinary practise of every *Sect* to dislike the distant worship of others, and defame it under the title of *Religion*, doth no way prejudice this; because it is certain *Festus* was no way *factious* for the *Jewes* against *Pauls Religion*; No more doth the *marginal* citation from *§. 22.* where I have said that *Superstition* was made matter of *reproach* to the *Romans*; where 1. It was not *Superstition* simply, but the *μη καλασιπείν ὑπερβολῆς*, not coming short of *excess*, of which that was said that it was *παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνειδίζεσθαι*, reproached by others, and yet as much commended by the *Author Polybius* in that place, and 2. That the *old rule* in *Logick* will always hold, there is no *sylogizing* from *particulars*, nor can this ever be formed into a *regular sylogisme* or *valid probation*, some there were that reproacht the *Romans Superstition*, therefore *Festus* reproacht *Pauls Act. 25. 19.* or spake of it by way of *defamation*.
12. What remains of this *Sect.* belongs to the place *Act. 17. 23.* of which I had said, 1. That the *Apostle* speaking of those whom he calls *δουλοῦντες*, more *Superstitious* then other men, tels them that they did *εὐσεβεῖν* worship the true *God* though ignorantly, 2. That he styles them more *religious* then other men, meerly in relation to their worshipping the unknown (which was the true) L God,



God, which others worships not, and so meant no more by this phrase then that they were more religious then other men, no way appearing to accuse them of that as of their fault, but preparing thereby to declare to them that true God whom they worships ignorantly.

13. To this many things are here objected, 1. That their worshipping the true God ignorantly with their own devised worship, was a Superstition justly to be condemned, It being gross Idolatry and sinful Superstition in the Israelites to worship the true God in the golden Calf. ]

14. I answer, their ignorance of the true God was justly to be condemned, according to that of Minutius Felix, *Non minus est scelus Deum ignorare quam ledere*, it is as great wickedness to be ignorant of God as to hurt him, or that of Trismegistus (as I remember) ἀγνοια μανίας ἐστίν, Ignorance of God is a species of madness, and in another of the antients style, τὸς μῆν a kind of drunkenness of the soul; But that being granted, 1. This ignorance was not the thing that denominated them Superstitious, but their worshipping many Gods, 2. Their worshipping the true God, though they knew him not, was no new species of Superstition, wherein they exceeded others, 3. Their worshipping him with their own devised worship was not it which is meant by their worshipping him ignorantly, the words in the original are ὃν ἀγνοῦντες λατρεύοντες, literally whom ye not knowing, or being ignorant of him, worship, i. e. worship him whilest ye know him not, which no way refers to the manner of their worship, as devised by themselves, but onely to their ignorance of the God whom they thus worship, which therefore the Apostle applies himself to cure, and accordingly it follows, him declare I unto you.

15. Lastly, their worshipping him as dwelling in Temples made with hands, i. e. in little Chaplets or Shrines or Images &c. v. 24. is not their Superstition but Idol-worship, and is very much more then the uncommanded ceremonies will amount to, and so cannot be a proper instance of their own devised worship, in the Distributist notion of the phrase for all uncommanded worship; and sure the Israelites worshipping the true God in a golden Calf, is as little pertinent to that business, for if it be true, that they worships none but the true God, then was that only Idolatry against the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment,

mandment, not Superstition or demon worship against the first, or if they worship the Gods of the Egyptians, or any one of them, Apis in that figure, then what was that to the worshipping of the true God in an ignorant, or by themselves devised manner?

15. 2<sup>dly</sup>. He saith my rendring the place more religious then other men, in relation to their worshipping the unknown God, which others worship not, is my gloss, begges the question, is against the text it self, I perceive that in all things yee are too Superstitious, both in their worshipping many false Gods, and in their ignorant worship of the true, and in their vicious rites of worship, adding that this sense the Dr. himself gave §. 11. I consider and behold you in all things (or in all that I see of you) as men more Superstitious then others.
16. Here I perceive my words are mistaken, and therefore shall first answer to that, then to the former parts of the objection. The Greek is *ἐν παντί ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ*, literally, in all things, or in all respects, I look upon you as more Superstitious, i. e. (I take it, and I thought I had sufficiently exprest it before) considering all the altars and inscriptions, i. e. the names of your deities, which I see or behold, I conclude that you are more Superstitious or religious, worship more Gods or demons, then other men.
17. That this is the sense, I am inclined to believe by the reason of his speech rendred in the next, *διερχόμενος δὲ &c.* for passing through and contemplating your worships, i. e. the Gods which you worship, I found also an altar on which was inscribed To the unknown God. The summe of which is, that in the survey of their altars, which contained the names of their Gods, he found one altar remarkably more, then is usuall among other people, that to the unknown God, the true God of heaven, which others in their idolatrous or worship of many Gods did not worship, which being the proof or reason (exprest by the *δὲ* for) of the former speech, must needs give me authority to interpret it in proportion thereto, that considering all that he had seen of them, peculiarly that altar to the unknown God, he concluded them more Superstitious, i. e. worshippers of more Gods then other folkes.
18. That the Athenians truly were so esteemed, appears evidently by what was said in the Tr: of Superstition §. 11. and hath here formerly been added to that head, and therefore that will very

fitly be the notion of the word, not *too Superstitious*, but literally *more Superstitious* than others, especially if it be remembered that the bare addition of the *worship* of the *true God* (however *unknown* to them) to their other *θεοδιδασκωρία* or *worship* of *many Gods*, cannot be a *new fault* in them, distinct from the other, or a *superaddition* to the *guilts* of other men.

19. All which being considered, it now appears, 1. How far from truth it is which is here suggested, that *Pauls* speech of *θεοδιδασκωρις θεων* (however rendred) *belongs both to their worshipping so many false Gods, and to their ignorant worship of the true, and to their vitious rites of worship*, when it clearly belongs but to one, their *worshipping the unknown God*, which others *worshipt* not, 2. How far my words §. 11. were mistaken or perverted by him, 3. How far my *interpretation* hath been from opposing the *text* it self, being the clear importance of the *text* considered with *S. Pauls reason*, as the *key* by which to enter into the *true meaning* of it; and lastly how far this is from any *begging the question*, when I *proved* so largely whatsoever I said, and when no *answer* is here offered to those *proofs*, and yet, if there were any need, here have been added farther convincing *confirmations* of the same thing, if yet they may deserve to be taken notice of.
20. And this is all that is in the least degree needfull to be said to this §. 22. unless I yet adde that those words in the close of it, cited from me, that §. 31. *Superstitiosus in the positive signifies excess more then in the comparative*, are not very intelligible, which they would surely have been, to me at least, if they had rightly reported my *sense*.
21. That which I said is no more then this, that *Superstitiosus* by force of the *termination osus*, may signify an *excess*, and that to *Religiosus* may also; but what is that to the use of the word, whether in the *positive* or the *comparative*, when it is the bare rendring of the *Greek θεοδιδασκων*, as here it is, which no way signifies thus?

Sect. 9.

*The Diatribist's concession of the innocence of unprescribed ceremonies, and so of all that is demanded. His censure of himself and Chamier. Authority in a Church to institute Ceremonies. Abstaining from ceremonies, because commanded by men or abused by Papists.*

THE next or 23<sup>d</sup>, §. is very brief, but yet seems to me to be very considerable, and that in such a degree that it might well make an end of this debate betwixt the *Diatribist* and me, for having exactly set down a 2<sup>d</sup>. *inconsequence* (by me noted and concluded to be such, from the opening of the Greek and Latine words) viz. that the use of ceremonies or rites in the worship of God, if not distinctly prescribed by the example or precept of Christ, should be called *Superstition*, and for that condemned] he answers no more but this. [*I believe this is a mistake, none that I know make such a consequence, but rather thus, that what rite or ceremonie soever is made a part of worship, without such example or precept of Scripture, is Superstitious and therefore condemned.*

2. I shall not here indeavour to perswade the *Diatribist* that he knows some who condemne uncommanded rites as *Superstitious*, because *Superstatutum*, such as kneeling at the Eucharist, using the cross in baptisme, bowing at the name of Jesus, but taking him at his word, I beseech him to tell me, why then he undertook the confutation of the *Tr. of Superstition*, which, he must know, contended no more then this, being designed to this onely end, the averting that envy and calumnie, that was then frequently but unjustly cast upon our Church, upon the account of ceremonies, and which was since in the *Traict of Festivals*, no farther applied, then as that analogie would justly bear, which was betwixt uncommanded rites and uncommanded days of worship, betwixt unprescribed gestures, and times, both which are known to be but circumstances and accessories, no essential parts or branches of worship.

3. This truly were very strange for him to be ignorant of; As it is, 'tis the yielding me the whole cause, and I have no more to contend for, but only peace, and what by perfect analogie from one circumstance of worship to another, will irrefragably be concluded from that which is here granted by him.
4. 'Tis now pity that we that are thus suddenly pieced, should ever fall out again; Nay we are likely, if words may be believed, to be yet more firmly knit together and consolidated, for §. 24. in answer to the 3<sup>d</sup>. in consequence noted by me [that men on pretence and in the name of piety should abstain from some observances (indifferent) as Superstitious, either because commanded by lawfull authority or abused by Papists] he speaks clearly that it is a worse mistake, and that he believes I cannot give an instance of one understanding Christian, that ever did abstain from observances indifferent, because commanded by lawfull authority, but rather that they were thoughts not indifferent, but obtruded on them as parts of worship, and so likewise for the other, that they have been used by Papists, is not all, but that by them they have been abused and counted parts of worship, and may easily return to be so accounted by others.
5. But to this I must reply, lest by silence I incur the guilt of scandal of having wronged others, and of writing all that hath been written on this Theme, without any adversary to provoke me to it. First then, I profess to be able to give instance of many, that were baptized into our common faith, and so were Christians (how deeply understanding I pretend not to judge) who have abstained from the use of ceremonies meerly upon this score, because commanded by their Civil and Ecclesiastical Superiors, the King and Bishops, by Canon Ecclesiastical; This, said they, was laying more burthens on them then God had laid, and so usurping on their Christian liberty. And in stead of naming those men, without their consent, for that must now be the vilifying them, the involving them under the Diatribists censure, that they are not understanding Christians, I shall name one on whom he may pass what judgement he shall please, having full power to do it, this very Diatribist himself, p. 31. where 1. He hath these words, *If men may be Judges what are fit for number and wholeness, every after comer will think himself as wise as he that went*

went before, till they have loaded the Christian above the Jew.  
2. That the learned Chamier hath well observed, that there may be many mischiefs in a few ceremonies, if the authority to institute them be in the Church or any man or men.

6. The former of these speeches is pretty home to the point in hand, for if the objection to the number or wholesomeness of ceremonies be this, that men are judges of them, as they always are when men command them, then sure it is the power of the lawful magistrate (for he is a man or men) to command, which is the ground of the quarrel, and they that quarrel thus, and abstain from indifferent ceremonies upon this score, must abstain because commanded by lawfull authority. As for example, I suppose bowing when Jesus is named in the publike worship (or when Christ, or when the Holy Ghost) to be in it self lawfull or indifferent, because no where forbidden by God, I suppose farther, that being so, this and a few other such ceremonies may very safely be used by a Christian, though they were not commanded; I now demand, may a few, namely, three or four such ceremonies be lawfully prescribed or commanded by the Supreme power in any Church to all under that authority? And may all under that authority safely observe such ceremonies so commanded? If they may, then men may be judges what ceremonies are fit both for number and wholesomeness, which is contrary to the direct words of the *Diatribist*, in the former part of this speech, If they may not, then it seems what was before lawfull and indifferent is now since it was commanded, and by no other change, become unlawfull, which was the in consequence I pointed at, and it seems mistook not in thinking some body (it now seems this *Diatribist*) to be the very person guilty of it.

7. But then the latter speech is as punctuall to it as could be well imagined (and if the *Diatribist* have cited duely, Chamier and he are both of this opinion) For it being certain that nothing can be commanded by lawful authority, unless the authority of instituting it be either in the Church or man or men, it must necessarily follow upon the asserting of the many mischiefs in a few ceremonies, if the authority to institute them be in the Church or man or men, that there must be many mischiefs in their being commanded by lawfull authority, & then no understanding Christian can think it fit for him  
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by observing such commands to be accessory to or guilty of the introducing those mischiefs, & so must abstain on that one account of the Churches exercising such an authority, which was the very thing I deemed, and noted to be so insequent.

8. Nay the very words of the *Diatribist* in this place, when he charges me of mistake, being these [*that they that abstain from indifferent observances; do it because they were thought not indifferent, but obtruded on them as parts of worship*] are either a calumnie against the *Governors* of our Church, or else they assert what he disclaims so solemnly.
9. For I shall demand, Is his meaning this, that the *Governors* of the Church thought the ceremonies simply necessary and not indifferent, antecedently to the command of the Church, i. e. necessary by the *Divine Law*, though the Church had never commanded them? If that be his meaning (as seems most probable by what follows [*obtruded on them as parts of worship*] for all parts of worship are necessary by *divine Law*, though never commanded by man) then this is a direct calumnie against the *Governors* of the Church, who never thought all ceremonies to be prescribed by *God's Law*, and therefore prescribed them by *Canon Ecclesiastical*, which argues that they esteemed them not as *Divine* but *Humane Laws*, never obtruded them as parts of worship, but as ceremonies for uniformity and decency, and as useful toward assisting, inciting, and expressing of piety outwardly.
10. But if his meaning be, that being in themselves indifferent, they became necessary and not indifferent by the intervening of the Churches command, and so were obtruded on men as parts of worship (as that may possibly signifie with him parts of obedience or duty to God by virtue of his command to obey our Superiours) and if this were the thing disliked in the ceremonies prescribed by the Church, then again tis evident that their being commanded by lawfull authority, is the onely objection to them and ground of abstaining from them, in the judgement of his *Diatribist*, at the very point of time, when he so solemnly disclaims it.
11. So likewise may be said to his account of those things which are abstained from because they have been used by *Papists*, This, saith he, is because they have been by them abused and conne-  
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*parts of worship.* But truly I cannot with truth thus affirme of the *Papists*, that any of the *ceremonies* which we use from them, were ever by them accounted *parts of worship*, but onely as *usefull whole some ceremonies* appointed by the *Church*.

12. Of the difference between *parts of worship* and *circumstances of time, place, gesture, accessaries, of worship*, I have spoken at large, c. 2. §. 3. And though hereafter §. 28. this difference be fully consented to by the *Diatribist* in these words [*some rites and ceremonies of worship are rather called circumstances of worship, time, place, gesture, which are common adjuncts of Religions and Civil affaires, then properly Religious, much less to be accounted parts of worship*] yet by what hath here been said by him, it appears that all his skill lyes in managing that one fallacie, putting all *ceremonies* and *institutions* of the *Church* under that one ambiguous phrase *uncommanded worship*, perswading himself or others that we introduce *new parts of worship*, and so do contrary to *God's command*, who hath set down the rule of *worship*, i. e. prescribed all the *parts* and *species* of *worship*, whereas he cannot but know that all that we say in asserting whether of *ceremonies* or *Festivals*, is no more but this, that each of these, not as *parts of worship*, but as *decent attendants* of it, though not *instituted* by *God*, have yet been *lawfully* and *orderly* appointed and observed by the *Church of God* in generall, and are to us become matter of *obligation*, by that means, and as *prescribed* by the *Governors* of our particular *Church*, to which our *obedience* is due, and so that there is no degree of *Superstition* in us in doing that which is thus required of us, nor in those that require it in laying this *obligation* upon us.
13. And so much for his *animadversions* on the *three inconsequences*, from which if he would really and in earnest clear himself, these *debates* were certainly concluded.

## Sect. 10.

*Scriptures on some particulars in the remaining Sections. What excess Divines mean by Superstition. What St Augustine. Obligation to performance, without being parts of worship. Observers of order more Religious more acceptable then others. The reason why Jewish ceremonies are interdicted. The Church of England sparing in ceremonies. Ceremonies not forbidding Christ lawful to be retained by Christians. The abstinence from blood, long continued in the Church. The Saturday Sabbath. Negative wholesomeness not sufficient to recommend ceremonies. All folly in worship is not Superstition. The opinion of the ancient Church worth considering. No duties appointed for the circumstances sake. Time or place instituted by God is a circumstance, as well as when by man. Apostolical Divine.*

**Numb. 1.** **T**HAT which follows §. 25. &c. is for the most part but revolving the same things again that have hitherto been spoken to, or the hiding himself in those *obscurities* which have now been explained, sometimes granting all that I assert, sometimes denying it in *ambiguous phrases*, as that all *excess* in worship not prescribed is a *nimety* and culpable §. 25. that *rites* be they never so few, if introduced as parts of worship, are *Superstitious* v. 28. and the like, And the Reader must not be condemned to the *penance*, of having all that hath been said on these heads, repeated again, and therefore I am both in *justice* and *charity* obliged to omit particular replies *et cetera* to the remaining *Sections*, yet shall read them over as carefully as I can, and observe whatever I discern may be thought *pertinent* to his *cause*, which hath not hitherto been spoken to.

2 As 1. When he saith §. 26. that *all Divines generally condemn it*, I answer, they condemn *Superstition*, but mean not by it every *excess* in worship not prescribed, as that phrase comprehends all *ceremonies* and *festivals* not commanded by God; and those *Divines* that condemn this under the name of *Superstition*, are the men of whom onely my words are to be understood, that they are so few and so *modern*, and of so *small authority*, that they

they were scarce worth producing, no ancient writer having ever condemned all ceremonies and festivals, which are not commanded by God, under the title of *Superstition*; and that \* *Aquinas's* words are no way applicable to it, hath been already shewed. " 2<sup>d</sup>. 2. qu. 92.

3. As for St *Augustine's* place produced by me §. 33. from *art. 1.* whence he collects that an institution of worship by men may be *Superstitious*, I answer, that that Father speaks there of those *qui instituerunt Deorum simulachra, who instituted images of Gods*, which the *Diatribist* could not but see, if he had pleased, and of such institutions I grant that they not onely may be, but are *Superstitious*, but our ceremonies and Festivals are no *Deorum Simulachra, images of the Gods*, and so sure not lyable to his censure.

4. 2<sup>d</sup>y. When §. 29. he affirms of usages in themselves lawfull and allowable, that if they were taught or practised as necessary, or as making the observers more Religious then others, or more acceptable to God, then they would be parts of worship] (and then I must suppose by his tenure of doctrine, *Superstitious*) I answer, 1. That decency, or uniformity, or obedience to Superiors may be a competent ground to turn lawfull ceremonies into necessary, and on those grounds joyned together, I may kneel and teach kneeling at the taking of the Eucharist to be necessary, viz. not by any necessity of divine precept terminated immediately in this gesture, but by such necessity as *Humane Laws*, by force of the first Commandment, and τοῖς ἀνωτέροις ὑποτάξαι, obey those that are placed over you, lay upon me, and this is far from making this kneeling a part of worship, when we know it is but a gesture, and circumstance of it. 2. That they which pray reverently and decently, observe uniformity, obey the lawfull commands of the Church, are in so doing more Religious and more acceptable to God then others, who *æ seris paribus*, do it not, pray irreverently, act undecently, observe not uniformity, disobey the lawfull commands of their Ecclesiastical Superiors. or then they which perform the same things upon their own choices. So saith *Leo de jejun. 7. mens. Sermon. 3.* *Divinarum namque reverentia Sanctionum inter quolibet spontanea observantia studia habet semper privilegium suum, ut sacratius sit quod publica lege celebratur, quam quod privatâ institutione dependitur.* The reverence of the Divine, i.e.

*Ecclesiastical sanctions have always this privilege among spontaneous observances, that whatsoever is performed by publick law, is more sacred, then what is done upon private institution. This I hope I shall not need farther to prove, and if not, then sure the teaching this or acting on these grounds, will not make my allowable action criminous or Superstitious.*

5. 3<sup>dly</sup>. When §. 31. he finds fault with men for saying that the sole reason why old Jewish ceremonies are interdicted us Christians, is, because the observing those which foresheved Christ, and teaching the necessity of them, would be the denying Christ to be come, paralleling this with an answer of Bellarmine's and rendering an account from Chamier, that there was another reason of their abrogation, because they did load the conscience with a yoke of a multitude of ceremonies, and that this is common to those, and to the traditions of men] I answer, 1. That it is one thing for Jewish ceremonies to be interdicted Christians, another for them not to be imposed, the weight of the yoke was the reason why they were not to be imposed, and to that the Diatribists reasons in the conclusion of §. 31. do all belong; but my speech was evidently of their being interdicted, and that meant not onely of the multitude of them, but of every or each of them, and the sole reason of that, was this which I assigned, for if the weight of the multitude were at all considered in that, then any one of them, which sure was not a multitude, would have been lawful, by name circumcision, or sacrificing, or the like, against which yet the Christian interdict lyes, as well as against the whole number.
6. 2<sup>dly</sup>. 'Tis certain that in the application of this instance to ceremonies (not prescribed by God in a Christian Church) there is great difference betwixt the Church of which Bellarmine was an advocate, and that which I undertook to defend. In the Church of Rome there is a great multitude of ceremonies and festivals, which may be capable of the title of weight and yoke, but the Church of England is far more sparing, and I had fully consented to the rule of *pauca & salubres, few and salubrious*, and was now disputing for the lawfulness of some ceremonies, uncommanded by God, not for the expedience of meer so many, as other Christians both of the Western and Eastern Churches have received into their Canons, and proportionable to that was any one, or never

so few old Jewish ceremonies, for the abrogation of which I was therefore obliged to give such an account, as was not founded in the multitude of them, and consequently could not take either Chamier's or the Diatribist's advice, to render any other then what I rendered, as I thought, from such like plain words of the *Apostle*, *We have an altar, of which they have not power to eat, that serve the tabernacle*, Heb. 13.

7. In this matter the *Diatribist* asks a subtle question, whether if a Christian had observed some Jewish ceremony, which did not foreshew Christ to come, but significant only of something past (though they had not taught it necessary) the *Apostle* would not have blamed them for that as superstitious; and so for any new rites and ceremonies? To which I answer confidently, and to the latter first, that he would not, and the very asking or questioning it in that form, as if it could not be denied but the *Apostle* would have blamed them, is the known fallacy of begging the question: For the whole matter of controversy betwixt me and the *Diatribist* is this, whether every devised rite or ceremony not commanded by God, be superstitious?

8. And to the former part of the question I answer as confidently, and ask him first, what he thinks of the abstinence from things strangled, and all eating of blood, was not that a Jewish ceremony? and was not that observed by Christians *Act. 15.* and did the *Apostles* blame it as superstitious? Certainly they did not. Nay, did not this observance continue among Christians for many ages? *Ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis habemus, suffocatis & morticinis abstinemus*, we have not the blood of any living creatures in our feasts, we abstain from things strangled, and that die of themselves: saith *Tertullian*, *Apol. c. 9.* And *Lucian* tells us how his *Peregrinus* was rejected by the Christians, *ἀποθνῄσκοντες ὡς σκῆμα, ἐσθίων ἀποπνικτῶν αὐτοῖς*, for eating some of their forbidden meats, which sure belongs to this matter; and in *Eusebius's history* 1. 5. c. 1. *Biblis* thus vindicates the Christians from the accusation of eating of children, because, saith she, *οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων ζώων ἅμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν*, we count it not lawful to eat the blood of unreasonable creatures. If this be not perfectly home to his question, I shall then proceed, and alledge for my instance the known practice of the Christian Church of the *Apostles* and pre-



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6. 2<sup>dy</sup>. Tis certain that in the application of this instance to ceremonies (not prescribed by God in a Christian Church) there is great difference betwixt the Church of which Bellarmine was an advocate, and that which I undertook to defend. In the Church of Rome there is a great multitude of ceremonies and festivals, which may be capable of the title of weight and yoke, but the Church of England is far more sparing, and I had fully consented to the rule of *pauca & salubres, few and salubrious*, and was now disputing for the lawfulness of some ceremonies, uncommanded by God, not for the expedience of meer so many, as other Christians both of the Western and Eastern Churches have received into their Canons, and proportionable to that was any one, or never  
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8. And to the former part of the question I answer as confidently, and ask him first, what he thinks of the abstinence from things strangled, and all eating of blood, was not that a Jewish ceremony? and was not that observed by Christians Act. 15. and did the Apostles blame it as superstitious? Certainly they did not. Nay, did not this observance continue among Christians for many ages? *Ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis habemus, suffocatis & morticinis abstinemus*, we have not the blood of any living creatures in our feasts, we abstain from things strangled, and that die of themselves: saith Tertullian, Apol. c. 9. And Lucian tells us how his Peregrinus was rejected by the Christians, ἀφ' ἧν ὁ τὸς ὡς σῆμα, ἐδίων ἀποφθίτων αὐτοῖς, for eating some of their forbidden meats, which sure belongs to this matter; and in Eusebius's history l. 5. c. 1. Biblis thus vindicates the Christians from the accusation of eating of children, because, saith she, καὶ ἐὰν ἀλόγων ζώων ἅμα φαγεῖν ἐξῇ, we count it not lawful to eat the blood of unreasonable creatures. If this be not perfectly home to his question, I shall then proceed, and alledge for my instance the known practice of the Christian Church of the Apostles and pu-

rest time, who as they celebrated the weekly Lords day on the first of the week, in commemoration of Christs resurrection, so they continued the observation of the Saterday Sabbath on the last day of the week, in remembrance of the Creation of the World. The custome appears in *Tertullian de Monogam*: and was continued to the time of the *Laodicean Council*, which orders that not only the Law, as *Act 15.21.* but the Gospel also should be read that day. And the words of *Balsamon* are clear, *παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἱερισμοῦ δι' ὅλου χρόνου ταῖς κυριακαῖς πᾶσι* *κατα, the Sabbaths were by the holy Fathers almost quite equalled to the Lords days:* and a great deal more to the same purpose, as is elsewhere shewed in the *Exposition* of the fourth Commandment.

9. 4<sup>thly</sup>. When §. 32. he so reports my words as to conclude me to affirm, that if ceremonies be but harmless, or negatively wholesome, there cannot be too much of them, This is a plain changing of sense into that which is most contrary to it; For my words are plain, without his gloss, that if they be positively wholesome or tending to edification (not contenting my self w<sup>th</sup> negatively wholesome or harmlesse, or with any thing lesse then positive wholesomnesse) then there will be little reason to accuse them of excessse, then they will rather help devotion then incumber it, the fear of which was the main objection against the multitude of them.
10. 5<sup>thly</sup>. When §. 35. he pretends to prove all folly and vanity in the worship of God, to be superstition, by demanding what Superstition is, but folly and vanity? ] this is a meer paralogisme, (never reducible into a Logical mood and figure) by supposing things to be convertible which are not, as if I should prove a particular substance (for example, the soul of man) to be a body, because every body, is a substance, The answer would be easie, by saying, every body is a substance, but every substance is not a body, so in like manner, every superstition is folly, and vanity, but every folly and vanity, even in the worship of God, is not superstition, This was a little too grosse a Sophisme to impose it self upon the Durtribist, and he now sees a small measure of subtilty was sufficient to enable me for the discovering of it.
11. 6<sup>thly</sup>. When §. 34. on occasion of my speaking of that one kind

kind of excess, of placing more virtue in some things than belongs to them, he demands what I mean by [or in the estimation of the purer ages of the Church] and whether the purer ages of the Church after the Apostles had power to put virtue into things which they had not either naturally or by the rule of Gods word? I answer that I never thought of any such thing, that my meaning is plain enough, if he would please to see it in the end of §. 45. viz. that the thing, there mentioned, the *signe* of the *Crosse* and the *parva Evangelia*, and the like, had not either naturally or by the rule of Gods word, or in the estimation of the purer ages of the Church, that force or virtue in them, which in the latter impurer ages they were thought to have: and I wonder what difficulty there was in understanding, or fault in affirming this, which hath no more dangerous intimation, than that the opinion or estimation of the purer ages of the Church, i. e. the first and nearest to the Apostles times, were, in any such controversy as this very fit to be considered in their due place, i. e. next after the Apostles themselves.

12. 7<sup>thly</sup>. When §. 30. concerning holynesse, or separation to holiness from common uses, he promises to speak somewhat considerable, and under that head tells us that there is this difference between times and places separated by God, and those which are separated by men, that the former require holy duties to till them up, i. e. that the duties are appointed for the time or places sake, but the latter are to wait upon holy duties, the time or place are appointed for the duties sake] I must still challenge his promise, whereby he is yet our debtor of somewhat considerable. For certainly prayer and fasting and sacrifices among the Jews, all duties appointed by God (as in stead of the last the offertorie or almes among Christians) were not appointed for time or places sake; holy days and holy places, the weekly Sabbath, and the annual day of Expiation, and the tabernacle and Temple at Jerusalem, were never the end for which prayer, &c. were instituted, nor is it imaginable how they should, when each of those duties, visibly prayer and sacrifice, were appointed and practised before there was any such thing, as Tabernacle or Temple instituted by God.
13. Again, the time or place, when instituted by God himself, is as truly a circumstance of worship as when instituted by man, and duty is equally the substance: and it can with no probability be affirmed.

affirmed that the *substance* is appointed for the *circumstances* sake, or (as he is pleased to speak) *to till up the circumstances*, any otherwife then he would say *substances* were created to *till up accidents*, the *body* for the *colors* sake.

14. As for his charge at the end of §. 39. that I make difference betwixt *Apostolical* and *divine institutions*, and therein vary from my resolution of the first *Quari*, §. 22. It is soon dispatch by acknowledging I do not think that the *Apostles* were *God*, and thereupon for *perspicuity* sake I made these several heads of *institutions*, some by *Christ*, some by the *Apostles*, inspired, and commissioned by *Christ*, the former I called *Divine*, the second *Apostolical*, as that is not personally and immediately *divine*. yet not at all doubting, or giving any cause of doubt, whether the latter were not of *divine original* and *obligation* also, wherein sure I spake after the *example* and *manner* of *men*, and that in order to *distinctnesse* and *perspicuity*, not foreseeing such *cavils* as this, when I thus spake.

15. 8<sup>thly</sup>. What follows of *Wil-worship* in the end of this *Exercitation*, must be reserved to the next *Exercitation*, which is the place designed for it, and for the *Diatribist* to take it here for granted, as he doth, that my *voluntary oblation* is an eminent *Species* of *Superstition*, against which, punishment is denounced in the second *Commandment*: when he knowes that whole *Tract* of *Wil-worship* undertakes to demonstrate the contrary, what is this but a meer *begging* of the *Question*, and that a prime sort of *fallacious arguing*, the solemn *refuge* of those which are *destitute* of all other?

## SECT. II.

*A Vindication of the Tract of Superstition from uncharitableness.*

Numb. I. **T**Hese few things being thus shortly replied to by way of *Stricture*, there remains now no more on this first head of discourse,

discourse, but to vindicate and approve my charity to the *Diatribist*, as I have hitherto done my doctrine against him. And as this is by his conclusion imposed on me as my task, so I doubt not but to find it an easy one, if he will weigh my actions in the same balance which he useth for his own, nay I wish he could as easily clear himself, who hath thus judged me.

2. His words are these, §. 43. by way of conclusion of that first Exercitation, And now the Dr. may be pleased to review, and if he will recal his bitter false uncharitable conclusion §. 57. 58. unbeseeming both his piety and gravity. For now it will appear that the charge of Superstition on some men is no *Mormo*, nor yet unjust, but what is avowed by himself and party to be their opinion and practise, and what is proved to be really Superstitious according to the true notion of the word Superstition among Reformed Orthodox Divines.

3. In obedience to his admonition, and in a solemn dread of having said any thing bitterly, falsely, and uncharitably, and without any manner of incitation against the *Diatribist*, who useth this language (which if it be not found to have perfect truth in it, must be acknowledged to be very uncharitable, I need not adde, bitter toward me) I have warily and suspiciously reviewed those Sections, and I shall desire the indifferent Reader to do so too, and to tell me what syllable or minutest part of them there is, which can any way deserve from any dispassionate person, the title either of false in any degree, or of uncharitable or bitter in relation to any man then or now living.

4. For this I must premise, that the severest Satyre against a vice, and not a person, which carries perfect truth and justice in it, that represents a damnable sin in the ugliest colours, and no otherwise reflects upon the person of any man, then as his own conscience shall be thus awakened with a sight of his own guilt, is so far from either uncharitable or bitter, (unless in the notion wherein the wholesomest Physick or most necessary Chirurgery must undergo the same censure) that it is the greatest and most obliging Christian act of mercy, and kindness, and sovereign charity, that piety and gravity can suggest to any. And unless it asperse ( by affixing such vices to ) particular persons, especially those who are not guilty of them ( as here the *Diatribist*



hath in plain words affixt that *foul sin* of *Superstition* on the *Dr. personally*, and enlarged it to *his party*, which he knows must involve all the *obedient* sonnes of the *Church of England*, for the *Dr.* cannot with any tolerable *charity* be said or thought to be of *any other party*) there is no ground of *charge* of the least *asperity* in this.

5. And then it is most certain that those 2 *Sections* can no wise fall under this *censure*, the summe of them being no more but this, that if the *crime* of *Superstition* were fastned on none but those on whom the *Scripture* directs to fasten it, all that have opposed our *Church* in point of *rites* and *ceremonies*, and branded the *innocent* as guilty of no less *crime* then *Superstition*, must be obliged to return to *peace* and *charity*, and *perswasions* of *kindness* toward us, whereas the *contrary* humor of those who oppose and maligne our *Church*, daily *inflames* and *advances* into that *diabolical* sin of *calumniating*, and *accusing* the most *innocent* observances of those, whom they have undertaken to *oppose*, and never considers or looks on those many *grosser crimes*, *spirituall pride*, *uncharitableness*, *faction*, nay *sacrilege* and *profaness* it self, with so much expression of *aversion* or *dislike*, as on the usage of a *few* and *wholesome ceremonies*.

6. This is, as neer as I can briefly *paraphrase* it, the sense of those two *Sections*, and all the *asperity* that is there discoverable, is but this, that *enemies* and *calumniators* have learnt two of the *Devils attributes*, *Σαλᾱῶς* or *ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρ.* and *διὰβολῆς* or *κατήρεος ἡ ἀδελφῶν*, and as long as this hath palpable truth in it, and when I applied it not (so much as in my *thoughts*) either to this *Diatribist*, whose name I think I had never heard of, nor to any other *particular* person, and as long as it was *visible* that there was such *enmity* abroad in this *nation*, which thus *fortified* it self by *calumniating* others, and it being certain that it was perfect duty of *charity*, to indeavour the *detering* and *preserving* *brethren* and *fellow Christians* from such *guils* and *dangers*, and that the pointing at other *sinnes* that much more justly deserved *censure*, might be usefull to that end, by way of but *necessary diversion*, I can with perfect *peace* of mind review those *Sections*, not discerning any *man*, or *virtue*, *moral* or *Christian*, any branch of either part of my *duty*, against which

which I have offended; And I now desire the *Diatribist*, if he be not fully of my *persuasion*, that he descend to the *particularity*, and tell me the man in the *world* to whom I was in those *Sessions uncharitable* or *bitter*, and first to whom *uncharitable*, and then for the *falseness*, that hath by all this *reply* to this *Diatribes*, been, I hope, sufficiently *contested*.

7. And having said thus much in *vindication* of my self, I can very well abstain from making use of the *advantage*, which is here *visibly* given me, of more then *recriminating*; I am so well satisfied with my own *innocence*, that I cannot be farther gratified with the *contemplation* of others *guilt*.
  8. And so much for his *first exercitation*, having I hope competently secured the *observance* of the *rites* and *ceremonies* of our *Church* from being the *introducing* of any new *worship*, or *criminous excess* against any of the *Commandments* of the *first table*, and consequently from the charge of *Superstition* in any justifiable notion, or *Etymologie*, or *acception* of the word, not taking that of *Super Statutum* to be such.
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## CHAP. V.

## Of Will-worship.

## SECT. I.

*The state of the Question. Will-worship distinguished from the circumstances of it. The matter of mans will of three sorts. The 6. several possible notions of Will-worship. The application of them to the matter in hand. The vanity of the Diatribists distinction The scope of the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment.*

*Numb. 1.* **I**N the Diatribe of Will-worship, the first complaint is, that the Dr. had not (as it became him) distinguished the words *ἰδωλοντροπία* in Greek, or Will-worship in English, before he began his defence of them] and to repair this unbecoming defect on the Doctors part, the Diatribist is pleased to do it for him, by assigning it a double notion, 1. For voluntary, spontaneous or willing worship, i. e. willingness or freeness in worship commanded by God,) and then they were to blame, saith he, that put an ill notion upon them, or 2. For worshippe devised by the wit and appointed by the will of man, as contradistinguished to the wil and wisdom of God, and then it was not so much the ill fortune as the just punishment of them to pass under an ill notion &c. For the scope of the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment in the affirmative part being this, God must be worshipped with his own prescribed worship, and in the negative, to forbid all devised worship of God by the wit or will of man, the very name of will (of man) put to worship of God, as opposed to the will of God, the onely rule of worship, is as a brand in the forehead of it, to characterize it as condemnable in all.

This his first §. I have thus fully set down, as the foundation of his discourse on this subject, and very fit for my direction how to proceed in the reply to it; For if I shall now punctually obey his admonition, and having, in his opinion, formerly failed

of my duty, speedily indeavour to repair it, 1. by distinguishing the Greek and English word (though by giving it the exact limits in that one place, where it is used in Scripture, I had hoped well that I had formerly performed all that was necessary in this kind) and telling him clearly in what sense I take it, defending it to be no way reprovab; and 2. by shewing the unsitenesse of his distinction here premised, and the fallaciousnesse of the reason, or proof annexed to it, me thinks this should set me on a good way toward the end of this second Stage, and so do that which is most desirab; to the Reader and my self, confer much to our expedition in this journey.

3. For the first then, I shall distinguish, as formerly betwixt Syn-cra worship, whether the theological virtue, or some act thereof, together with the gradual intension and extension, the degrees and also the frequency or number of those acts, on one side, and the external ceremonies or circumstances of it, on the other side, which are not parts but accidents of worship; As in any other habit, that of justice particularly, may be exemplified, It may beside the virtue of justice, signifie 1. some act of that virtue, or 2. the degree thereof, and frequent repetition (more or lesse) of the acts of it, but for the circumstance of time or place attending on any act of it, they will never be called justice with any propriety.

4. Secondly, For [will,] the other ingredient in the composition of the word, meaning thereby the will or choice of man, it may be of four sorts, distinguishable by the matter which is will'd or chosen, 1. when the thing thus will'd by man is forbidden by God, or 2. when 'tis commanded and under obligation, as far as the force of affirmative precepts extends (of which the rule is true, that obligant semper, sed non ad semper, they oblige us alwayes, but yet do not oblige us to be always exercising some act of the virtues so commanded) and so when it is done, it is done in perfect concord with, and agreeableness to the precept, but yet for that time, or in that degree, it lay not under particular precept, but might without disobedience or sin, have been omitted. 3. When the thing will'd, is left free and indifferent, neither commanded nor forbidden by God. 4. When although it be not indifferent, much lesse forbidden, but good in an high degree, yet it is not under particular precept, and so may be omitted without sin, & when it is done, it

is highly rewardable by God. I shall give an example of each of these branches also; Of the first, when a man himself *commits*, or teacheth others to *commit adultery*, *adultery* being forbidden by God, and so his *action* or *teaching*, an act of his will opposed to the will of God. Of the second when I give to the *poor*, *yearly*, or *weekly*, such a *proportion* out of my *estate*, which I am able to give (and so offend against no office of justice in giving) and yet am not obliged to give by any precept of Gods which laies it as a duty upon me. An instance of which, is set down at large in the Tract of *Worship* §. 32. which together with other *exemplifications* of the point in hand, very necessary to *clear* my sense, and yet in no reason here to be repeated, I must desire the Reader to fetch from that place §. 30. and so forward. Of the third, when I *walk* or *sit* still, *laugh* or *weep*, the law of God leaving it perfectly free for me to *do*, or *omit*, either of these as I shall choose. Of the last all writers, *Jewish*, *Heathen*, and *Christian*, give us frequent examples. *Maimonides* among the *Jews* *Mor Nevoch*. par. 3. c. 17. mentions it as the common saying of the *Jewish Doctors*, that *Reward* is by God given to him that doth any thing uncommanded. Among the *Heathens* one for all, *Plutarch*

2 p. 381.

τὸ αἰνεῦσαι  
περὶ τὸν νόμον  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο χρεώ-  
στασιν. Plur. μὲν ὁρίδεντα,

lib. περὶ εἰμα-  
ρμ.

of fortitude, freeing the city from Tyrants who instances in acts<sup>b</sup> of fortitude, which (saith he) are not νόμιμα, or ὑπὸ νόμου, required or commanded by Law. For (saith he) εἴπερ ὁ νόμος προστάττει, πῶς ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἀπειθεῖν καὶ παρονομεῖν ἔστι καὶ αἰνεύοντες &c. if the Law command such things, then all must be counted παρὰ νόμου disobedient and breakers of Lawes, which deserve not reward in warre, which let the Tyrants live an hour, in which do not some of those other things which are accounted excellent and by consequence all such must be punished as offenders. So Nazianzen of the Christian Law, ἡμετέρας νομοθεσίας τὰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἔχει τοῖς ἐπιτατομένοις ἀ καὶ μὴ φυλάττειν κίνδυνον, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη, αἰρεσιν δὲ ἀ φυλάττειν μὲν πάλιν καὶ ἀντιδοσιν, μὴ φυλάττειν δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κίνδυνον. Of our Law some things lay necessity on them to whom they are given (i. e. saith the Scholiast, ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶν, (on us Christians) and danger to them who observe them not. Others impose no necessity, but are left to choice, bring honor and reward to the observers, but no kinde of danger to them that perform them not, adding that as he that doth not deserve punishment, doth

doth not presently deserve praise, (so neither doth he that doth not deserve praise presently incur punishment : So among the *Latins*, *Tertullian* speaking both of continence and of abstinence, in his book *de cultu Fæmin.* ( long before he was under any suspicion of *Montanism*) c. 9. *Multi propter regnum Dei fortem & utiq; permissam voluptatem sponte ponentes.* Many there were which for the Kingdom of God voluntarily and of their own accord parted with that great and lawful pleasure of women. And again, *Quidam ipsam Dei creaturam sibi interdiciunt, abstinentes vino, animalibus exulantes, quorum fructus nulli periculo aut sollicitudini adjacent, sed humilitatem anime sue in victus quoq; castigatione Deo immolant.* Some interdict themselves the creature of God, abstain from wine, and living creatures, the using of which is perfectly free and safe, and so by chastising of the body, sacrifices to God the humility of the soul. So *S. Hierome* ad *Demetriad.* speaking of *Christ's* words of selling and giving to the poor, *Non cogo* ( saith he in *Christ's* name) *non impero, sed propono palmam, premia ostendo, Tuum est eligere, si volueris in agone & certamine coronari.* *Christ* doth not command it or compel to do it, but proposeth rewards, and thou if thou wilt be crowned must make the choice. And ad *Pammachium*, *Non tibi imponitur necessitas, ut voluntas premium consequatur,* No necessity is imposed on thee, that thy will may obtain reward. And advers: *Helvidium*, Of *Virginity*, *Virgo majoris est meriti, dum id contemnit, quod si fecerit, non delinquit.* A *Virgin* is of greater worth, while she contemns that, which if she do, she offends not. And advers: *Jovinian*: *Ideo plus amat Virgines Christus, quia sponte faciunt quod sibi non fuerat imperatum,* Therefore *Christ* loves them more, because they of their own accord do that which was not commanded them. So *Chrysostom* formerly produced on *Rom. 8.* *Οἱ πνευματικοὶ πάντα ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πόθου, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ τῷ καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν τὰ ἐντολὰ.* The *Spiritual* do what they do with appetite and desire, and demonstrate it in that they also exceed commands. So *Cassian* *Chrysostom's* scholar, *Coll. 22. c. 30.* *Perfecti sub gratiâ evangelii constituti, voluntariâ legem devotione transcendunt &c.* They which are perfect now under the grace of the Gospel, do transcend the law by voluntary devotion. And c. 29. he speaks of worldly men, *qui nihil Deo voluntariè offerunt, who have no free-will-offering*



ring for God. And so Gregory Moral: in Job: *Quidam precepta legis perfectione virtutum transcendunt, Some men transcend the precepts of the law by perfection of virtues.*

6. To apply all this apparatus to the present matter, the stating of the question in hand, the word *ἰδωλόθρησκεία* *Will-worship*, as terminated in the *one God*, the object of *worship*, cannot be imagined to denote any more then some one of these six things, 1. the performing any sort of *worship* to *God*, which is *forbidden* by him, which yet is not truly but *equivocally* called *worship*, as when the *Pharisees* persecuting the *Apostles*, was by them styled *the doing God service*, and the like. 2. The using any *ceremony* in the *worship* of *God*, which either is particularly *forbidden* by *God*, or bears analogy with those which are certainly *forbidden*, as among *Christians* *sacrificing of beasts*, &c. 3. Burthening the *worship* of *God* with many whether *ridiculous* or *unprofitable ceremonies*, which though they are no where *forbidden* severally by *God*, yet by their multitude become an hindrance to *devotion*, or a yoke too heavy for *Christians*. 4. Using or instituting one or more *ceremonies*, no way *forbidden*, and yet no where *commanded* by *God*, but yet such as the *institution* or *using* any of them is founded in some *pious* or *prudential* consideration, whether of *decency*, as when any *gesture* of *bodily reverence* or *humility* is used or appointed, or for *edification*, as when *feasts* not *prescribed* by *God*, are set apart by the *Church*, and so by *men*, for the *commemoration* of any eminent *mercy* of *God*, for the proposing some *exemplary virtues* to others &c. and withal that care is taken, that they are no way *offensive* by the *number* of them. 5. *Offering* to the service of *God* any thing of which *God* hath any way revealed that he will accept of, and reward, if it be duly performed, though he do not by any *law* exact it from every man, as dedicating himself to the *ministry*, doing it without any *hire* or *payment* here, *vowing* *vows* of building *Hospitals*, *Churches* &c: and most eminently *martyrdome*, when it may possibly, and without *sin* be avoided by *flight* &c. but yet the man thinks it may much *tend* to *Gods* honor in the good of *souls*, if he thus *seal* and publicly *testifie* his *obedience* to *Christs* commands by his *blood*, and accordingly *chooseth* to do so. Lastly, when either for the degree or frequency of repetition of any known *act* of *worship*, a man doth more then he is by *Gods*

Gods law strictly required to do, *prays* oftner every day, *fasts* oftner (supposing he no way hurt himself, or omit the performance of any other *duty*, by such *frequency* in either of these) gives a more *liberal* proportion out of his estate to *pious* and *charitable* uses, then any *precept* of *Christ* obligeth him to do, and thelike.

7. As for that of a *cheerful* and so *voluntary* performance of any act of *commanded worship*, I take not this in at all, supposing that in the *commands* of *God*, not only the *action*, but the *cheerfulness* of the performance is in like *manner* commanded by *God*, and so necessary, not *voluntary*, as that referres to the *will* of *man*, distinguishing from the *command* of *God*.
8. Now for the *two* first of these, it is by me most readily acknowledged, that they are *criminous*, and of these I *plead* not the cause in the least, either here, or in the *tract* of *Will-worship*, nor do I apprehend that either of these are truly and properly capable of that title of *will-worship*, or called by it, in that one place of *Scripture*, *Col:2*.
9. Of the *third* sort also I acknowledge my dislike, but yet again think it not applicable to the notion of the word in the *Apostle*, but rather to that by *Epiphanius* used of the *Pharisee*, *ἰδωλον-εὐσεβείας* *exuberance*, or *superfluity* of *Will-worship*, where still the fault is the *multitude* and *unprofitableness* of these *ceremonies*, not simply the use of any *one*, and so of *each* of *them*, the *superfluity*, and not the *uncommandedness* of *them*.
10. Of the *fourth* sort, though I must affirm that it hath nothing culpable in it, but rather *commendable*, as *referrable* to the *Apostle's* command of *decency* &c. yet because it is not *worship* it self, but an *extrinsecal* attendant of it, I need not allow that the title of *Will-worship* neither, nor apply to it the *Apostles* usage of the word *Col. 2*. but refer it to those *circumstances* of *worship*, for which or against which no *command* or *prohibition* of the word hath interposed, of which I oft spake in the head of *Superstition*, and vindicated it from that title.
11. Of the *fifth* it is that I formerly spake, and compared it with the *voluntary oblations* under the *Law*, and of that there is all reason to interpret the word in the *Apostle*, and that in a *notion* of *good* and *commendable* (no way of *visions*) if it be truly such as it pretends

pretends to be, and if it be not *really* such, it may yet have an appearance of that, and so farre an appearance of *Piety* or *Will-worship*.

12. And so again for the *sixt*, or *last*, I have affirmed of it and I hope made it clear, that it is first *lawful*, then *commendable*, and rewardable by *God*, above a lower degree, or lesse frequent exercise of the same sort of *worship*, and yet is not under particular precept, as appears by this, that at that time, and in the same circumstances, when it is thus laudable to give so much more, the giving somewhat lesse is not a *sin*, as is manifested in the tract of *Will-worship*.
13. And so now I hope I have exactly obeyed the *Distributors* directions, *distinguish* the words, and set the whole question before him as discernibly as he could wish, and therein laid ground for that just defence of a blamelesse word, which was at large pleaded in the tract of *Will-worship*. And then I need adde no more to shew the *impropriety* and *vanity* of his own distinction or double sense of *Will-worship*, 1. for spontaneous freewill in worship commanded by *God*, or 2. for worship devised by the will and appointed by the will of man, as contradicting to the will and wisdom of *God*. For as to the former branch of the distinction, as it is restrained to worship commanded by *God*, so it can be no Species of that *Will-worship*, which respects the will and choice of man, without any necessity particularly imposed by *God*, and accordingly I have excluded it out of my Scheme, not out of any unkindnesse to it, but because it necessarily belongs to another head, the cheerfulness and the worship being both supposed to be commanded by *God*, and so incapable of this distant title of *Will-worship*. So that at the best imaginable, he hath branched *Will-worship* into but one part, and that was not the way of distinguishing that term.
14. Then for the other member, it is so set that it hath many improprieties in it, and in brief is that great fallacy to which *Aristotle* refers most others, *fallacia plurium interrogationum* (and I remember the \* *Jews* have a rule of their *Urim* and *Thummim* אֵין שְׁוֹאִלִין צֵל שְׁנֵי דְבָרִים כְּאֶחָד they ask not of two things at once) confounding and putting together things that are most disparate, as hath already appeared by the several Species here set down, which

\* Maim: Hal.  
Xele-hammik-  
dash c. ult.

which were to be distributed into their several classes, some contradicting indeed to the will and wisdom of God, but none of those defended by me, others only not particularly commanded by him, or imposed *sub periculo animæ*, but very consonant and agreeable both to Gods will and wisdom, and so still *undè viciis*, I have very little to thank him for in his distinction.

15. As for his summe and scope of the second Commandment, with the name of S. Augustine and the Doctor in the margin, it already appears how little force it hath against my pretensions, it being evident that the words there cited both for the affirmative and negative part of the Commandment, belong to essential parts of Gods worship, those only being prescribed and particularly appointed by God, not to each circumstance thereof, whether of time, or place, or gesture, which among us tis certain are not particularly prescribed by God, and yet we can so farre judge of his will, by many indications of it, that he no way reproves or dislikes our voluntary observing, or the churches appointing of such, and to these only he knows this controversie here belongs, as applied to the Ceremonies or Festivals of our Church.

## Sect. 2.

*The method of explicating difficulties in the new Test: Opuscula in a good sense: and when in a bad, no prejudice to ἱστορίᾳ.*

1. IN his second §. where he professeth not to care how oft or how Numb. 1. seldom the Greek word is used in other Authors, or the translators of the old Testament, when the thing signified, devised or imposed worship by the will of man, is so decryed in Scripture; I shall to his fastidious despising my method proposed, returne my reason of retaining it, and to his reason, a brief demonstration of the vanity of it.
2. For the first, the reason of my method in that, as in other discourses, was the great affinity and consent betwixt the Greek of the Old and New Testament, the writers being of the same nation,

*Jewes* by birth, which had acquired some skill in the *Greek Language*, and yet not so much *exactness* therein, as wholly to assume the *dialect* or *character* of speech observed by native or *Learned Greeks*, or to devote themselves of the *idiomes* of their own language.

3. Upon this ground I suppose it most consequent, that for the explaining all *verbal difficulties* in the *New Testament*, resort should first be had to the *Greek Translators* of the *Canonical Books*, or the writers of the *Apocryphal* of the *old*, and then in the second place to other good Authors, from whom any light can be fetcht, and when these fail in their expected *aids*, then to make use of other supplies, *analogue of phrases* or *matter*, with what we find in the *Old Testament*, *circumstances* of the *context*, and the like.
4. And if the *Diatribist* despise this *method* of search, it were but necessary *charity* in him, to discover the *faults* of it and direct us to a *better*, which having not here done, he leaves us to surmise, that it was not his *judgement*, but his care to *serve* his own *hypothesis*, which infused these dislikes into him, for otherwise, the result of my way of search being onely this, that the word *ἑθελον* being but once used in the *whole Bible*, Col. 2. 23. the notion of it in that one place, must in all reason be resolved to be that which properly belongs to that place, especially if it proves to be such as agrees exactly with the *נָדְבָה* or *freewill offerings* in the *Old Testament*; I see not what *infirmity* it was which could render it up to his *despising*.
5. However, this wholly *removes* and *evacuates* all force of his *reason* of *dislike*, it being evident by that one example of *freewill offerings*, but much more so by other *evidences*, both there and here added, that there may be many *acts* of *worship*, many *circumstances* of *worship*, yea and many heights of *Christian heroic virine*, which may bear *proportion* with *worship*, that are not under *obligation*, from any particular *command* of *Gods*, and so remain to be *acts* of the *will* or *choise* of *man*, which are perfectly *lawfull*, *acceptable*, yea some *highly rewardable* by *God*, and so far from the guilt which *Mr. C.* affixes, of *high indignity* or *affront* to the *divine Majesty*.
6. What he addes of the simple word *ἑθελον* and *ἑθελον*, that

that they are but twice apiece used in the Book of Wisdome, and alway in an ill notion, which saith he, is but little to the credit of the compound ἱεροθεῖα might sure have been spared, it being as certain and visible to him, that the same word is used by St James, c. 1. 27. in as good a sense as could be wisht, with the epithets of ἁγὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος pure and undefiled before God, added to it, and v. 26. for the profession of Christianity, though for want of actions, bridling the tongue, and the like, that becomes μάλα vain; And as plain, that the word is in it self equally applicable to the true as to the false, indifferently to any religion, to St Pauls religion among the Jews, Act. 26. 5. the strictest sect of our religion, to the worship of Angels, Col. 2. 18. and so to the worship of Idols in the Book of Wisdome, which yet can no more tend to the disadvantage of the compound ἱεροθεῖα, when that is not terminated on any prohibited object, then the use of the Latine cultus sometimes for the worship of false Gods, can prejudice voluntarium cultum, voluntary worship, when either the object is not specified, or the mention of the one true God is added to it. It being confessed and supposed by both parties in this contest, that the simple θεῖα or worship it self is not culpable, save onely when the other part of the composition, the ἱερόν, i. e. the interposition of the will (or as he will style it, the devise or appointment) of man, hath an influence upon it.

### SECT. 3.

His entrance on the view of Col. 2. answered. The difference betwixt Commands of Magistrates and imposition of dogmatizers. What tis which is said to have λόγον σοφίας.

HIS 3<sup>d</sup> s. is his entrance on the view of Col. 2. where onely the word Will-worship is to be found; and in setting down his grounds of interpreting it, 1. He citeth Beza and BP. Davenant, whose words are presently answered, by adverting to the distinction formerly given between the essentials and circumstantials, the parts and the ceremonies of worship.

Numb. 1.



2. 2<sup>d</sup>. He pretends to discover a mistake in me, in that I observe from v. 22. that *S<sup>t</sup> Paul speaks not of commands but doctrines, not of the prohibition of the Magistrate, but of false teachers imposing them as the commands of God; Whereas, saith he, the Apostle speaks expressly of these impositions, that they were after the Commandments and doctrines of men, v. 8. after the traditions of men to worship God by the observation of them.*] Of which words of his, if there be any shadow of force in them by way of exception against me, the meaning must be, that the Apostle there speaks of the commands or prohibitions of Magistrates in things of themselves perfectly indifferent, and censures those commands under the style of *will-worship*.
3. But then this hath no degree of truth in it, for 1. The matter of the commands is no lawful matter, but either the worship of *Angels* (and that is *criminous*, as the worshipping of a creature) or the reducing of antiquated rites of *Judaisme*, which ought not to be reduced, being once cancelled and nailed to the cross of *Christ*. 2. The commands were not commands of *Magistrates*, but of men which had no authority to prescribe any thing, especially so contrary to the doctrine which the *Apostles* had planted among them, the *Christian* liberty from the *Judaical* yoke. 3. The manner of imposing them was quite distant from that of the *Magistrates* giving laws *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*, those are by way of *Canon*, as of things indifferent, in order to decency, and the like, without ever pretending them to be in themselves necessary, as commanded by God; these are imposed as from God when they are not so, and that is the known sin of *dogmatizing*, to which I formerly applied the place; And the word *ἐντάλματα* commands, signifies no more then so, being joyned with, and explicated by *διδασκαλίαι* doctrines, i. e. such things as false teachers require all men to do in obedience to God, or as if they were now commanded by him, when some of them, as *abstinencies*, &c. having once been required by God, are now abolished by *Christ*, and the other, the worship of *Angels*, though it pretend not ever to have been commanded, but onely to be acceptable to God, is clearly forbidden by him.
4. So that here is a palpable mistake in the *Diatribist*, who observes them to be commands (meaning, as he must, if he censuresh

or opposeth me, *commands of Magistrates*) and not onely *doctrines of false teachers*, when indeed *commands and doctrines* are all one, both joyned together to signifie these *dogmatizers*, pretending the things which they taught to be in force by *Divine command*, by virtue of the *Law* given to *Moses* and not onely such as would be accepted by *God*, as of the *worship of Angels* I suppose was pretended by those *false teachers*.

5. For this is to be remembred here once for all, that the *seducers* spoken of in that *Chapter* were the *Gnostick hereticks*, who made up their *Theologie* of *Judaical* and *heathenish* additions to the *Christian truth*; from the *Jews* they had many abstinences, such as were now *abolisht* by *Christ*, and those they imposed as *commands of God*, when they were not; and from the *heathens* the doctrine of the *Eones* or *Angels*, as *creators* of this *inferior world*, and so such as might, with *Gods* good liking, be *worshipt* by us.

6. Lastly, Those *commands* of theirs are not censured by the *Apostle*, as *acts of Will-worship*, or *blamed*, or put under any ill character for being such, any more then for being *acts of humility*, which is in *swavists* joyned with *Will-worship* in that place v. 22. but as *intrenchments* on that *liberty* purchased for them by the death of *Christ* v. 20. which had cancelled these *Judaical* ordinances to all that were *dead with him*, i. e. to *Christians*, and had turned all *Demon worship* out of their *hearts*, but had no way bound up the hands of his *Apostles* or their *successors* the *Governors* of the *Church*, from instituting ceremonies or *festivals* among *Christians*.

7. When the *Diatribist* addes of *Will-worship*, that it had a shew of *wisdome* but no more, tis but a *begging* the *question*, or if it pretend to be concluded from that *text*, it is without all ground so pretended; for if I shall grant *λόγον σοφίας* to signifie onely a shew, no reality of *wisdome*, yet it is not of *Will-worship* that that is affirmed, any more then of *humility* (and I hope *humility* which is an acknowledged *Christian* virtue, hath more then a shew of *wisdome* in it) but of the *retrenchments* of their *Christian liberty*, their *δογματισμοί* v. 20. *subjection* to the *doctrines* and *impositions* of *false teachers*, which had *λόγον σοφίας*, some either shew or reality of *wisdome* in *ἐπιλογισμῶν* &

ταπεινότητα in Will-worship and humility, which they could not have, if either or both those, when really belonging to any, had no more then a shew of wisdom in them. But of this I have said enough in the Tract of Will-worship, §. 12.

### Sect. 4.

*The Magistrates power acknowledged. Inventing new ways of worship. Davids appointing the Levites to waite from 20. years old, an act of a King, not of a Prophet. Davids last words.*

- Numb. 1.* **I**N the 4<sup>th</sup>. §. the main of this which I have now vindicated, is acknowledged by Mr. C. for saith he, *the Apostle hath here no reflexion on the Magistrates making Laws in indifferent things* (and if so, why was it judged a mistake in the Doctor, when he said, *the Apostle doth not speak of commands, but doctrines*, i. e. not of the prohibition of the Magistrate &c. Certainly if the Doctor were then mistaken, the Diatribist is now, who confesseth the same thing, which so lately he had reproved) All his quarrel is to the *Magistrates inventing a new way of worshipping God*, and then I am sure he hath no real quarrel to me, after all this pompous shew of writing exercitations against me, for I never was advocate for those who invented new ways of worshipping God, and if, as he saith, the *Papists* lie under that guilt, I have taken no fee from them, am under no obligation to plead for them, *they are of age, let them answer for themselves.*
2. No more am I entertained of counsel for those *false teachers*, who any way impose antiquated worship on God's people, such as *sacrificing, sabbatizing, circumcision*, and the like, and so all this while the *Diatribist* fights with the *airo*, and confesses as much as his *adversarie* desires of him, and then all that I have to complain of, is the *ad quid perditio hac?* To what purpose was all this waste of words and paper? I wish there were no more yet behind.
3. But in this 4<sup>th</sup> §. he is pleased to take notice of one instance of

of mine, that of *David* who appointed *Levites* to serve from the age of 20. years, whereas *God* by *Moses* had appointed it, but from 25. years old &c. And I wonder what can be replied to this my instance, to hinder it from concluding the lawfulness of making humane Laws, in such circumstances of Gods worship, and those different from the Laws of God. Why, 1. saith he, 'tis impertinent, for he brings it as an instance of the Magistrates power in a thing indifferent, whereas this was in a matter of religion, and more then so, in a matter formerly commanded by God.

4. Having given this first answer under form of a first, I was in reason to expect a second to supply the defects, but the Reader will easily discern with me that there is no such, and therefore this first must bear all the weight. And to it I reply, 1. From his own confession, that it was in a matter of Religion and more then of Religion, then by the argument à majori, he must needs have power in the lesse, i. e. in a thing indifferent, and then sure my instance from *David* was more then home to my purpose (i. e. pertinent) it proved more then I pretended from it, and if the *Diatribists* arguments would do so too, I assure him, I should be convinced by them, I will never object to them that they have abundantly proved his position, but such acts of Supererogation he may well condemn (and will not probably be guilty of) who writes *Diatribæ* against all actions that exceed, as well as those that come short of the Commandment.

5. But then, 2. His answer to the instance of *David* being this, that this action of *David*s was against a former command of Gods, an altering of Gods appointment, and no way to be salved but by *David*s being a Prophet, inspired by God or directed by some other Prophet, and not imitable by any Magistrate now] What is it again but a remarkable instance what δαλδεν ὑποδείου can doe?

6. 'Tis true indeed *David* was a Prophet, inspired by God in things belonging to that office, and yet as true that he was a wise and prudent King, and that he made this alteration upon prudential considerations set down in that place, 1 Chron. 23. 25. and 28. &c. viz. because the burthens being not now so heavy, as formerly when they were to carry the *Tabernacle*, and all the instruments thereof, consequently the full strength of years was

not to necessary to the undergoing them, and besides, by this means there might be more *Levites* to serve in the *Tabernacle*, then formerly there had been.

7. And it is not imaginable why in a matter of this nature, in such a meet circumstance of the worship or service of God, and that so far from a contrariety to God's command (for he that layes it upon the *Levites* from 20. years old, no way opposeth him that had imposed it onely from 25. and he that commanded it from 25. no way excluded those of 20. from being added to the service) *David* might not have power, as a King, or why any other Magistrate might not do the like, command what God had not before commanded, in a thing so perfectly indifferent as was the age of the *Levites*, wherein to begin and end officiating.
8. As for his proofes, that *David* made this change by the Spirit or inspiration of God, as a Prophet, first from 1 Chron. 28. 19. *All this the Lord made me to understand in writing by his good hand upon me, even all the workes of this pattern, ascribing it to the Spirit of God, v. 12, 13. Secondly, by comparing, 1 Chron. 23. 27. with 2 Sam. 23. 2, 3. where, as by the last words of David the Levites were numbred from 20. years old, in the former place, so in the latter place it was said of the last words of David, the Spirit of the Lord spake by me &c. These are but a heap of mistakes. For as the former place belongs onely to the pattern of the Temple which Solomon was to build, described there particularly in the severals of it, from v. 11. and that pattern affirmed v. 12. to be had from the Spirit of the Lord, and so the [all this] confined to that pattern, and with no equiuy, or ground in the text, to be farther enlarged, or applied to Davids numbring the Levites from 20. years old, so the last words of David, 1 Chron. 23. 27. are clearly Davids last Will and Testament, but the last words, 2 Sam. 23. 1. are the last words of prophesie that he delivered, it being evident that he spake many other words after that, as appears in the Chapter, and the Book following, 1 Kin. and of his prophesies it is, and not of his other words, that it there follows, the Spirit of the Lord spake by me.*

Sect. 5.

Col. 3. 23. *οἱς ἐδοξαὶ. Ἀποχρηστῶν. δογματίζεσθαι. συνήκτα νόμους.*  
*Placing worship. Christian liberty. Marriage. The Glosses*  
*put on the commands of men.*

1. **HIS** 5<sup>th</sup> is an examination of what I have said for the interpreting of [*ἃ ἰσὶ πάντα οἱς ἐδοξαὶ τῇ ἀποχρηστῶν*] Col. 3. 23. This phrase I have thus rendred and paraphrased, *These commands of abstinencies (Touch not, taste not, handle not, v. 21.) are all to destruction, or destructive, by the abuse of them, i. e. by imposing them on Christians, as commands of God, now when they are abolished by Christ, and for this I thought I had produced sufficient authority, to vindicate the interpretation from the censure of singularity, the plain words of S. Augustine, and S. Ambrose, or whosoever it is that wrote the Comments which bear his name, Sunt in interitum &c. they are to destruction and eternal perdition to them that believe them necessary to salvation, and sunt omnia in interitum & corruptionem per abusum, &c. they are all to destruction and corruption by abuse, &c.*

2. But without adverting to the commodiousness of the interpretation, or the authority of those ancient Fathers, or giving any answer to what is said to recommend this interpretation, he is pleased to take a much easier way, to ask some questions, and offer some exceptions, First he asks, *why I refuse our translation of those words?*

3. To this question I answer, by rendring my reasons, 1. because I think this other preferable, and I doubt not but when the Diatribist findes it useful, he will do the like in this or any other controversie; 2<sup>dy</sup> because [*ἡν οἱς ἐδοξαὶ*] cannot by any propriety of speech, or analogy of the like phrase, signifie [*are to perish*] but either in an active sense [*are to corruption*] as that in false teachers may denote corrupting or seducing [of others to their heresie, and particularly to those abominable sins, which by detesting of marriage the Gnosticks brought in, exprest often in these Epistles by the word *ἐδοξα* corruption, or else in a



neutral sense, *ad interitum* to destruction. 3<sup>dly</sup> Because though ἀποχρησις may possibly signifie *use*, as well as *abuse*, yet it is as easily replied, that it signifies *abuse* as well. may more properly and frequently then *use*; In the Bible it is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, never used either in the *verb*, or in the *substantive*, but in this place; but in other authors 'tis vulgarly used in opposition to χρησις *use*, Ἀποχρωμένων μᾶλλον ἢ χρωμένων ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, in Plutarch of Alcibiades, the Lacedemonians rather abused then used him, and in Apophtheg: that great men have good and ill friends, οἷς μὲν χρῶσθαι, οἷς δὲ ἀποχρῶσθαι, they use some and abuse others, and many the like. 4<sup>thly</sup> Because the Notion which the Diatribist from the civil Lawyers, out of *Estim* gives of the Latin *abusus*, is that of consuming *use*, whereas it is both improbable that S. Paul should take it from the civil Law, (much more probable that he should take it in the sense, in which we finde *abusio* sometimes among Divines for ἀποχὴ abstinence or not using at all: So Prosper de vit: contempl: 1.2.c.22. *veraciter abstinentes escarum non naturas sed concupiscentias damnent, ac voluptates suas desiderati cibi vel potus abusione mortificent*, which sense also the words here would bear well enough, and be a more punctual character of the Gnosticks abstinence from marriage, by which they brought in all abominable villanies) and if he did, it would as fitly comply with mine as with his notion of it, for thus it signifies abolition or wearing out, ἀποχρῶμαι, *usu attero & obsolefacio*, and to that agrees Phavorinus, rendring ἀποχρήσασθαι by δειφαιρεν, and Suidas by ἀπικλεῖν, destroying, and then this would be the rendring these impositions of [Touch not, &c.] which were once in force under the Jewish state, but now abolished under Christ, are thereby to destruction, or to ruin of souls, as when the Apostle tells them in one place of these ceremonies, that they are ἰσχυρὸς ἀφανισμῶ Heb: 8.13. *nigh to vanishing away, to abolition*, and upon that account in another place, that if they look upon them as things still in force among Christians, Christ shall profit them nothing: But this I do not really think to be the notion of Ἀποχρησις, because those that render it [using] generally apply it to the meats, which are consumed by eating (and by the way, Oecumenius, that understood it in this sense, read it not ἀποχρήσις but ἀποκρίσις, a word which denotes casting out of excrements) which yet most evidently be-

longs

longs to the *δύναμις* doctrines of abstinence, not to meats, and indeed the antecedent (to which *ἅπαντα*, all which refers) is, Touch not, taste not, handle not, which denotes other abstinencies, beside that of meats, particularly that of marriage, which these Gnosticks prohibited, and taught to be abominable, and that is not capable of this notion of ἀποχρησι, by using, for sure marriage doth not perish by using. And the like may be said of unclean things, the leper, the dead, that Judaizers would not touch, which yet did not perish, were not consumed by using.

4. And though in the next place the Diatribist leave it indifferently betwixt meats add ordinances of abstaining (which are contrary enough) yet the notion of using is no way applicable to the latter; for what the Diatribist sets for the interpretation of it [now being out-dated they perish with the using, without any spiritual advantage] is sure very short, it being evident by other places of Scripture, that the imposing these out-dated observances, is not only not advantageous, but moreover hurtful, those being as the Fathers generally resolve, not only mortua, dead, and so proficelle, but also mortifera, deadly, destructive; and sure that is the meaning of [εἰς φθορὰν to perishing, or destruction] whether it denote damnation it self, or those horrible or unnatural sins, and the seduction of the Gnosticks which certainly induce it.

5. In the 3<sup>d</sup> place he quarrels with my interpretation for supposing that these abstinencies were imposed and taught by the false teachers as divine obliging precepts, whereas, saith he, there is little or nothing in the text to import that. What will with him, when produced against his sense and interests, be accounted great, I know not; but that there is something in the text, to incline it this way, will soon be evident, 1. by the word δογματίζεσθαι v. 20. That δύναμις and διδασκαλίαι, doctrines, signifie those things which are taught as from God, Mat. 15. 9. hath been formerly shewed, and is evident from the form of speech, in vain do they worship me, διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, where the commands of men are taught, not as such, but as doctrines of God; From hence the active δογματίζειν to dogmatize, ordinarily denotes teaching those things to be divine precepts, and so obliging conscience, which are not, and accordingly the passive δογματίζεσθαι must

must needs denote the having such *weights* thus imposed upon them being *subject to ordinances* (or *doctrines*) as we rightly render it.

2. These are in the beginning of that 20. v. called *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, the *elements of the world*, whether of the *Jewish* or *Gentile* service, both nailed to his cross by Christ, cancelled in his death, but such as were incumbent on the *ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ*, those that lived in the world, being under those elements, or initial ordinances, though Christians were not. 3. These are specified what they were, *Touch not, taste not, handle not, abstinences from meats*, and from marriage; that of meats evidently a precept of Gods to the *Jewes*, and the *Gnosticks* divinity being in part compounded of *Judaism*, there is no reason to doubt but they taught these abstinencies, as the *Jewes* taught them, i. e. as divine obliging precepts, and joined abstinence from marriage to that of meats, in the same form, i. e. as under precept alio.

6. As for that which the *Diatribist* adds to confirm his objection, viz: that in the next verse they are called the *commandments and doctrines of men*] it hath no force in it, for so really they were, and not of God, but yet were by the false teachers imposed under a more honourable glosse, as commands not of men, but of God, and therein their false teaching consisted, And it is strange the *Diatribist* could say of such false doctrines, that they could not be pretended, much lesse imposed as a divine command] Tis as if he should say, False teachers could not teach false, hypocrites and deceivers could not pretend the authority of Scripture for their errors, the Devil could not put on the appearance of an Angel of light.

7. So again 'tis with equal truth, that he saith, the traditions were not pleaded to be the *commandments of God*, but expressly called the *commandments of men*, *Mat. 15. 9.* when 'tis evident that those *commandments of men* were by the *Pharisees* taught as *διδασκαλίας* doctrines and so *commandments of God*, though by Christ affirmed in truth to be opposite to Gods real commands, v. 3. 6. it being very ordinary with hereticks, and hypocrites, to pretend that to be the will and command of God, which is most extremely contrary to it. And in that the *Pharisees* sin and hypocrisie consisted.

8. Fourthly, he would ask me another question, whether the placing

cing the worship of God in the observation of those ordinances, though not taught or imposed as God's commands, were not an abuse of them, and εις φθοραν; And I answer, 1. By asking what he means by the worship of God, if such as man may justly prescribe or practise, either ceremonies perfectly lawfull, but not prescribed by God, or more then so, that which is sure to be accepted by him, though yet it be not under divine precept, then 'tis certain 'twere no abuse; but if he mean the commanded worship of God, then his question implies a contradiction, for whatsoever this worship of God is placed in, that is taught, as command of God, for else it were not Gods prescribed worship, which yet it is supposed to be. 2. That these abstinencies being of such a nature, that Christ removed all ordinances requiring them, and purposely designed that they should be left free to men, no humane authority could lawfully impose them, no man can forbid marriage to Christians, and so any such command were an abuse of authority if given by lawful superiors; (or if given by others, an act of intrusion and usurpation, for who made them judges or dividers of tasks to their brethren?)

9. But then this may not be extended to all ceremonies and circumstances of the worship of God, times, gestures, &c. for Christ never exprest any absolute dislike to all such, nor can the imposing of such, with prudence in respect of choise, and moderation in respect of number, be by any analogie reducible to those abstinencies of which the Apostle there speaks. Nay even for those, particularly abstinence from marriage, tis certain that it may be lawfully practised by him that can bear it, and that all the error is in imposing it on others, contrary to that liberty which Christ hath for weighty reasons allowed, and required to continue allowable and honorable among Christians.

• Lastly, He argues from the following words, v. 23. where the Apostle sayes, they have a shew of wisdom, in Will-worship, not as the commands of God, and thence he concludes their abuse to be, not that they imposed them as divine commands, but as parts of divine worship; But I answer, that that verse is not the setting down the abuse, or the defining wherein it consists, but at the utmost, a description of the faire glosses, those abstinencies and false worships were capable of, viz. a double shew of appearance

rance of piety, one in *Will-worship*, offering to God a free will offering, for such is every uncommanded, it lawfull abstinence, but such was not this, and therefore 'twas but a *shew* of piety; and another in *humility*, worshipping *Angels* as the ministers of God, *humility* indeed a most Christian virtue, but this no justifiable *humility*, (To which also a third is subjoyned, that of self-denial or *austerity*, of the same kind with the former) and so still 'twas but a *shew*, no reality of wisdom or piety, which consisted in this.

### Sect. 6.

*The Diatribist's way to make the Doctors words witness against him. Τι δογματίζειτε καὶ ἐντάλματα &c. Placing worship, an equivocal phrase.*

**Numb. 1.** **B**UT the Diatribist is so fixtly resolv'd on his way, that the *Criminousness* and danger of these abstinencies, shall consist in their being devised or willed by men, and not in the *Gnostick* dogmatizing or teaching them to be commanded by God, that in his 6<sup>th</sup> §. the Doctor himself shall (again, according to his method taken up in his preface) be brought in to *testifie* for him; To which purpose these words are cited from him, that the danger consists in imposing on men humane ordinances or doctrines, and then saith he, *stay there a while*, viz. that he may from those words, taken alone, conclude, that then they did not impose them as commands of God.

2. But I know not what obligation lyes either on the Reader or me, to make a pause, upon his command, in the very middle of a period, when the words which are behind make these that are cited utterly incapable of the sense which he puts upon them; For thus the words lay in the period before he had the dismembring of them, [which words point out that wherein the danger doth consist, viz. imposing on men humane ordinances or doctrines, i. e. those things, which though they are not commanded by God, are yet by men affirmed and

and pretended and taught (though, as we say, magisterially and without proof) to be so commanded.

3. It is not possible any word should be more expressly contrary to the *Diatribists* conclusion, then these, which he thought fit to sollicite to bear witness on his side, and to that end cut them in the midst, and then, after the manner of the serpent, that fed upon it self, suborned and instructed one end to devour and cate up the other.
4. This he saw, and therefore in the end of that 6<sup>th</sup>. §. he mentions these latter words, as the *Doctors* gloss of his own former words, and saith, they will now prove his own, i. e. singular. And truly if they should prove singular, i. e. if no man in the world should be found to have ever said the like, but the *Doctor*, they would yet be sufficient for the turn to which they were designed, to explicate the *Doctors* own meaning, and to secure the beginning of his period, from being brought in judgement against him, and so might have saved the *Diatribist* the pains of this §. For sure no man was so fit to explain his own words, or to give his full sense in them, as he whose words they were, foreseeing that possible, which now hath happened, that otherwise they might be mistaken.
5. But then 2. I shall not acknowledge my gloss a singular one, but that which the *Apostles* word will own as a natural and perspicuous paraphrase, *Τὸ δόγματιζέειν - καὶ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας ἡ ἀρετῶν* (reading the middle as in a parenthesis, specifying what *δόγματα* he means, and the specious glosses which they put upon them) why do you permit such abstinencies prescribed and taught you really by men, and not by God, to be imposed on you as doctrines commanded by God, just as when the *Pharisees* taught their own traditions, as the doctrines of God. That this is the very literal importance of *δόγματιζέειν*, to be subjected, or to pay obedience as to a *δόγμα* or command of Gods, hath already been shewed, And if that be granted, there can be no farther doubt of the whole expression, nor consequently of the propriety of my gloss or paraphrase on it.
6. As for the placing worship in those abstinencies, that equivocal phrase was very lately examined, and must not again return to exercise us. If they placed worship in them, in this sense, that



they did or taught them as parts of God's commanded worship, tis the very thing wherein I placed the danger; If they delivered them as their own doctrines, and not as the doctrines of God, they did not then place any part of God's commanded worship in them; If they taught them as such things, which, though not commanded by God, would yet be acceptable to him, till, after they were abolished by Christ, then they taught that which had no truth in it, for such kinds of abstinencies are not now valued by God, but more real acts of self-denyal set up in their stead, mortifying of lusts, and the like, which those false teachers were far from being guilty of. As for ceremonies of decency and order, and Festivals, really designed to ends of piety and edification; they are neither of them parallel, nor bear any analogie with these which are here censured.

### SECT. 7.

Of *Petitio Principii*. Of *Δόξα σοφίας* being capable of two renderings. The danger from mistake on the *Diatribists* side. My interpretation not singular. His no way probable. *Μία* a particle of extenuation, no *ἀπολογία*. No shew of wisdom in respect of the folly that is in it. The *Will-worship* parallel to the humility. The prime argument for my interpretation. *Σοφίας* for piety, vindicated from the contrary proofs. *φιλοσοφία*. Worship of Angels. No agreement betwixt Col. 2. 18. and 23. or betwixt 23. and 1 Cor. 2. 4. *Ἄννα μὴ δέ.*

Numb. 1.

**HIS** 7<sup>th</sup> s. is the arraignment of what my 7<sup>th</sup> had said concerning v. 23. *ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος μὴ ἔχοντα σοφίας ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ &c.* And all that he there saith will lose all force, if these two things may be observed or remembred, 1. That the opposers of the ceremonies of our Church, against whom that tract was prepared, founded their conclusion on these two premises, 1. That *Will-worship* was a sin. 2. That the using of ceremonies not commanded by God, was *will-worship*. And therefore to our vindication

dication it was sufficient, if upon survey of that one place of *Scripture* where that word was used, it should be found capable of such an *interpretation*, which should affix no *ill*, but contrariwise a *good character* on it; For herein the task lies on the *opponent* to prove his *affirmative*, that *Will-worship* is *criminous*, (and not on me to demonstrate the *negative*) and that he can never do from this *text*, if in this *text* by a *commodious interpretation*, it be capable of a *good sense*.

2<sup>o</sup> This I here premise, because he so oft reminds me in this place of *begging the question*, when I deny the word to be taken in an *ill sense*, Of which *Elench* I cannot be *guilty*, unless it were incumbent on me to prove and demonstrate the *negative*, his *affirmative* being sufficiently avoided, by my shewing that the *contrary* is *possible*, and not *improbable*, which therefore was all that was here required of me, and I hope is competently performed.

3. 2<sup>d</sup> That if the words be capable of several *rendrings*, and either of these will free *Will-worship* from the necessity of an *ill sense*, then again this is sufficient for my turn, for then still he hath not *unanswerably asserted* his *conclusion*: This I say, to give an account, why I set down two possible *rendrings* of *λόγος σοφίας*, either *rationem sapientie vel pietatis*, *reality of wisdom or piety*, or else only *Speciem sapientie*, a *shew*, or *bare appearance of wisdom*; For of this it is certain that *λόγος* signifies *ratio* as well as *Species*, and much more ordinarily the *former*, and in case it should here signify the *former*, then tis unavoidably evident, that *Will-worship* must be taken in a *good*, not *ill sense*; Mean while as I pretend not that *both* those *rendrings* are *true*, for if it be only a *shew of wisdom*, then it is no *reality*, so I profess to yield so much to the *authority* of the *ancient interpreters*, as to pitch upon the latter only that of *οἷμα ἐν ἀλάθειαν*, a *shew of wisdom*, not the *truth*, and even then, as hath been shew'd, the *Will-worship* there, is capable of a *good notion*, for how can those *abstinencies* or *dottrines* have so much as a *shew of wisdom in Will-worship and humility*, if *Will-worship* hath nothing of *wise* or *good*, but only of *wickednesse* (and that we know is *folly*) in it?

4. Having premised these two things, it is now very easie to discover the *fallaciousnesse* of all that is brought against me in this or the ensuing Sections; For as to the interpretation of the *verse*,

which he proposeth and preferres before mine, but without any convincing proof of the truth of it, this is on his part a *begging* the *questior*, which even now was charged on me, with much lesse reason, and when he saith *mine may prove a mistake*, tis sufficient to reply, and so *may his*, and the danger farre greater from the *mistake* on *his* side, then or *mine*. For if *mine* should be such, yet will it not follow that the *Ceremonies* and *Festivals* of our Church are such *criminous Will-worship*, the using of these bearing no analogy with the *dogmatizing* of the *Gnosticks*, or their reviving the abolisht *Judaical abstinencies* among *Christians*, whereas if *his* interpretation should prove *false*, and mine *true*, his whole *fabrick* must utterly be *demolisht*, and his *major* and *minor* having both failed, the one affirming *Will-worship* to be *criminous*, the other our using *ceremonies* and *Festivals* to be *Will-worship*, his conclusion is not likely, I hope, to hold out long after, unlesse it shall pretend to that *miracle* which is fancied of *Callimachus* (and denominated him an ἀθάνατος πολεμικὸς an *immortal warrior*, and ἀνίκητος Ἄρης εἰκὼν the *statue of Mars*) who is supposed to stand and fight after he was dead; And then tis time to retreat from this *combatant*, with the *Epigrammatist*;

Λύε κυβερνήτα, νεκρὸν πολεμῶμεν ἀπειλὰς.

5. But then 2<sup>dly</sup>. when he vilifies *mine*, resolving it *singular* without any precedent, ancient, or modern, Protestant, or Papist, First, This hath no truth in it, as will anon sufficiently appear, At the present, I shall only reminde him, that within two years after the *Treatise* of *Will-worship* was printed, came out *Gratius*'s posthumous notes on the *Epistles*, and those are clear for this interpretation, and so though they could not be my precedent then, will now secure me from singularity.
6. Secondly, The *Diatribist*'s interpretation is so far from being demonstratively true, that it hath arrived to no degree of probability: It is this, that v. 23. contains a reason of the danger and destructiveness of those abstinencies, viz: because they were no other, nor better then *Will-worship* with a faire pretence of wisdom, because the worship of God was lately placed in them, and they carry a great pretension of humility and self-denial in abstaining from things pleasing to the body.

But

7. But I demand 1. how doth it appear that this *verse* contains a reason of the destructiveness of those abstinences? 'Tis not so much as introduced with a  $\delta\delta$ , for, or any other form of proof, but  $\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$ , which things indeed have a shew, &c. which is a form of extenuation (as the Diatribist acknowledgeth in this §. speaking of  $\mu$ ) and then cannot reasonably be a proof of the destructiveness of them, but the conceding somewhat, speciously at least, in favour of them, that they have indeed a shew of wisdom in them.
8. <sup>2<sup>dly</sup></sup> What words are there in that *verse*, which can bear, or give any pretence to that paraphrase, that these abstinences are destructive because no better then Will-worship? The words in the Diatribists own rendring are no more but this, which things indeed have a shew of wisdom in Will-worship and humility; But can this bear or induce this conclusion in any mood or figure, Therefore they are destructive because no better then Will-worship?
9. Is it not much fairer and more reasonable, which I concluded, they have some shew of wisdom in Will-worship, therefore Will-worship, if it be truly such, hath some reality of wisdom in it? for else that which hath but a shew of wisdom in it, cannot have that shew in respect of Will-worship; Adultery being it self folly, 'tis absurd to say of any man, or doctrine, that it hath a shew of wisdom in adultery, or in respect of the adultery that is in it, for that were to affirm it to have a shew of wisdom in no other respect but that it is foolish.
10. I acknowledge indeed that as it was but a shew of wisdom which they had, so it was but a shew of Will worship, or voluntary offering to God, and so a shew of not a true humility; but still that doth but the more confirm (not confute) my conclusion, that Will-worship truly so called, and humility, that real virtue, are branches of Christian wisdom, or else, the having but a shew of them, would not give them so much as the shew of wisdom.
11. <sup>3<sup>dly</sup></sup> When the former part of his paraphrase is [they are no other nor better then Will-worship] how can that be coherent which follows in the second place, that they carry a great pretension of humility and self-denial? when those two are regularly joined with Will-worship [ $\epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\delta\eta\sigma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\mu\eta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , in Will-worship and humility, and not sparing the body]
- Q 3. Certainly,

Certainly as the *humility* is, such must the *Will-worship* be, if the *humility* be only in *pretension*, then so must the *Will-worship* be also, in *pretension*, not in *truth*, and then still the *fault* or *defect* will be in the bare *pretending*, not in the *Will-worship*, as it is not in the *humility* or *self-denial*, by the *Diatribists* own confession, but in the *false pretending* them. How much then is it more reasonable to do what I did, *viz.* to allot to *Will-worship* and *humility*, and *self-denial*, to all three, the same state, whatsoever it be, whether of *virtue*, if they be really what they pretend, or of *hypocrisy*, if they be bare images or appearances of them? And on this I insist, as on the main ground of *inforcing* mine, and *invalidating* his interpretation that *Will-worship*, *humility*, and *self-denial* being here placed together in the same *classes* or *series*, they cannot be so separated, as that one shall be a *vice*, when the other two are acknowledged *virtues* in a *Christian*, one really what it pretends, and the other only *feignedly*, or in *pretence*, without any *reality* in them. When the *Diatribist* shall answer this argument, he may then tell others of *mistaking*, but till then, the *mistake* may much more probably be on his side.

12. Thirdly, What the *Diatribist* addes of *sopha wisdom*, which I took in the ordinary notion of *piety*, is sure more *strange* in him, then what he *censures* in me; in the *Proverbs* and elsewhere he acknowledges it must *signifie* *piety*, but here it must not, but literally *wisdom*, to which purpose he cites Bishop *Davenant*, who expresses it to denote *some excellent doctrine* rather brought from *heaven*, then found out by men; But if that be the meaning of it, then sure, as such, those *false teachers* taught it. i. e. as coming from *heaven*, and that is as a *doctrine* of *God*, and that was even now *denied*, when I affirmed it: 2<sup>dly</sup> How can those *abstinencies* have a *shew* of coming down from *heaven* in *Will-worship* and yet *Will-worship* signifie *worship* devised by the *wit* and *will* of man? Tis as if he should say they pretend to come from *God*, in that they come only from men; whereas in the notion of *wisdom* for *piety*, the words run very currently and intelligibly, they pretend to have *piety* in them, *viz.* such as is discernible in *Will-worship* or *free-will-offerings*, in *humility*, in *self-denial* &c: Well, that *sopha* signifies *piety* in this place, I appeal to S. *Chrysostom*, *δοκῆ ὁ ἐυλαβὴς τῆς ἡμέρας*, saith he, by way of *Paraphrase* of

ἔχει λόγον σοφίας, he appears to be (though really he be not) pious, religious; And Theophylact in the same words.

13. As for his proofs of the contrary, they are of no validity.

14. The first is from the context v. 8. where the Apostle calls it *philosophie*; But first, v. 8. hath no contexture with v. 23. 2<sup>dly</sup>. φιλοσοφία is not λόγος σοφίας, the *philosophie* there spoken of, the joyning of the Ἀιῶνες or *Angels* with God, the *Gnostick Theologie* of the συζυγίας, out of the *Platonick* and *Poetick Theologie* of the heathens, had not so much as a shew of any excellent doctrine brought from heaven, as the *Diatribist* even now from *Bishop Davenant* exprest σοφία to signifie, at least not such as of which S. Paul could affirme that it had any image or shew of such.

15. 3<sup>dly</sup>. Tis confest on both sides that the things here spoken of, and said to have a shew of wisdom in *Will-worship* and *self-denial*, are the δόγματα of abstinences from meats and marriages, and those abstracted from the error of dogmatizing, have indeed a shew of piety in those two respects, that he which abstains voluntarily shall seem to practise a special piece of self-denial, and to offer to God a freewill offering of abstinence from meats and marriage.

16. As for that of worshipping of *Angels*, which I suppose a corollary of the *philosophie*, v. 8. that also hath a shew of piety in humility, in worshipping the officers and ministers of God, as not daring to approach immediately to God himself; But then this, as it rather confirms the notion of wisdom for piety, then confutes it, so it cannot have any such influence on the other branch of abstinences, as to qualifie them to have any shew of divine doctrine in *Will-worship* and *humility*, especially if *Will-worship* continue to signifie, as the *Diatribist* will have it, worship devised by the wit and will of man, for then, as was said, they must have a shew of coming from heaven, in this very respect, that they come not from heaven, but from the wit and will of men.

17. His second proofis, because v. 18. the worshipper of *Angels* is said to be puffed up in his fleshy mind, i. e. in a carnal conceipt of his own wisdom, in finding out that way of worship, and to that purpose *Irenaeus* is cited not as an approver of this interpretation of *εὐσέβεια* (for in the place cited he speaks not a word to that matter,



u Sapienciam  
vnuquisque co-  
um dicat, quam  
a semetipso ad-  
invenit. 1r. l. 3.  
c. 2.

matter, not so much as reflects upon that text) but to \* testify, that the fictions of men are by them counted wisdom.

- But to this I answer, 1. That this proof extends not to the doctrines of abstinences, which we know are the immediate antecedent, and the principal thing here spoken of. 2<sup>dy</sup>. That what is said of the worshippers of Angels, that they are vainly puffed up in their fleshly minds, is there set as an aggravation of their crime, and as the cause of their assuming to know what they understand not, whereas this of having a shew of wisdom, being introduced with the *quod*, which was by the Diatribist confest to be an extenuating particle, cannot be designed to aggravate their sin, nor consequently to be parallel to that of v. 8. And so indeed to have a shew of wisdom in some respects, differs very much from being vainly puffed up in their fleshly mind, the one placing that shew in somewhat that is really good, though falsely pretended to, the other placing it in their own carnal minds which have nothing good in them. As for the place in Irenaeus directed to in the margin, it speaks quite of another matter, mentioning neither of these verses, 18. or 23. and so cannot be vouched for an authority to prove that they are parallel one to the other.

- What he adds, that it may very well be parallel to that place, 1 Cor. 2. 4, 5, 6. will be soon dispatched by any reader that shall compare the places, for he will certainly find that there is no kind of agreeableness betwixt them, the one speaking of the arguments, miracles &c. by which the truth of the Gospel was conferred to men, and not by Topicks of humane persuasion, the other of the shew of wisdom which the Gnosticks doctrines of abstinence had in them, which sure are things competently removed from any possibility of corresponding one with the other.
15. But saith he, to assert those abstinences as a worship of God, to have somewhat of real wisdom or piety in them, is a plain begging the question now betwixt us ] To this I have premised the answer in the beginning of this §. shewing how far I am from a possibility of begging the question, whilst I do but answer to the argument drawn from this text, and shew that it may well (I need not prove that it needs must) have some other importance then that in which alone their argument against Will-worship is founded. But then 2<sup>dy</sup>. I shall freely gratifie the Diatribist, and having mentioned that

that of *πῶς λόγος σοφίας* for some reality of wisdom or piety, onely as possible, I shall gladly yield, that it doth not so signifie here, but rather some shew of wisdom or piety, and then I hope I do not beg but grant, give him the utmost in this, which he desires, not crave any favour from one, who will no more willingly afford it.

19. What follows of my denying Will-worship to be here condemned, but not proving it, is a little strange, when he knows I solemnly propose the reasons of my contrary assertion §. 11. &c. which being certainly as yet not answered, or so much as taken notice of in this place, I wonder I should be again so soon accused of *p titio principii*, begging the question without proof.

20. As for my presumption in mentioning, (for I did no more) the *ἄ πῶς* for *ἀ πῶς*, I desire his pardon, for truly I did not expect it should be so fastidiously cast off (the use of it being as fit for his rendring, *πῶς λόγος* some shew, as for mine, *πῶς λόγος* *quandam rationem*) or that the bare taking notice of it as possible, not presuming it as certain, or offering it so much as my conjecture, should so seriously have provoked him; As it is, the advantages are so slender which I aimed at by it, that I shall very contentedly lay it aside, and no farther sollicite his patience for it, though tis sure enough that many more considerable changes have by sober men been proposed in explicating that Book.

21. As for the *ἔν*, *quidem*, indeed, for which I am charged that I leave it out (though if I did, what greater fault have I committed, then St Hierome had done, who, saith the Diatribist, thinks the particle *ἔν* is redundant? yet) I guesse not upon what grounds it should be affirmed. when it is visible in the beginning of §. 7. that I keep it in, and by what hath now been said, that it is mine, not his interest to keep it in; All the appearance he can have for thus affirming is, that in proposing that reading of *ἄ πῶς* in two words. I set it down thus, *ἄ πῶς ἐστὶν ἔχοντα λόγον*—but as there I leave out *ἔν*, so I leave out *σοφίας* and all the rest of the verse, and onely set down so many words as are sufficient to express what I mean by dividing *ἄ πῶς* into two words, without any thought (if I may be believed) of leaving out *ἔν* or seeking any advantage by so doing, or of ought else then what I now declare to have been designed by me.

R

But

22. But for the particle *δέ adversative*, which he next considers, I professe not to *divine* his meanings, there being no such particle in the verse, as far as any of my copies or my eyes can direct me.

### Se&. 8.

*The abstinences how taught by the Gnosticks. Their pretences for them, no realities. Abstinences may be freewill offerings, and self-denials. Such may Fasting duly qualified. Such may virginal Chastity. Pauls judgement of it. Chrysostome of things ἐσθλῶν. Abstinences positive acts. And yet, if negative, may be acceptable. These abstinences not commanded.*

*Numb. 1.* **T**O his 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> §§. there is little for me to reply, which hath not been cleared sufficiently already; Onely in the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> he saith there is a great mistake in comprehending these abstinences under freewill offerings; for, saith he, both the freewill offerings were something positive, and these abstinences were negative, rather not offering then offering, touch not, taste not &c. and all these abstinences were commanded by special Laws, but freewill offerings, the Doctor saith, were not required of them by obligation of particular Law.

2. Of this my supposed mistake, I must give some account, thus, The abstinences here spoken of I suppose to be of two sorts, from meats, and from marriage, both which were now perfectly lawfull to be freely used *sine discrimine*, by Christians; Those therefore that taught them to lie now under interdēt, were dogmatizers and false teachers; This therefore was a great fault in them, contrary to the clear Christian doctrine of liberty from Judaical observances, (of which sort were those abstinences from meats) and of the honourableness of marriage among all, when the Gnostick detesters of marriage, making it damnable, and the abstinence necessary to salvation (and so in the words of the Apostolick Canon, abstained and taught that abstinence ἵ δὲ ἀσκήσειν ἀλλὰ διὰ βεβαιώσιν, not as an exercise, but out of

of detestation of marriage) brought in all the *ἀτιμα ὠδὴν* dishonorable, vile affections, and practises in stead of it.

3. This double error being noted and censured by the Apostle, he yet shewes the pretenses, whereby it was recommended by the false teachers, to those seducible persons corrupted by them, viz.: that these abstinencies were acts of voluntary worship and self-denial, and so could not fail to be acceptable to God. That they were truly such, I never imagined, but that they pretended to be such, had some shew at least of piety in these two respects, pretending on one side to voluntary worship, on the other to self-denial, but then had really no more of these, then of the piety which they pretended to have; If they had the least degree of piety in them (reading *τινὰ λόγον σοφίας*, and rendring it *quandam rationem* somewhat of wisdom or piety) then that was in this respect, that there was somewhat of voluntary oblation and self-denial in them; If they had not the least reality, but only a shew, (and *τινὰ λόγον* some shew agrees as commodiously to that) then still that shew was in these two respects, that they had also a shew of will-worship or voluntary oblation, and of self-denial. And so still I am free enough from any necessity of acknowledging his charge of comprehending abstinencies under freewill-offerings, when I only affirm that they were recommended by false teachers under those specious colors.

4. Yet now *ex abundanti*, and to gratifie the *Distributist*, by throwing a *μῦθον ἐπὶ τοῦ* before him, I shall not doubt to affirm, that such the abstinencies may be, and so they may be recommended by the Orthodox Church (which is far enough from these foul *Gnosticks*) that they may very safely and fitly be comprehended under the head either of freewill-offerings or Self-denials. Of the latter there can be no doubt, for fasting and virginal chastity are certainly acts of Self-denial, denying our selves the enjoyment of those satisfactions, which might most lawfully be enjoyed: And if to this of Self-denial be farther added the designing of this to the honor or service of God, fasting in order to Christian ends, either as an outward effect and expression of Godly sorrow, or as an instrument of bringing the body into subjection, fitting my self for more leisure and ardor in prayer, acting revenge upon my self for the intemperancies of the former life, and, as to the very Self-

denial, looking on it as that which will be acceptable to God, though not (to every possible act) commanded, *sub periculo anime*, and as such dedicating it to God, this sure will be a נדבה or voluntary freewill-offerings, and so properly comprehended under that head.

5. And the same is as visible of *virginal chastity*, which is now where commanded by Christ or his Apostles to any, but yet recommended to them which are able to bear it, *he that can receive it, let him receive it*, and the advantages of it, under the title of τὸ συμφέρον profitable, 1 Cor: 7. 35. set out by S. Paul in order to the advancing of some Christian ends, purity of body and Spirit, caring for, or minding more intently the things of the Lord, being without solicitude, in times of distress, when the cares of the world may very much incumber all, and probably ensnare many; Upon which grounds the Apostle, that out of his fatherly care would have them aspire to the greatest perfection, and so wishes them this ἀνειμωία, doth also profess it his judgement, that he that thus abstains from marriage doth better, even when he that marrieth doth well, and consequently proposes this whole matter not as ἐντολὴν Kueis any command of Christs, for he professeth to have no such. but as his opinion or judgement v. 25. and 40. which what is it but the very notion of freewill-offering, such as of which S. Chrysostome saith, Τὸ δὲ τὸ ἐμὸς προαιρέσεως κατ' ἑαυτὸν, it is an act of my own will, in opposition to the τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἐντολῆς, a precept, or command, precedent, or ἢ μὴ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν γίνεσθαι, πολλὴ ἔχει τὴν μισθὸν κατὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἢ δὲ ἐν ἐντολῇ τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνου, Those things which are done above the precept, have in this respect great reward, but those which are in the rank of precept, not so much.

6. As for the reasons produced by the Diatribist, certainly they will be of no force against this evidence; for why may not virginity, or fasting deserve to be accounted positive things? is it not as truly a positive action to conquer as to satisfy, to subdue as to glut my appetite? and if self-denials be negative things, and yet acceptable to Christ, what prejudice will it be to these abstinencies, though they should be deemed negative also? Are not all the obediences that are performed to negative precepts, compliances with those negations, and so negative also, as not killing, not committing.

ing adultery, &c. And shall not the same be said of all abstinences? If Adam had not tasted the forbidden fruit, this had been but negative, yet an act of obedience to God, and that preferred by God before all burnt-offerings and sacrifices, prescribed, or voluntary, And then what diminution could it be to an abstinence, or prejudice to its being a freewill-offering, that it is a negative act? So wide is this kinde of arguing from proving any thing.

7. And as wide is his second proof, that these abstinencies were commanded by special lawes, when he knows that abstinence from marriage was never commanded by any law of Moses, or Christ, and that that other from meats was now left free by Christ, those special lawes under Moses given to the Jewes being now cassate and cancelled by Christ. This sure is enough to his present vexations, what he hath of reserve for a weightier impression, shall then be warded when I see it approach, and therefore so much for these two Sections.

## Sect. 9.

### *Compliance with Papists. The Diatribists inconstancy.*

1. HIS 10<sup>th</sup> §. being an introduction to his survey of my six Numb. 1. reasons for the taking *Will-worship* Col: 2. in a good creditable sense, begins with a general, but that posing, confounding note, that taking the word in a good sense, the Doctor complies so much with the Papists (most of them taking it in an ill) who use to take off the force of the Protestants objection from this place against their *Will-worship*, by answering, that it is taken here in a good sense, for voluntary religion or worship] To which I confesse my self unable to give any answer, as not guessing wherein the objection lies, whether in my complying, or not complying with the Papists.

2. The words expressly tell me, that taking it in a good sense I comply with the Papists, and yet there are other words as expressly pronouncing, that most of the Papists take it in an ill sense: The only expedient to me imaginable to reconcile these contradictions



(which yet I have no pretence of impuring to the *Printer*, or to any but the *Author*) is this, that though *most of the Papists take it in an ill sense* yet *some* though *smaller* number of them take it in a *good*, and so defend their *many traditions of worship* (as he calls them) and answer the *Protestants objections* (the *Diatribists* and his partners) from that text, Col: 2. and then that I differ from those *Protestants*, and comply with those *Papists*.

3. And if this be the meaning, then as 1. I can truly say, that I borrowed not this *interpretation* of that word or text from any *Papish* writer, but from the weighing the text it self, and the *characters* I found in it (the same that *Hugo Grotius* hath discerned also, as was said) and accordingly set those down for the *reasons* of my *interpretation*; so if I shall truly be found to have complied with any *Papist* herein, yet 1. I shall never startle at the *interpretation*, upon that account, many *Papists* having given the *true* senses of many places of *Scripture*; and 2. I shall with much more *justice* be able to retort this argument on the *Diatribist* if I may believe himself, the sense which he hath given, viz: the *ill* sense, being owned by most of the *Papists*, as he here himself confesses. And then sure he that is acknowledged to comply with most of the *Papists*, and not he which is but *accused* to comply with *some few* of them. must needs be most guilty of that crime, whatsoever 'tis fancied to be, which consists in such *compliance*.

4. Nay 'tis not long since he affirmed of my *interpretation* of this verse, that he believes it is *singular without any precedent*, either *ancient or modern*, *Protestant or Papist*, and then I have little reason to believe his bare *general* suggestion against his own belief, that the *Doctor* herein *complies with the Papists*, especially when out of *Chamier*, he here adds that that *learned and acute man*, *Panstrat*: 1.3.c.6. §.5. professes he never saw the *good sense* in any interpreter of the place.

5. So then this *general* note is not likely to tend much to our prejudice, I proceed then to his more particular answer to my reasons.

SECT. 10.

*A reply to his answer of my two first reasons for the good sense. Humility and Will-worship associated, either both real or both pretended. Popish laniations why culpable. Σωματική γυμνασία 1 Tim. 4. πρὸς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος, ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ἐπ' ὀλίγον. Fasting a λατρεία far from hurtful or abominable, wherein the profit of it consists. The true sense of 1 Tim. 4. 8. wherein the illness of it consists. Ἀσκησις and βδελυγία. Abstinence because of abuses. For Religion. Marcionites. Durand. A shew of Piety in Will-worship. All shew of good in respect of somewhat that is good. The Diatribists fallacious instances and questions.*

**A**ND my first reason being taken from the joining of Will-worship with humility, one undoubted Christian virtue, and not sparing, or, as Calvin, mortifying of the body, To the former his answer is, that by my favour humility here is not the true and laudable Christian virtue, but a meer counterfeits, a pretended humility fit for a pretended Will-worship.

1. And I reply, that if it be so, it fits my turn very well, for still Will-worship and humility are associated, the pretended Will-worship, he saith, with the pretended humility, and consequently that as the fault is not in the humility, but in the pretending of it, when it is not true, the falseness and counterfeitness of it, and that an evidence that the humility, if it were truly such, were a Christian virtue, because the fault is in the feignedness of it; so by the analogy of reason, it must hold of Will-worship, that when that is truly such, it is a Christian virtue, and that the only fault is, that it is not what it pretends to be, and so that is still a valid argument for the good sense of the word, Will-worship; though not of the disguise and false appearance of it; he bare shew even of divine worship it self being acknowledged to have nothing of good in it, which yet certainly the reality of it hath.
2. As for that of the Self-denial, it is, saith he, not only a counterfeits, but an impious mistaken mortification, viz: when tis made

a worship of God, and he instances in the Romish ridiculous Penances, Pilgrimages, &c. and asks what is that makes them impious mistaken mortification, not their being held forth as commands of God, for that they deny, it must be then, saith he, because they make them worships of God, voluntary worship] Here again the former rep'y is in force. if it be the counterfeinnesse and impiety of the mortification that defames it, then till the self-denial and mortification, truly so called, is a Christian virtue, and then that will conclude the Will-worship to be so too, if it be truly what it pretends to be.

4. As for his instance, and question founded on it, it answers it self, for as it is not their holding it forth as the command of God, so neither is it their making it the worship of God, that renders it culpable, but the ridiculousness of it which he mentions, the unfitness or inordinableness to that end, to which it is designed; such laniations of our own bodies being on that account, and by their affinity to the bloody sacrifices under the Law, deprived of all appearance of being acceptable to God, and so for all other sorts, which are not either regular effects of Godly sorrow, or designed as expedients to make it ἀμετανόησις & μετανοία a lasting and durable repentance (as ἐκδίκησις revenge, 2 Cor. 7. 11. is designed to be) For whatsoever is truly so, I must not be so injurious to it, as to doubt of the acceptation with God, or to censure it either as impious or ridiculous.

5. My 2<sup>d</sup>. reason for the taking Will-worship in a good sense, was this, because these abstinences are said to have λόγον σοφίας, whether that be some small reality, or else a bare shew of wisdom in respect of the Will-worship discernible in them, neither of which they could be said to have, if Will-worship had past with St Paul for foolish or impious, for how can a thing be said to have so much as a shew of piety in respect to any sin, as lust, or rage, discernible in it? To this his answer is long and perplex, 1. By rejecting that notion of λόγον σοφίας for any degree of real wisdom; And to this I that did not really adhere to that, will not be so far concerned in it, as to make any reply or at all to indeavour to defend it, or to adde of it farther then this, that the bare possibility that it might so signifie, supersedes all demonstrativeness of proof from this text, for the criminousness of Will-worship.

But

6. But upon this occasion he takes liberty to consider the *Apostles* words of *bodily exercise*, 1 Tim. 4. 8. and of that affirms when it is said to be *πρὸς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος* profitable for a little, the meaning is, *is profitable for nothing, nay hurtfull and abominable.*
7. To this *παρεργον* I must interpose, that this is a very strange and groundless interpretation of *πρὸς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος* profitable for a little, i.e. for nothing, and even less then so, *hurtfull and abominable.* It is, as if when Agrippa tells Paul *ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις χριστιανὸν γίνεσθαι*, a little way thou persuadest me to be a Christian, he should interpret it, that Agrippa was not at all persuaded by him toward Christianity, but on the other side was more confirmed in his *Gentilisme.*
8. To this purpose it is observable, that although the *bodily exercise* in that text be by some of the *antients* understood of *bodily labour*, yet they which do so, render *πρὸς ὀλίγον* so, as to signifie somewhat, *ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς χρόνον*, it profits the body a little and for a while, saith S<sup>t</sup> Chrysostome and Theophylact, (and so we know it doth) and S. Hierome in like manner, *ad breve tempus in carnali proficiunt sanitate*, they are for a short time profitable in respect of bodily health, and so likewise those others of the *Antients*, Ambrose &c. who understand it of fasting, (so doth Leo also *Serm: de jejuni: 7. mensis*, sometimes in that phrase of *corporum labor*, the labor of bodies, *Serm: 2.* sometimes of *exercitatio continentie*, *quam sibi quisque proprio arbitrio indicit*, the exercise of abstinence which every one by his own choice layes on himself, *Serm: 3.*) conceive *πρὸς ὀλίγον* to denote some degree of profit, *utilitatem cujusdam portionis*, saith Leo, though not so great as belongs to that which is understood by piety in the next words.
9. Thus the phrase *יְדֵי שָׂדֶה* signifies among the *Rabbins* that which is in some degree profitable, but within certain bounds, and so also among the *Greeks*, as when Plato saith of Socrates, *Σωκράτης ἐπ' ὀλίγον φρονητικόν, ἀληθινὰς ἐπὶ πολὺ*, Socrates is a little to be considered, but truth a great deal, and proportionably here the comparison lyces, *bodily exercise is profitable for a little, but godliness is profitable for all things.*

10. As for his *censure*, that by *consequence* to this interpretation, he fastens on *bodily exercise*, in this notion, taking it for *abstinences* from *meats* and *marriage*, without relation to that of the *Dogmatizers teaching* and requiring that *abstinence* as from things *forbidden* by *God*, i. e. (in effect) on bare *voluntary fasting* and *celibacie* (when they are onely used *πρὸς ἀσκησιν*, for exercise, & *πρὸς ἀδελφότητα* not with detestation of *marriage* or *meats*, as the *ancient Canons* have it) viz. that they are *hurtfull* and *abominable* [I need say no more, but that it is an *ungrounded* and *unwary affirmation*, no way to be justified or excused unless still he relieve himself at the dead lift with the *supposition*, that they are made the *worship* of *God*.]
11. And then again as that cannot be applied to *abstinence* from *marriage*, in his notion of *worship* (for even they that make that a thing *acceptable* to *God*, and a state of *perfection*, do not count it a *worship*, unless in a *generall* sense, as every *virtuous act* performed to *God*, may be styled *worship*, and so this, being not under *precept*, but *commended*, a *Will-worship*) so being applied to *abstinence* from *meats*, it can be of no very good *consequence*.
12. For *Fasting* hath long been numbred among the sorts of *Christian sacrifice*, and is so set down by \* *Aquinas* from that of *S. Paul* of offering up our *bodies* a *sacrifice* to *God*, *Rom. 12.* which, saith he, is done by *fasting*, *continence*, *martyrisme*; *Leo* calls it *continentia libamen*, the *sacrifice* of *abstinence*. And \* *S. Hierome* speaking of it, useth this style, *quicquid supra iustitiam offertur Deo*, making it an offering to *God*, though not under *precept*, and before him \* *Tertullian*, speaking of *abstinence*, *Humilitatem anima Deo immolant*, they *sacrifice* to *God* the *humility* of the *soul*. And li: de *Resur. Carn:* c. 8. *Sacrificia Deo grata, conflictationes dico anima, jejunia, & feras & aridas escas*, *Fasting* a *sacrifice* acceptable to *God*. And yet higher, it is the expresse saying of *S. Luke* concerning *Anne*, that she did *κατεύειν* serve *God* in *fastings* and *prayers*, *Luke 2. 37.* And agreeable to this it is, that our *Saviour* mentions it together with *prayer* and *almsgiving*, *Mat. 6.* and promiseth it a *reward*, v. 18.
13. That the other two are *species* of *worship*, and the *solemn Christian sacrifices*, so styled by the holy *writers*, there is no question:

\* 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> qu. 85.  
art. 3.

\* *Ad Celantiam*  
*Ep. 14. Tom.*  
1. p. 31.  
\* *De cultu sam.*  
c. 9.

question; and then why, or how should *Fasting* which is the third, if it be qualified as it ought, be degraded from the honor, and for no other crime, but only for being taught to be what really it is, i. e. an acceptable worship of God, become hurtful and abominable?

14. By the way, would this be affirmed by the Diatribist of hearing Sermons, in case it should be taught, or assume to be a part of God's worship? would it presently be cast out as hurtful and abominable? And yet sure bare hearing of Sermons is not any acknowledged branch of worship.

15. Something, I acknowledge, of difference there is, betwixt this of *Fasting* and those other two of *Prayer* and *Almsgiving*, to which *Christ* annexeth it; *Fasting* receives the chief of its virtue and estimation, not from the act it self, which is but a self-denial, but either as an effect of piety, as flowing from godly sorrow, and so joined with<sup>a</sup> prayer for pardon, or as an<sup>b</sup> help or expedient toward piety, whether by subduing of carnal desires, by<sup>c</sup> humbling the soul &c. or by fitting and gaining us leisure and ability for<sup>d</sup> prayer, and for<sup>e</sup> almsgiving; and if it be the bare abstinence from meat abstracted from all of these, it is<sup>f</sup> no such eminent or acceptable worship of God, *Hæc enim virtus adjumentum est, non perfectio sanctitatis, this virtue is an help, not the perfection of sanctity*, saith *g S. Hierom, ad Celantiam*; But then still such a help it is, and that to more ends then one; For speaking of Chastity, he addes, *non huic tantummodo, sed omnibus omnino virtutibus abstinentia opitulatur, fasting is helpful not to that only, but generally to all virtues*, And so *S. Chrysostome* φάγουσαν ὄσιν ἡ νηστεία, *fasting is a medicine, but that useles, if it be not used as it should be;*

<sup>a</sup> Afflictio corporis peccatorum

*indulgentiam deprecatur: Hieron: in Isa: 58. Tom: 4. p. 191. F. ὅσιν ἡ νηστεία καὶ διδασκαλ. & ἔσται. Chrysost: Αὐδγατ: γ. Tom: 6. p. 476. l. 17. <sup>b</sup> Ed assurgent carnem suam, quo anime frangant superbiam. Hieron: ad Celantiam Ep: 14. Tom: 1 p. 39.8. <sup>c</sup> Eodem tempore vatemus orationem, ne interior homo noster Draconis vescatur carnibus. Hieron: in Isa: 58. ὁ δὲ νηστείας ἡμῶν ἀνὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκῶν ματῶν. Chrysost: Αὐδγατ: 15. Tom: 6. p. 573. l. 16. <sup>d</sup> Frange panem esurienti, partem panis quam si non jejunares comesturus eras. Jejunium tuum non sit luctum marisupii, sed satuitas animæ. Hieron: 1b: Tom: 4. p. 191. G. Quod vestris usibus religiosi parcitate subtrahitis, in alimoniam pauperum, & in cibos debiliū transferatis. Leo de jejun: 7. mens: Sem: 4. ἡ νηστεία ὁρεῖται ὅσιν, ἀνὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῆς πύργου. Chrysost: Αὐδγατ: γ. To. 6. p. 476. l. 25. <sup>e</sup> Hier: Tom: 1. Ep: 14. p. 39. A.*



16. So that still looking on it but as such, it is I hope more capable of the titles of *useful* and *profitable* for *somewhat*, then of *hurtful* and *abominable*; As it is an instrument of good a *help*, or *medicine*, so sure 'tis *profitable* *ὀλίγον*, in some lower degree, in order to those *uses*; And what if by our faults, *διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῆς χειρὸς*, saith \* Chrysostome, because of the unskilfulness of those that use it, it become *ἄχρηστον* *useless*, yet sure this is no *defamation* or *prejudice* to it; The most generous *medicaments* may thus be rendred *uselesse* and *inoperative*, yet are in themselves very apt to work *cures*, and so *prayer* it self may become utterly *unprofitable*, by the like *miscarriage* of ours, And more especially *hearing* the word, which is very proper for excellent *uses*, for *instruction*, *admonition* &c. doth yet in the event very frequently prove *unprofitable*, and yet this is no *prejudice* to the *institution*.
17. By this I suppose, the *exact* importance of the *phrase* may be collected, as *bodily exercise* is not *expressed* to, but *compared* with *godlinesse*, and [*profitable* *προς ὀλίγον*, for a little] to [*προς πάντα* for all things, *having* the *promise* of this life, &c.] viz. that such *exercises* as these, *fasting* particularly, is a very good instrument in a pious mans handling, *profitable* and *advantageous* in its degree, in order to *mortification* &c. to testify our *sorrow* and *repentance* to assist in the *deprecating* of Gods wrath, to qualify us for *relieving* of others, for *ardent intense prayer*, &c. but yet must not be magnified above its *proportion*, being compared with *universal piety*, which is *profitable* to all things, and hath the *promise* of this life and of another. This falls very low in that high comparison, it is but *προς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος*, *profitable* for a little, whether in extent of matter, *profitable* for fewer things then piety, which is *profitable* for all things; or in extent of time, as *προς ὀλίγον* sometimes is rendred, *προς καιρὸν* *profitable* for this time of life wherein all those *benefits* are to be reapt, to which *fasting* is *profitable*, *humiliation*, *mortification* &c. but especially in the former notion of this extent, *profitable* for some few things, in comparison. And so much *ex abundanti* for the vindicating that text of the *profitableness* of *bodily exercise*.
18. Before he leaves this, he adds that the Doctor seems to place the *illness* of these *bodily exercises* in this, when they are taught

taught as necessary, to the defaming of meat and marriage;  
But— I answer,

19. That I did so place their *ilnesse*, I thought I had done it on very good authority, that of the ancient *Canons*, particularly of the 51 *Apostolical*, εἰς ἁπλοκοτοῖς γὰρ καὶ κρεῖαν καὶ οἶνον, ἢ δὲ ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίας, ἀπύχτας, ὀππλάδομεν & ἔτι πάντα κατὰ λίαν ποιοῦσιν ὁ θεός. ἀλλὰ βλασφημιῶν διαβαλλεῖ δὲ δημουργίαν ἢ διορθώσω, ἢ καταλείψω &c. If any Bishop or Clerk abstain from marriage, flesh, wine, not for exercise, (abstinence or continence) but for detestation, he forgets that God created all things very good, male and female &c. and blasphemously calumniates the creation, and therefore must either reform or be deposed. Tis visible here wherein that fault consists, not in the abstinence, but looking on meats and marriage as unlawful things, which they could not be, but as they are supposed to be forbidden by God, And Zonaras's comment on it is very natural, τὸ δὲ δὲ ἐγκρίτως ἀπύχεται, ἀποδεικνύον, Abstinence for the virtues sake is to be allowed and commended. τὸ δὲ ταῦτα βδελύττεσθαι καὶ ὡς βλαβερά, ὡς καὶ ἀποστρέφειν, ὡς ἀνέγκλητον, but abominating those and rejecting them as hurtful to the soul, this is it which is criminous and censurable. And Balsamon addes, that as they shall be censured which abstain from them διὰ τὸ γινέσθαι πηγὰς κακῶ τοῖς κακῶς πασχέουσιν αὐτοῖς, because they are causes of ill to those that abuse them, instancing in Bogomilism which did so; so he that abstains διὰ εὐλαβίας for religion or piety, ἢ καταλείδουσιν shall not be censured. As cautious a prevention of this Diatribists doctrine, and as reasonable an advertisement to him, as could have been imagined.

20. To these testimonies I might farther adde that of Tertullian, who affirms that among the followers of Marcion and Tatianus (though not, saith he, of Montanus) were found men qui perpetuam abstinentiam precipiunt ad destruenda & dejienda opera creatoris, who commanded perpetual abstinence to the destroying and casting down the works of the Creator, de jejun. c. 15. And the like intimations of the opinion of hereticks we meet frequently in the Fathers, who give their cautions against this, Non reiciendis generibus ciborum quasi pollutis. August. de mor. Eccl. Cath. l. i. c. 33. & esearum non naturas sed concupiscentias dam-

*ment. Prosper de vit: contempl. l. 2. c. 22.* And many the like, And among the *Papists* no meaner person then *Durand* speaks much to this sense, that those old *hereticks* did, (though the generality of the *Papists* seem not to approve or follow him) *God*, saith he, *curst the earth, and from thence it is that in fasting 'tis unlawful to eat any flesh that is upon the earth, beasts and birds, &c. Rat. divin. Off. l. 6. c. 7.* But this by the way.

21. Next then taking the words  $\lambda\omicron\gamma$  &  $\sigma\phi\iota\alpha$  to signify only a *shew* of piety, he cannot but wonder at my question [ *How abstinences can have so much as a shew of piety in Will-worship, if Will-worship passe confessedly for foolish and impious?* ] bidding me ask all interpreters, who render the words, a shew of wisdom in superstition or affected religion, how this can be.
22. But before I shall ask them, I must have some assurance from this *Diatribist*, that all interpreters do so render it, for otherwise my question will be lost in the aire, and never bring me home any answer; But of this I am well enough advised, that all interpreters do not thus render it, I shall instance, as even now I did, in the learned *Grotius*, as valuable. I believe, as any that will be brought for the *Diatribist's* interpretation, and besides, any one assenter of mine interpretation (and certainly *Grotius* is one) confutes his assertion of all interpreters.
23. However, unlesse I can be farther assured, that he or they whom the *Diatribist* takes for all, doth also take notice of, and render some answer to my question, what shall I gain by asking them? And if they do answer it, why would not the *Diatribist* be so kinde as to recite it from them? But this I am sure he hath not done, by asking me again, *Cannot a thing have a shew of wisdom or piety, which is confessedly foolish or impious, and if so, may it not be so in respect of the Will-worship in it?*
24. I answer, that if I take the question in the terms wherein it is proposed, it is no way of answering my question, but the diverting to a very distant matter, For when he asks, *may it not be so in respect of the Will-worship in it?* the plain importance of his words is, *may it not be foolish or impious in respect of the Will-worship that is in it?* not, *may it not have a shew of wisdom or piety in respect of the Will-worship?* for it is visible that [ *be so* ] referres to [ *is foolish* ] and not to [ *have a shew* ] And then there is

a faire fallacie put upon the Reader, the *termes* of my *question*, and of the *text*, quite changed, and others substituted in stead of them, and then I confesse that supposing *Will-worship* as ill, as the *Diatribist* would have it, a thing may be foolish or impious in respect of *Will-worship*.

25. But let the *question* be fairely set, cannot a thing that is foolish and impious have a shew of wisdom in respect of *Will-worship*? And then as I shall answer, it may: so I must adde, that then that *Will-worship* must be taken in a good sense, for else that foolish thing could not have a shew of wisdom or piety in *Will-worship*. If a fool have any shew of wisdom in him, it must be sure not in respect of his folly, but of some particular or other, which is by him that speaks accounted wisdom, and that he must have in him either in reality or in appearance, or else how can he have any shew of wisdom? If Satan have the shew or appearance of an Angel of light, it must be in respect to something which he doth, or pretends to do, which is *Angelical*.
26. As for the instances with which he prosecutes this, it must be a strange shortness of discourse, if he can think they evince his conclusion; He exemplifies in the *Baalistical* lancing, and the *Papish* penances, and supposing the former impious, and the latter not onely ridiculous but heathenish, yet these, saith he, had a shew of piety. But what if they had, was it ever denied or questioned by me, but that impious persons or actions might have a shew of piety? for sure I always knew there were hypocrites in the world, but my question he knows was, how any thing can have a shew of piety in respect of that very thing which is impious? This was the onely question that belonged to the affair betwixt us, and certainly the *Diatribist's* instances are very remote from that, for the *Baalites* shew of piety consisted not in their bloody lancing of themselves, nor the *Papists* in their as bloody penances, but either in the reality or appearance of that detestation of sinne, and that zeal, which make them submit themselves to so much smart.
27. It was very necessary then for him in the pursuitt of this, when he again recites my question, [But (saith the Doctor) can any thing be represented to me as having so much as a shew of piety, in respect of lust or rage discernible in it?] to tell the Reader that this comparison is ill laid. For if this be well laid, then sure his.

his setting of the *question* is fully out of the way. But why is it ill laid? is it not directly a way of tryall, whether *will-worship* be set by the *Apostle* in an ill notion? For if it be, then somewhat else which is acknowledgedly ill (and *θυμὸς* and *ἐμψυχία* rage and lust, the two principles of sensuality, were the fittest I could think on of this sort, to instance in) being put in the stead of it, the *Apostles* words would still continue to have truth and congruity in them, viz. that such a thing hath a shew of piety in it, in respect of lust or rage. This it seems was too gross for him to swallow, and therefore (and upon no other reason, but because it made the truth most palpable) the comparison, saith he, was ill laid.

28. But 'tis yet more strange, if we consider his reason of excepting against this comparison, For rage, saith he, and lust are for kind confessedly wicked things. (And truly that was the reason why I instanced in them, to shew that a thing cannot have a shew of good in respect of that which is confessedly bad, which I could not have shewed in those instances, if they might have been good as well as bad) but worship, saith he, may be true or false. I shall then onely ask, whether *Will-worship* may so too? for that, he knows, is the word we contend about.

29. If it may not, but is always false, then still it is directly parallel to lust and rage, in this, wherein the comparison was made, those always ill, and this also: But if *Will-worship* may be true, as well as false, then as I acknowledge a thing may have a shew of piety in respect of *Will-worship*, meaning the good or true *Will-worship*, and supposing S. Paul so to have meant, and not any false or impious *will-worship*, so by this one concession of the *Diatribist* after all this contention and scrupulosity and niceness, the whole question is yielded me, for it seems *Will-worship* may be true as well as false, and so good as well as bad, and here not confessedly false or bad. *quod erat demonstrandum.*

30. What now follows, shewing that impious and false worship may have a shew of wisdom and piety to natural men, is evidently impertinent to our debate or question, which consists onely in this, whether that which hath a bare shew of piety or wisdom, can have it in respect of that which is confessedly impious and false; and therefore when he hath full scope, to put it a little more home to me, as he saith, and yet can do no more but ask, *Whether zeal may*

not have a shew of true zeal, and yet be nothing but rage and madness? it is still to as little purpose, equally beside the question; And so when he asks, *Whether the Devil transforming himself into an Angel of light, must have something really of light or piety in him, or else cannot have so much as a shew of piety?* Tis evident he may, without having any reality of piety in him, and yet it is as evident, that if he have that shew of piety, in respect of *humility or charity*, or any thing else, that *humility or charity*, or whatsoever else, must be of the number of those things that are accounted good and pious, for otherwise his having the appearance or bare shew of them would not conclude him to have the appearance of piety. The matter is evident enough, if he will please to open his eyes, I cannot have a shew of piety in *Will-worship* unless *Will-worship* be a branch of piety, and so by proportion a shew of *Will-worship* a shew of piety.

31. His conclusion of this copious answer is yet more observable (and according to his directions, I shall note it once for all) that the words are not, *which things have a shew of wisdom and Will-worship &c.* for then, saith he, *as wisdom was good and taken in a good sense, so might the rest be taken, and the fault be, that they had onely an appearance, not the truth or power; but the words are, they have a shew of wisdom in Will-worship &c. and if they were faulty because they had onely a shew of wisdom, they will be more faulty that they had but a shew of piety, or worship, or humility.* All which I shall very easily grant, and as in the latter part I shall fully comply with him, that those doctrines of abstinences, Col. 2. were faulty, because though they had a shew of *Will-worship* and *humility*, yet they had not the reality of those virtues in them, so from the former part of his words I have all reason of analogie to conclude, that *Will-worship* is taken in a good sense, by its being evidently joyned with *humility* and *self-denial*, for those sure are good things also, as well as *wisdom*, and that all the fault was, that the doctrines of abstinences had onely the appearance of those virtues not the truth or power of them. How inevitably this conclusion is founded on these very premises given me by the *Diatribist*, is so evident, that I hope I shall not need farther to enlarge to shew it. By the same reason that *Will-worship* must have been concluded good, if it had

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been



been joyned with *wisdom*, in this forme [ a *shew of wisdom and of Will-worship* ] it must certainly follow that *Will-worship* is good, because it is joyned with *humility* in this forme, [ in *Will-worship and humility*. ] *humility* being as confessedly good, as *wisdom* is supposed to be, and the fault of the *abstinential* doctrines still equal, that they had onely the *appearance*, not *reality* of all these.

32. Once more, the utmost force of all is yet reserved for the close of the conclusion, The words ἐν ἐκδοχήναι &c. saith he, do no more inforce us to take it in a good sense then when we say, *Judas made a shew of love to Christ in his traiterous kiss*, and the *Papists devotion in bowing to stocks and images*. But I desire that he set the words of his example so, as may be exactly parallel to the words Col. 2. 23. (the least change may have an influence on the matter) and then it must be thus, 1. *Judas had (not made) a shew of love to Christ in his traiterous kiss*, and the *Papists have a shew of devotion in bowing to stocks and images*. And 2. in stead of *triterous* must be placed some word, which shall no more vary the *kiss*, then the addition of *will* varies the *worship*, (for that the *uncommandedness* of *worship* makes it *triterous*, or so much as ill, must not be supposed here, where it is the onely question.)

33. Having premised this, I now answer to the example as it is by him set, that as the words in the *Apostle* were certainly true, so these words, as they are now ill set, are as undoubtedly false; for consider the *kiss*, with that so distinctive contrary adjunct, as a *triterous kiss*, ( which addition as it is necessary to make it ill, so it deprives it of all appearance of love ) and then *Judas had no shew of love to Christ in this*, viz. in his *triterous kiss*. If indeed he had said, *Judas had a shew of love to Christ in kissing him*, or *saluting him friendly*, then it had been true, and then the conclusion had been evident that a *kiss* or *friendly salute* is an act or indication of love, an hearty *kiss* of an hearty love, and a feigned *kiss* of a feigned love; or if the addition of *triterous kiss*, had made no greater a change, then the addition of *will* or *uncommandedness* to *worship*, then again it had been true; But supposing the *kiss* to be a *triterous kiss*, viz. a *kiss* given as a *συνήμωρον* or watchword, whom (and when) the *Souldiers* should apprehend,

apprehend, then sure he had no *shew of love to Christ in that kisse*. And so in like manner, if the *proposition* had been, *The Papists have a shew of devotion in bowing*, it had been true because *adoration or bowing* is a *species* or *indication* of *devotion*, but because *Idolatry* is neither of these, and *bowing to stocks and images* is *Idolatry*, there can therefore be no truth in that *proposition*. set, as by the *Diatribist* it is set, and supposed to be delivered by any *Orthodox* pen (for such sure was the *Apostle's* to his *Colossians*) but the direct contradictory will be true and clear to all that count *bowing to stocks and images* a *sin*. For to them the *Papists* have no *shew of devotion in bowing to stocks or images*, no *shew of piety*, but only of *impiety in Idolatry*.

34. And thus, I hope, I have at length vindicated this 2<sup>d</sup> argument for the good sense of the word, from all the evasions and *χρησέματα* (and truly there have been good store of them, and I believe this *Section* his *masterpiece of dexterity*, and therefore I have to punctually and *κατὰ μέτρα* insisted on it) from all the *subtile* refuges of this *Diatribist*.

## Sect. II.

The Greek Fathers acception of *ἰδωλοδουσκία*. An argument of goodness that 'tis pretended by hypocrites. Religion in a good sense. Will-worship not worse then false worship, not abominable. All devised worship is not Idolatry, doth not pretend to more wisdom then Gods. The Latin Fathers cited by Mr. C. The vulgar Translator, and the followers thereof. *Δογματίζεσθαι* by the vulgar rendred *decernitis*. The authority of Bellarmine and Daillé for the good sense. The testimonies out of Ambrose, Theodoret, Salmeron, Estius, Augustine, Thomas, examined.

1. MY third reason being taken from the Greek fathers understanding of the place, who though they interpret *λόγον* only of appearance, yet paraphrase Will-worship by words of good sense,

vour, *ᾠδαὶς* pious, religious &c. The *Diatribist* begins with a triumph and ovation, First, saith he, *this is well that the Greek Fathers agree with us in exposition of the first words, a *σῆμα* (not, as he, somewhat real) of wisdom, nay they expressly oppose against it power and truth, and can that which hath neither power nor truth in the worship of God, be taken in a good sense? And do not the Fathers imply as much, Chrysost: δοκεῖ γὰρ ᾠδαὶς πὶς εἶναι* &c. *ἐκ δὲ ὧν*, he seems to be religious, but is not so, *Οὐκ ἐννοεῖται ἡ ἀληθεία*, pretending religion in worship. And is there any goodness in hypocrisy?

2. Here truly it is not to be reprehended but cherished in the *Diatribist*, that he is so very much rejoiced to hear the newes, that the Greek Fathers and he are of a minde, in any the least particular, I hope it will incourage and ingage him to a more familiar conversation with them, and then I am perswaded no body will have reason to repent of it.

3. All that I am to complain of at the present, is first that their interpreting λόγον a *shew*, should be deemed an agreement with him, more then with me, who he knowes have produced them, and never exprest any dislike to that interpretation. All the difference between us being but this, that the Greek λόγον being capable of two rendrings, *rationem* and *speciem*, I that desired to proceed on sure grounds, proposed them both, and, which soever should be adhered to, shewed the necessity of *εἰδωλοδρασκία* being taken in a good sense. 'Tis true indeed, if λόγος should be there taken for *ratio*, the argument for the good sense would proceed most irresistibly, But supposing it with the Fathers to signifie *species*, a bare shew or appearance, yet the argument holds very firmly thus also, the Gnostick doctrines cannot have so much as a shew of piety in *Will-worship*, unlesse *Will-worship* real be piety real, and the appearance of *Will-worship* a foundation of an appearance of piety. And this being the sense of the Fathers, which rendered λόγον a bare shew, this lure was fit to be confronted to the *Diatribist's* pretensions, as a third argument.

4. And is it not now a strange way of answer to this argument, to ask, as he here doth, *Can that which hath neither power nor truth in the worship of God, be taken in a good sense?* I reply, by demanding what it is, of which the Fathers say, that it hath nei-

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ther power nor truth? Sure the doctrines of abstinence, and not the Will-worship; And yet his answer proceeds as if they supposed it of the Will-worship, and without that, hath no appearance of force in it. And is not this a strange perverting of plain words? Chrysostome saith, the false teacher seems to be pious, but is not, and Oecumenius, that he simulates piety, and from hence Mr. C. concludes that Will-worship is not taken in a good sense. But I pray is not piety taken in a good sense, even when the hypocrite simulates piety? Nay, would he pretend to it, if it were not good? Doth a hypocrite pretend to that which is acknowledgedly ill? This were sure to appear what he is, and that is contrary to his being an hypocrite. The product is plain, Will-worship is rendred by piety, not by appearance of piety, & unless piety it self can be taken there in an ill sense, Will-worship must be taken in a good sense. Certainly I need adde no more (tis pity I should be required to say so much) of this matter.

5. But on occasion of the interpreter of Clemens, who renders ἐν θεολογησίᾳ, in religione, from whence I thought I might conclude it that mans sense, that Will-worship signifies religion, and so that it was not taken in an ill sense, he is pleased to ask, [Why, Is not religion it self of various senses? The simple word signifies false religion, as well as true; but the composition makes it worse, and alters the sense, because it adides the work of mans will to worship, which is abominable to God.]

6. What depth there is in this question will soon appear; For 1. What if both religio and θεολογία be of various senses, and signifie false religion as well as true, heathen, or Judaical, as well as Christian? Is there any appearance of reason to determine it to the former, in this place, or in that interpreters acception of it? If there be, then there is an account of the words being taken in an ill sense, without any influence of the ἐν θεῷ, mans will upon it; if there be not (as he is obliged to affirm there is not, saying p. 69 that the Apostle brands them as destructive, because they are but Will-worship, not because they are outdated or Judaical, much lesse then, because they are any more dangerous sort of false worship, such as was used among the heathens) then what matters it, what in other places it signifie, whensoever the adjuncts or context so determine it, unlesse it do (or can be pretended to do) so here?

7. This being premised, that which follows is yet more strange,

that (*Speranza* signifying false religion as well as true) the composition makes it worse; worse then what? then false religion? This is fairly to resolve that the use of any thing uncommanded in the service of the true God, is worse then false religion indefinitely, i. e. then *Idolatry* or *Superstition*; and the reason annexed is of the same temper, [*adding the work of mans will is abominable to God.*]

8. Here indeed is a foundation of charge of *Idolatry*, or whatever is most abominable on this poor Church of ours, for the bare using of any most innocent ceremony. But this all the while incumbent on the *Diatribist* to prove, and as it will not be granted for asking, so it is not so neatly approaching toward truth, as to want any farther answer, then the reciting of it, I cannot yet be so uncharitable to Mr. C. as to imagine it his serious opinion that kneeling in prayer or thanksgiving to God, on purpose to expresse our lowly reverence to him, or bowing at the name of *Jesus*, in token that we believe him to be the eternal God, in opposition to the ancient or modern *Arians* and *Socinians*, is abominable to God, and worse then false religion.
9. And though his following question confirms this to be his opinion [*Do not all Idolaters pretend wisdom in their inventions, citing in the margent Psal: 106. 39. went a whoring with their own inventions*] yet tis not to be believed, that he can in earnest thence conclude, Therefore all inventions of men are *Idolatry*, and worse then *Idolatry*; If he can, 'tis sufficient to reply, that though all *Idolatry* be invented and devised worship, yet all inventions of men are not *Idolatry*, though every beast be a living creature, yet every living creature is not a beast; And so that though *Idolatrous Will-worship* be abominable to God, yet all *Will-worship* is not *Idolatrous*.
10. Once more he presseth this argument, *Doth not*, saith he, *this pretence (of wisdom) make it more odious to God, as taking upon them to be wiser then he, and more devout then he requires?*] But it may suffice once for all, that he that useth an uncommanded ceremony in the service of God, doth not take upon him to be wiser then God, but walking regularly in obedience to the divine rule, wheresoever there is any particularly given, acts according to reason and the more universal rules of Decency, &c. where God hath

not particularly prescribed any thing. And so again in acts of uncommanded devotion; doing that voluntarily out of love to God which God requires not *sub periculo anime*, and so which is not extorted by fear, either of offending or suffering, this is again no elevating our own wisdom above Gods, but our making use of those advantages and those liberties which God in his wisdom chose to afford us, that there might be somewhat for us freely to exercise his graces upon, and so for him as freely to reward in us. And of this there is no fear, that it shall ever be counted any irregular acting, and having God's promise to be rewarded, it is safe from being odious or abominable before him.

11. Thus I hope I have vindicated the good sense of the word as farre as in my 3<sup>d</sup>. Reason I pretended from the Greek Fathers concurrence with me.

12. As for the Latines and later interpreters, to which the *Diatribist* now calls me, and asks me why I did not tell him, how they rendred the word? To this I answer, that as I have not commodity to examine all those interpreters in this matter, so I did not think my self obliged to do it, having never pretended that the notion which I give is universally received by all Expositors, I acknowledge, that all men have not rendred the word in a good sense, particularly that the vulgar Latine reads it *Supersticio* (though in what acception of that word I know not, most probably in an ill sense) but sure this with no more truth or analogie for so interpreting, then is for their interpreting the *Passive δοῦναι* by *decernitis*, v. 20. which is no less then to change subjection into command, undergoing a yoke, into imposing of it, one contrary into another.

13. However from thence tis nothing strange that the ill sense should be transfused into those Expositors which follow and never depart from that Latine translation, neither examining the original word, nor the context, to reforme that translation by it. This was the task which I then undertook, and having found the context to incline it to a good sense, and the Greek word to bear it very well, and the Greek Fathers to concur with me in their notion of it, I thought I might lawfully question the authority of the vulgar Latine, and those who had been lead by it, (and so we know are the Papists, and from them others also, who do not take



take notice who tis that leads them ) and attempt that here which I saw ordinarily practised by all other sorts of men, the *Learned Papists* themselves ( and, I doubt not, by this *Diatribist*, when he conceives himself to have reason for it ) i. e. depart from their words and conduct, as in other so in this particular.

- \*p. 69.
14. In so doing I now see without any search, that I have such a concurrence as will secure it from any censure of singularity. Beside the *Greek Fathers* forementioned, the \* *Diatribist* tells me I have *Bellarmino's* consent (adding some other *Papists* also) and I hope his authority alone were considerable enough, if there were not also some others, to weigh in the balance with *Salmeron* and *Estius*, which are all the modern Expositors here cited by him.
- l. 1. c. 7.
15. And among the *Protestants*, to *Hugo Grotius*, already cited, I now adde *Monsieur Daillé* in his late tract *de Jejunis*, written *ex instanto* against *Bellarmino*, and yet in this place of *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* contested between them, he expressly acknowledges with *Bellarmino* the very thing that I concluded, viz. that those false teachers had a threefold colour of wisdom, 1. In *Will-worship*, 2. In *humility*, 3. In *austerity to the body*, for which three things they admire these their doctrines of men; defining *idolopoiia culum sponte & voluntariè assumtum nulla cogente Dei lege*, a worship undertaken voluntarily and of their own accord without any law of God constraining them, and again that by the whole discourse of the *Apostle* it appears that they commended and set off their doctrines of abstinence by this, that voluntarily ex *quadam zeli & sanctificationis abundantia susciperentur*, they were voluntarily undertaken out of an abundance of zeal and holiness. And so in his opinion if abundance of zeal and holiness were taken in a good sense, *Will-worship* must be resolved to be so taken.
16. And so this Exposition of that learned man, who will not be deemed partial to me against the *Diatribist*, may now deserve to be considered by him, as soon as the contrary of any modern Expositor produced, or, I believe, producible by him.
17. For as to those *antient Latine Fathers*, whom he hath already produced, they are but three, *Ambrose*, *Hierom*, and the *vulgar Latine*, and those three may be reduced also, and in fine will amount

amount to little more than the *one single vulgar Translator*. This is generally supposed to be *S<sup>t</sup> Hierome* (and if it be not, tis certainly somebody whom *S<sup>t</sup> Hierome* followed, *S<sup>t</sup> Hieromes* short notes on the *Epistles* being affixt to that translation) and so *S<sup>t</sup> Hieromes* name is no addition to that, onely served the *Diatribists* turn, as in a false muster, to bear two names to appear twice, and fill two spaces in his catalogue.

18. And for the onely *Father* now remaining, *S<sup>t</sup> Ambrose*, if those *Comments* be his, which go under his name, they will bring no great prejudice to our pretensions, for by paraphrasing [*ἐν ἱεροδουκείᾳ*] by *simulatione religionis*, all that can be concluded is, that those doctrines of abstinence had not any reality, but onely a false guise of religion in them, and so it follows there, *Hinc se sapientia rationem habere putant, quia traditioni humane nomen religionis applicant, & religio appellatur cum sit sacrilegium*, Hence they think themselves to have some appearance of wisdom, because they apply the name of religion to humane tradition, and it is called religion, when it is sacrilege; And this I may easily grant, and consequently that the *Will-worship* here, and so likewise the *humility*, were not either of them truly such, and so offended in this, that they were not what they pretended to be, and would not have been *criminous*, if they had been really such; which still devolves all the fault on the doctrines and on the *hypocrisie*, not on the *Will-worship*, or *Religion*, whose name would never have been pretended to by *hypocrites*, if it had not been good. See §. 7. of this ch. n. 10.

19. Mean while I guess not how *Theodoret* which is acknowledged to be a *Greek Father*, came to be ranked among the *Latines*, and a *Latine* interpretation of *ἱεροδουκεία* cited out of him; However I never pretended, that all either *Greek* or *Latine*, or particularly that he concurred with me in this sense, & therefore am not obliged to give any farther account of his interpretation. Onely this I am sure of, that tis not the uncommandedness of the *worships*, that he finds fault with, but 1. Their teaching those for *Gods commands*, which are their own; (That is the meaning of *ἰδίῳ ἐισφύρουσιν δόγμα*, their introducing their own ordinances, *τῷ ἀκαιρῶν αὐτῶν διδασκαλίαν*, their unseasonable Judaical doctrine) and 2<sup>dy</sup>. Their bare shew of piety and humility, without

the truth of either ( *χρῆμα περιλαμβανόμενον, ἐκ ἀλήθειας* ) whereas by his conclusion, it is most evident, that the abstinences without the doctrines would not have been deemed by him reproveable, and so not the bare uncommandedness of the worship, for thus we have it in the close, *Γνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ χρεώσεως δὲ αἵ, ἐκ αἵ βδελυκτῶν ἀλλ' οἱ ἡδίστων*, For abstinences ought to be by counsell, not as from detestable, but as from the most delectable things. Which is the very thing, which all this while we have endeavoured to conclude from that place.

20. After these his *Latine Fathers*, he hastens to later interpreters, and those are two, *Salmeron* and *Estius*, and those two are one again, the one taking from the other as the manner is, without any considerable difference. But to give his *Testimonies* their full weight, we will view them distinctly.
21. *Salmeron* begins with observing, that whereas the *Vulgar Latine* reads, in *Superstitione* and *humilitate*, & non ad parcendum corpori, the Greek hath onely three words, *ἐδωλοδρησῆαι, παπινωφεσσύνην, ἀκαθάρδια σώματος*, which three, saith he, sunt tres colores ostendentes rationem & specimen sapientia, are three colours shewing a specimen (which by the way is more then specimen, or bare shew, some real evidence) of that wisdom (to which those doctrines of abstinences pretended) And the first of these, saith he, signifies cultum spontaneum, sive voluntariam religionem, a spontaneous worship, or voluntary religion pro arbitrio cujusvis abstinendi a cibis, of abstaining from meats as every man shall think fit, and afterwards, illâ voce alludit ad voluntarias oblationes legis quæ nedaboth dicuntur, Deut. 16. & Amos 5. By this word he alludes to the voluntary oblations of the Law, which are called נדבות And then I shall desire the *Distributist* to consider, how fitly *Salmeron* was called out to give testimony against me, (he, and one more, in the name of all later interpreters) when it is evident from these words, that he saith the very same thing, which all this while I contend for, if I could have thought fit to have defended my self from singularity, by his Testimony.
22. 'Tis true indeed he conceives the words to allude to v. 18. volens in humilitate & religione, and so goes along with *Estius*, and others in that mistake, which I had taken notice of in them, and

and that might have easily led him into farther *mistake*, if the evidence of the *truth*, or some other better *guide* had not rectified him; But as it is, I have no reason to *complain* of him, as to the word *ἰδωλοδρασκεία* which is now before us.

23. Somewhat more he addes of the word *ταπεινοφροσύνη* which signifying, saith he, the virtue of *humility*, is here used for a feigned *humility*, which is contrary to the Gospel, because by it the Judaizers *Evangelio legem admiscebant*, mixt the law with the Gospel, And as this is also perfectly concordant to my notions, so to this it is, that he brings the testimonies of *Augustine* and *Thomas*, and not for the notion of *ἰδωλοδρασκεία*, as the *Diatribist* cites them out of *Estius*.

24. However to manifest my care of profiting by all his *animadversions*, I shall view those testimonies also. The one thing which *Salmeron* cites from both of them, is this, that *omnis ritus colendi Deum qui à Deo non est, nec à Spiritu sancto per Ecclesiam traditus, sed voluntate hominum inventus, superstitiosus est*, every rite of worshipping God, that is not delivered from God, nor from the holy Ghost by the Church, but is invented by the will of man, is *superstitious*. Where it seems, that which is delivered by the Church, being by him supposed to be from the holy Ghost, doth in no degree fall under this *censure*, And then the *Diatribist* hath free leave to make his best advantage of this citation.

25. As for *Estius* his main endeavour in the interpretation of the verse, is to evince that *λόγος* signifies *speciem in genere, sive veram sive falsam, a species in general, whether true or false*, which is very little for the *Diatribist's* advantage, for granting it to signify *species*, if that should prove a true one, then that is perfectly destructive to his interests, for such a *species* of wisdom nothing could have in *Will-worship*, if *Will-worship* were supposed to be impious and foolish; And if it should prove a false species, and so a bare shew of wisdom, yet is that very reconcileable with the good notion of *Will-worship*, as hath oft been shew'd.

26. What followes in him, is, saith he, *secundum Augustinum & Thomam, according to Augustine and Thomas*, that these abstinences have *rationem sapientia non vera, sed ejus qua fita est in superstitione & humilitate, qua falsa est sapientia, not true wisdom, but that which is placed in superstition and humility, which*

the truth of either ( *ἡμᾶ περιεμῆναι, ἐκ ἀλῆθειας* ) whereas by his *conclusion*, it is most evident, that the *abstinences* without the *doctrines* would not have been deemed by him *reprovable*, and so not the bare *uncommandedness* of the *worship*, for thus we have it in the close, *ἵνα μὴ γὰρ ἀπὸ χυδαίου δὲ, ἐκ αἰ βδελυκτῶν ἀλλ' οἱ ἡδίστων*, For *abstinences* ought to be by *connsell*, not as from *detestable*, but as from the most *delectable* things. Which is the very thing, which all this while we have endeavoured to *conclude* from that place.

20. After these his *Latine Fathers*, he hastens to *later interpreters*, and those are two, *Salmeron* and *Estius*, and those two are one again, the one taking from the other as the manner is, without any considerable difference. But to give his *Testimonies* their full weight, we will view them *distinctly*.
21. *Salmeron* begins with observing, that whereas the *Vulgar Latine* reads, in *Superstitione* and *humilitate*, & non ad parcendum corpori, the *Greek* hath onely three words, *ἐπιλοδοσμοῦ, πεινιφορεσῶν, ἀκριδία σώματος*, which three, saith he, *sunt tres colores ostendentes rationem & specimen sapientia*, are three colours shewing a specimen (which by the way is more then specimen, or bare shew, some real evidence) of that wisdom (to which those doctrines of abstinences pretended) And the first of these, saith he, signifies *cultum spontaneum*, five *voluntariam religionem*, a spontaneous worship, or voluntary religion pro arbitrio cujusvis abstinendi a cibis, of abstaining from meats as every man shall think fit, and afterwards, *illâ voce alludit ad voluntarias oblationes legis quæ nedaboth dicuntur*, Deut. 16. & Amos 5. By this word he alludes to the voluntary oblations of the Law, which are called *נדבות* And then I shall desire the *Distributist* to consider, how fitly *Salmeron* was called out to give testimony against me, (he, and one more, in the name of all *later interpreters*) when it is evident from these words, that he saith the very same thing, which all this while I contend for, if I could have thought fit to have defended my self from singularity, by his *Testimony*.
22. 'Tis true indeed he conceives the words to allude to v. 18. *volens in humilitate & religione*, and so goes along with *Estius*, and others in that mistake, which I had taken notice of in them, and

and that might have easily led him into farther *mistake*, if the evidence of the *truth*, or some other better *guide* had not rectified him; But as it is, I have no reason to *complain* of him, as to the word ἐλαοθρησκεία which is now before us.

23. Somewhat more he addes of the word ταπεινοφροσύνη which signifying, saith he, the virtue of humility, is here used for a feigned humility, which is contrary to the Gospel, because by it the Judaizers Evangelio legem admiscebant, mixt the law with the Gospel, And as this is also perfectly concordant to my notions, so to this it is, that he brings the testimonies of Augustine and Thomas, and not for the notion of ἐλαοθρησκεία, as the Diatribist cites them out of *Estius*.
24. However to manifest my care of profiting by all his *animadversions*, I shall view those testimonies also. The one thing which Salmeron cites from both of them, is this, that *omnis ritus colendi Deum qui à Deo non est, nec à Spiritu sancto per Ecclesiam traditus, sed voluntate hominum inventus, superstitiosus est*, every rite of worshipping God, that is not delivered from God, nor from the holy Ghost by the Church, but is invented by the will of man, is superstitious. Where it seems, that which is delivered by the Church, being by him supposed to be from the holy Ghost, doth in no degree fall under this *censure*, And then the Diatribist hath free leave to make his best advantage of this citation.
25. As for *Estius* his main endeavour in the interpretation of the verse, is to evince that ἀβυσσος signifies *speciem in genere, sive veram sive falsam, a species in general, whether true or false*, which is very little for the Diatribists advantage, for granting it to signify *species*, if that should prove a true one, then that is perfectly destructive to his interests, for such a species of wisdom nothing could have in *Will-worship*, if *Will-worship* were supposed to be impious and foolish; And if it should prove a false species, and so a bare shew of wisdom, yet is that very reconcileable with the good notion of *Will-worship*, as hath oft been shew'd.
26. What follows in him, is, saith he, *secundum Augustinum & Thomam, according to Augustine and Thomas*, that these abstinences have *rationem sapientia non vera, sed ejus qua sita est in superstitione & humilitate, qua falsa est sapientia, not true wisdom, but that which is placed in superstition and humility, which*



is false wisdom. But where *Augustine* or *Thomas* give him authority to pretend their accord with him, he cites not. In all reason this defect must be supplied by *Salmeron*, who cited in the margin, *August: lib. de verâ rel: & lib. 2. de doctr. Christ. c. 25. and Thomas 2<sup>a</sup>. 2<sup>a</sup> qu. 93. ar. 1.*

27. What place in *Augustines* book *de vera relig.* it is, to which he refers, we have no direction, and so are left to guess, that it is cap. 55. *Non sit nobis religio in phantasmatibus nostris, Melius est enim quaecumq; verum quam omne quicquid pro arbitrio fingi potest, Let not our religion be placed in our fancies, for any thing which is true is better then whatsoever can be feigned at our own pleasure.* And as to the truth of this position I give full consent, that all fictitious false worship is to be avoided, not only (as he contents himself to say) unfit to compare with true, so I no where undertake to be advocate for any false or fictitious, or fantastick religion. The commemorating the birth of *Christ* on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December*, I hope, is not such, nor any Ceremony admitted into use in our Church.

28. The other place out of the 2<sup>d</sup> *de doctr. Christ. c. 55.* stands thus; Having at the 20<sup>th</sup> Chapter defined *Superstitiosum* *superstitious*, to be whatsoever was instituted by men, for the making or worshipping of Idols, and that either belonging to the worshipping any Creature, or part of a Creature as God, or to consulting or making any pacts with Devils &c. and having fallen on the several sorts of divinations c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. he begins his 25<sup>th</sup> ch. *quibus amputatis atq; eradicatis ab animo Christiano, deinceps videnda sunt institutiones hominum non superstitiosae, i. e. non cum demonibus, sed cum ipsis hominibus instituta, the former being lopt off, and eradicated from a Christians minde, let us farther view such institutions of men as are not superstitious, i. e. are not made with Devils but with men themselves,* And having added somewhat of such vain institutions (which sure no way concern the matter now in hand) he comes to those which are useful to humane society, and resolves that such are not to be avoided by a Christian, imò etiam, quantum satis est, intuenda, memoriaque retinenda, but in a competent manner to be observed and retained, and this how little it belongs to the present purpose, to the proving *εὐλαοδρησία* to be here used in an ill sense, is already so apparent,

- rent, that I need adde no word more to the clearing of it.
29. As for the place of *Aquinas* 2<sup>a</sup>. 2<sup>a</sup>. qu. 93. art. 1. It is the very same, which long ago, we considered in the former part of this *Traкт*, ch. 3. §. 3. n. 5. and to the view of it, there presented, I refer the reader, finding nothing more in that whole place art. 1. which was not there punctually considered, unlesse it be a citation out of the *Glosse* Col. 2. *quod superstitio est, quando traditioni humana religionis nomen applicatur*, that it is superstition when the name of religion is applied to the tradition of men, which words have nothing in them, which I am not ready to acknowledge, being sufficiently assured, that *dogmatizing* is a sin, and consequently that so good a name as religion ought not to be pretended for, or applied to it.
30. What he addes by way of answer to my fourth reason, hath, I think, nothing of moment in it, but what hath oft been spoken to already, unlesse it be that he saith, he hath not observed any such difficulty or obscurity in that text Col: 2. 20 &c. but dares say, the Doctors exposition makes the greatest obscurity that ever he met with: But of this there is no disputing, I must not expect that he shall acknowledge my interpretation to be clear, when he dislikes it, or discern the involutions or difficulties of that other which he hath espoused, when, if he did, he were obliged to forsake it.

SECT. 12,

The fifth reason vindicated. 'Εδελοθρησκεία. *Hesychius* corrected twice. 'Εδελοπῶν adverbially. 'Εδέλημθ. 'Εδελοκαρῶν. 'Εδελοσπρόξανθ. *Hesychius's Glossary* concordant to th Scripture use. 'Ευταγεία, Eph. 5. 4.

1. TO my fifth reason taken from *Hesychius's* rendring it by ἐδελοπεία voluntary piety or worship, and the notion which he had of ἐδελο in composition, to signifie that which a man did ἐδελόντως voluntarily, and ἐκῶν of his own accord, agreeably to which the פָּדָה freewill-offerings are rendred by the Septuagint

gint *ἐξ ὅνα* voluntary performances, his answer is brief, that *this* is no advantage to my cause, for the words may both signifie well-devised worship in an ill sense. And though in humane authors the derivatives and compounds of this word expresse the Freewill-ness of the person, yet that will not help the Doctor who doth not understand *ἑλεοθρησκεία* in respect to the willingness of the person in a commanded worship of God, but voluntary worship, i. e. worship not commanded by God, but offered to him by the free will of man.

2. To this I reply, 1. that I willingly confesse *ἑλεοσίβεια* as capable of an ill sense, as *ἑλεοθρησκεία*, i. e. that when the worship is forbidden or false, then being ill, the voluntariness of it can infuse no goodness into it, as when it is of it self good, the uncommandedness cannot make it ill.
3. And therefore 2<sup>dly</sup> this was not it on which I laid the weight (only I thought *ἑλεοσίβεια* had not been so likely to hear ill with gain-sayers, as this other which I saw was fallen under great prejudice with some) but rather that which followed of the other compounds of *ἑλεο* which signifie no more but doing somewhat voluntarily, or of their own accord, without any necessity to do it.
4. 3<sup>dly</sup>. Then I say that acknowledging it my notion of the word to signifie worship not commanded by God, the authority of Hesychius and the other Greek Glossaries which concur with, or follow him, is clear and home to confirm that to be the meaning of it.
5. If that which is said already be not sufficient to lay the parallel directly betwixt Will-worship and voluntary oblations, or performances of things not commanded, then adde 1. from Hesychius again, that *ἑλεοντῆς* signifies *ἐκ ὅου, αὐτοβούλητον. τὸ ἑκ' ἑαυτοῦ*, proceeding from his own will, and that sure is distant enough from the will or command of another. The words in Hesychius are certainly false printed (as much of that book is) *ἑλεοντῆς, ἐκ ὅου, αὐτοβούλητος*. It must questionlesse thus be mended, either *ἑλεοντῆς. ἐκ ὅου, αὐτοβούλητον*, or else in stead of *ἑλεοντῆς* we must read *ἑλεοντῶ* adverbially, for so Suidas fetcheth that word out of approved authors; and which way soever it is, the sense is the same, that *ἑλεοντῆς* signifies one that doth any thing

thing from his own, not anothers *will* or *command*, whereas the word to signify πρόθυμ<sup>ο</sup> *voluntary* in performing *commands*, is by him set ἐθέλημ<sup>ο</sup>, not ἐβουλόμην, for so those two words must be read together (and not severed, as they now are in the vulgar copie) ἐθέλημ<sup>ο</sup>, πρόθυμοι, as immediately after, ἐθέλημ<sup>ο</sup> προθύμους.

6 So again of the two words formerly cited by me ἐβουλόμην, and ἐβουλόμην, the former certainly signifies the *freeness* of the *matter*, not of the *person*, one that is *willingly* deaf or *disobedient*, διήσει παρῶν, which sure cannot be phansied a doing that *freely* or *willingly* which is *commanded*, for no man is *commanded* to be *disobedient*, and in like manner the latter is rendered by *Suidas*, ἢ ἄρ' αὐτῷ γινώσκον<sup>τι</sup> καὶ μὴ κελεύουσιν ἐκ πόλεως, *be that is made such by himself, and not commanded by the city*, adding οἱ γὰρ πρόξενοι κελεύουσιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἐγένοντο, setting ἐβουλόμην directly in opposition to κελεύουσιν πρόξενοι, *voluntary*, to *commanded* by another, and *Phavorinus* repeats the very same words, only with the change of the *Gender* ἢ ἄρ' αὐτῆς γινώσκον<sup>τι</sup>, καὶ μὴ κελεύουσιν ἐκ πόλεως, adding also (as seldome he omits to do) what *Hesychius* had said, ἐκὼν πρόξενοι. The same may appear again by ἐβουλόμην, ἐκὼν τὸ κακὸν ἐκλεξάμενοι, *be that chooseth ill voluntarily*, i. e. he which of his own accord chooseth the evil, both in *Phavorinus* and *Suidas*, where sure that which he chooseth voluntarily, is not first commanded by God, being supposed to be evil. And so still these compositions from ἐβουλόμην signify all of them in perfect accord with my notion of *Will-worship*, i. e. a performance voluntarily taken up, without any command of God.

7. And indeed tis a little strange that this *Diatribist*, who takes it here in an *ill* sense, and places the *ill* in this, that it is an *uncommanded worship*, should yet here dispute against this signification of ἐβουλόμην, for *voluntary worship*, *uncommanded* by God, and phansie that I pretend no more but the *free-willingness* of the person in a *commanded worship* of God.

8. What he addes in the end of that 15<sup>th</sup> §. that though the word in other authors be taken for *voluntary worship*, and be but once used in Scripture, yet the Spirit of God useth words in a sense clearly different from other authors, instancing in ἐνταπ-  
λαία,

αἰα, Eph. 5. 4. taken for a vice, which in Aristotle is taken for a virtue,] will soon receive answer, For 1. *Hesychius* being the author now peculiarly under consideration, and his *Glosses* having a speciall propriety to the explicating of words in *Scripture*, what is said by him, is not so much the sense of other authors, as of the *Scripture* it self, and so cannot reasonably be thought distant from it.

9. 2<sup>dly</sup>. Though some words are taken in the *Scripture* in a sense different from other authors, this is not applicable to all words of *Scripture*, some are used in ordinary vulgar senses, and by much the greater part of words there, and from thence to conclude of ἐθελοθρησκεία, that it is taken in a different sense, is to conclude and syllogize from particulars, which is against all *Laws* of *Logick*.
10. 3<sup>dly</sup>. Whensoever a word in any place of *Scripture* is affirmed to be used in such a different sense, that must be concluded either by the circumstances of the text, which so inforce it, or else by comparing it with other places of *Scripture*, where that sense is necessary; as when εὐτεταπεινεία is concluded to be a vice, Eph. 5. 4. tis manifest by the context it must do so, for to it is immediately annex, τὰ μὴ ἀνήκουα, which are (not onely not convenient, but, as that phrase denotes) very inconvenient, nay as the companions of it there, περιεία, ἀκατασία, ἀσυχρότης, μωρολογία inforce, filthy, noisome, unsavory, so as folly oft signifies uncleanness, and so this is a visible reason also, why the word is taken in an ill sense, when Aristotle, meaning onely cleanly, not beastly jesting, takes it in a good sense: But of ἐθελοθρησκεία this no way appears in this one place where tis used, but on the contrary, the society in which tis found, humility and self-denyal or austerity determine it to be the good sense, as certainly, as the company of εὐταπεινεία determine that to an ill. And so much for my 5<sup>t</sup> Reason.

Sect. 13.

*Mr. C. his distinction of voluntary. Spontaneous. A work of love. The Testimony of Socrates. Worship true or false. Nothing unlawfull which is not forbidden. Voluntaryness no way forbidden. The second Commandment.*

1. **T**O my last reason [*because things done in the service of God are not therefore ill because spontaneous, but on the contrary, that when out of a pious affection a man shall do any thing else beside what God hath commanded by any particular precept, this action of his is so much more commendable and acceptable to God,*] he thinks it sufficient to distinguish of voluntary either as it denotes the manner or the efficient cause of worship; in the first respect that is voluntary, saith he, which yet is necessary, viz. commanded by God, in the second, that onely which is done by the will of man contradistinguish to the will of God.

2. But this distinction is very far from answering my reason. For of the second, it is, he knowes, that I understand the word, and that I might prevent all want of this or the like distinction, I speak most plainly, using the word *Spontaneous*, not *voluntary*, on purpose to denote that which was done by mans will on his own accord, without any command of Gods; for so sure *Spontaneous* signifies (however the *Diatribist* here confounds it with *voluntary*, and so involves, in stead of extricating, mixes, when he went to distinguish) that which is sua sponte from a mans own incitation, not from any external impellent, whether command or punishment attending it, for this indeed being done thus freely, is perfectly a work of love, and that renders it to extremely gratefull, and rewardable by God. I shall give you the description of it in the words of \* *Socrates* speaking of Ecclesiastical rites; *Επι δὲ ἡ* Hist. Eccl. l. 5. *ταῖς μετὰ τούτοις ἑννεαφών ἔχει δεῖξαι παράγγελμα, δὴ ὅπως περὶ τούτοις* c. 22. *τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ καὶ παραιρέσει ἐπιβέβαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, ἵνα ἕκαστος μὴ οἴσθῃ μὴδὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἀγαθὸν καταπραΰναιτο, Seeing no man can shew any written command for this, it is manifest that the Apostles left this to every mans judgement and will, that every*



man might do good, neither by fear nor of necessity.

3. When he adds, that in worship devised by man the will bears all the blame, and then the more voluntary, the more abominable] I answer, that worship is either false or true, bad or good, Heathen or Christian, His rule is perfectly true in unlawful wicked worship, all the blame thereof lyes on the will of man, but it can have no place, where the worship is lawfull, for then no blame is due at all, but the more free it is, tis so much the more commendable. Now it is of lawfull and Christian worship that we here speak, as he knows well enough, or else it were not imaginable we could take it in a good sense, and of this he must needs understand us also; or else he could not make all the blame of it in mans will or devising, as he doth.
4. And that a worship in itself, and materially lawfull, i.e. whilst it is abstracted from the consideration of Gods commanding it, or not, should by not being commanded by God, become unlawful, this is to confound things most distant, forbidding and not forbidding; For the Law and Will of God being the rule, in agreement with, or opposition to which, lawfull and unlawful consists, it is as impossible that any thing should be unlawful in respect of Gods Law, which is not forbidden by it, as that any thing should be lawfull which is forbidden.
5. When therefore he proceeds, affirming (but offering no proof) that the voluntariness of an action is the ἀνομία or irregularity of it, first, this is a begging the question; 2. 'Tis set in such terms, that it hath not the least appearance of truth in it, for how can the voluntariness be the ἀνομία or irregularity, unless the Law forbid voluntariness, which certainly it no way doth, as was formerly evidenced from hence, because there is no universall negative command in Scripture, prohibiting all acts and degrees of acts, beside what are in particular commanded.
6. That there is no such, sufficiently appear, by the one instance, which here he thinks fit to mention, that of the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, which, saith he, forbids all things, i.e. all worship and all degrees of that worship, besides what are particularly commanded. Which though it be as far from all appearance of truth as any thing affirmable by any (for what word is there in that Commandment,

ment, which can sound that way? Certainly none, unless every ceremony devised by man and every degree whether of *charity* or *devotion*, which is not particularly under *precept*, be presently metamorphosed into a *graven image*) hath not yet any the least proof to back it, and so still is the meanest *begging* of the main question imaginable. And so having more largely spoken of this before, this is sufficient also to be said here in the *vindication* of my last reason.

Sect. 14.

The first occasion of mistaking ἐθελοθρησκεία for ill. The vulgar translator and Mr. Calvin. The Diatribists three exceptions to this shewed to be of no force. Will-worship distant from Superstition. Θρησκεία only in a good sense among Christians. Three mistakes of the Diatribist. All uncommanded is not forbidden.

1. HIS next post or Stage is made up of an examination of those things to which I conceived the *mistake* and *abuse* of ἐθελοθρησκεία imputable. The first of which I assigned to be the vulgar translations rendring it *Superstitio*, that being most probably S. Hieroms, and his words being found agreeable to it in some places, and from thence Mr. Calvin hath affirmed it, *Superstitio Græcis dicitur ἐθελοθρησκεία*.

2. That this was fit to be insisted on as a first occasion of the *mistake*, will be evident enough to any, who considers how ordinary it is for the *Romanists* on one side without farther inquiry or consideration to follow the vulgar translation, and for the reformed on the other to follow the steps of Mr. Calvin, and not alwaies to examine his grounds of affirming, which certainly were very farre from solid in this matter, it being evident to all that know any thing of words, that δεισιδαιμονία is the Greek for *Superstition*, and not ἐθελοθρησκεία, nay that ἐθελοθρησκεία being but once used in *Scripture*, and not found in any author, but such as may be resolved to have used it from thence, Mr. Calvins words, that *Superstitio* is cal-

led by the Greek *ἰδελοθρησκεία*, cannot probably signify any more than that the Greek word in that one place is by the vulgar translator rendred *Superstition*. And then this is an evidence of that which there I affirmed, that the occasion of taking *ἰδελοθρησκεία* in in an ill sense (which I must be allowed to deem a *mistake*) is the vulgar translators rendring it *Superstition*.

3. Now to this, three things are here objected, though not to the main of the observation (for no word is replied to that) yet to the mention of the Greek words *δαιμονία* &c. First that a man may say as much for *δαιμονία* it self as the Doctor saith for *ἰδελοθρησκεία*, and bring the Doctor for his voucher who saith that *δαιμονία* sometimes is taken in a good sense.
4. But I reply 1. that the Doctor never saith that *δαιμονία* is taken in a good sense among Christians, who sure never allowed the worship of Demons, but only among heathens, who do allow it. 2. That if it were sometimes taken in good sense, yet that were not sufficient to conclude that it were all one with *ἰδελοθρησκεία*, all good things are not the same, no nor all ill, and therefore in whatsoever sense the words are taken, whether both in good or both in ill, the one in good, the other in ill sense, yet still the nature and importance of the words is distant, & so ought not to have been confounded either by the vulgar translator or by Mr. Calvin, and being so unduly confounded, the Diatribist cannot from thence raise any more solid argument for the ill sense of the one, then I can (which I pretend not to do) for the good sense of the other.
4. <sup>dly</sup> He objects, that *θρησκεία*, as the Doctor knowes, is taken also sometimes in an ill sense, as well as a good, why then, saith he, may they not both equally signify superstition? especially when applied to false or men-devised worship. I answer, that *θρησκεία* when spoken of Christians is never taken in an ill sense, unless by virtue of some Epithet joined with it, which it self is ill, as *ματαιά θρησκεία* in S. James, vain religion, and then also tis the vanity which hath the ill sense, not the religion. And again that vain or ill religion, is not superstition neither, but an unagreeableness of the Professors practice to his religion. Now he knows it is of Christians that now we speak, and so there could be no place for this exception, nor for any thing to be founded in it, nor

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plea from hence that either the *simple* or the *compound* should be rendred *superstition*; As for the *men devised worship* that that should be *synonymous* with *false*, that is the old artifice of *begging the question*, in stead of saying ought for the *gaining* of it.

5. His last exception is, that *Superstition* or *Will-worship* is more general then *δεισιδαιμονία*, that's but one species of *superstition*, if taken (as the word imports) for *Demonum cultus*. But all false worship is *superstition*, and the rather because it is *spontaneous, voluntary*, i. e. *Will-devised worship*.] Here is a fair proportion of mistakes, without any tender of *proof* for any, no lesse then three in these few words.

6. First, he begins with a presumption that *Superstition* and *Will-worship* are all one, and that he knowes is now the one thing denied by him, with whom he is *disputing*, and he cannot be ignorant, how *illogical* an *argument* that is, we have oft minded him of that *fallacy*.

7. Secondly, he affirms that either of these is more general then *δεισιδαιμονία*, whereas 1. *Superstitio* being *superstitum cultus*, is directly all one with *δεισιδαιμονία* which is *demonum cultus*, the *Superstities* and *δαίμονες* being the same in several languages, and the other notion of *Superstition* (that in *Aquinas* for *prohibited* or *illegitimate worship*) that is but a *branch* of the former, arising by *analogy* with it, and is not any *opposite Species* to it; and for *Will-worship*, if that be more general then *δεισιδαιμονία*, that very thing will prove it 1. not to be all one with *δεισιδαιμονία*, a *substance*, which is the more general, is not all one with a *body*, which is a *Species* of *substance*; The truth is that the *generical Will-worship*, as that comprehends all *worship uncommanded* by *God*, hath several *Species* under it, *Jewish out-dated*, and so now *uncommanded worship*, *heathenish forbidden*, and so *uncommanded worship*, and finally *Christian acceptable*, yet not *commanded acts*, or *circumstances*, or *degrees* of *worship*; And as the *genus* is not all one with any one *Species*, so *Will-worship* in general is not any one of these, but all of them together. And 2. It implies the word to be capable of a *good* as well as of an *ill* sense, and so indeed it is, being taken in a *latitude*, *Will-worship*, or as he will style it, *men devised* or *Will devised worship*, may be of two sorts, (as the *generical word Worship*, may) either true,

or *false*, *beastly* or *Christian*, and as the one is *ill*, so the other is certainly *good*.

8. But then what is that to the *Will-worship* in this *text*, which is not the *generical*, as that is common to *good* and *bad*, but that which is in the *Diatribists* understanding a *wicked* and *false*, and in mine a *good* and a *Christian Will-worship*, and which soever of the two it is, it is certainly not *both*, and so still but a *Species* of the *generical Will-worship*, and so not the *genus* it self.
9. Lastly, when he saith, *all false worship is superstitious*, and *the rather because it is spontaneous*, this is a strange involution again; For the whole truth of that *proposition* [ *All false worship is Superstition* ] consisting in this, that all *worship of false gods*, or *forbidden worship of the true God*, is wont to be comprised under that name, the former according to the *literal* sense of the word *Superstitum cultus*, the latter as reducible, or by *analogy* agreeable to that, it is very unreasonable to *superstruct* upon this, that that *false worship* is the *rather superstitious because it is spontaneous*. It being certain, that if it offend not some other way then by being *spontaneous*, i. e. if it be not in respect of the *matter* of it, *false worship* and so *forbidden*, it is not *superstition* at all, and if it be *false worship*, in it self *forbidden*, then sure it is more then *Spontaneous*, for so must all be that is actually *forbidden*. So that there is not the least degree of *appearance* of truth in that last *affirmation*.
10. That which is indeed *false worship* is more then *spontaneous* (the *uncommandedness* of it is *precedent* and *inferior* in order of *nature*, to its being *forbidden*, and its being *forbidden* is an *addition* to its not being *commanded*) the *falseness* consists in its being *devised* by *mans will*, not simply, but in *opposition* to *Gods*, i. e. when tis *forbidden*, and it would not otherwise be *false worship*, if it were not *forbidden* either *directly* or by *analogy* with somewhat which is *directly forbidden*, and what is *forbidden* is more then *not commanded*, and so more then *spontaneous*, and so the *ill* of it cannot be increased by being *spontaneous*, and so it is not the *rather superstition* (or any other kind of *evil*) for being *spontaneous*.
11. On the other side, that *worship* which is supposed *not* to be *forbidden*, is consequently thereto, to be resolved not to be *false*, and  
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if it be not *false*, it cannot be *Superstition* (for such onely is *false worship*) and if so, then again the *voluntariness* or *Spontaneity* of it cannot make it *more false* or *more Superstition*, then before it was, because it was neither *false* nor *Superstition* before, and the bare *uncommandedness* cannot render it either, *Gods not commanding* implying his *permission*, and so a *liberty* allowed by *God*, and that is so far from being all one with *prohibited*, that it is in effect the very *contradictory* to it, this being *permitted* by *God*, whereas all that is *prohibited* is not *permitted*. And so here is a *competent* number of *infirmities* in very few words.

31. And yet there is still one behind, the great *impertinency* of this, and of the two former answers to the point in hand, the occasions, to which it is imputable that *Will-worship* came to be taken among many in an *ill sense*, which without *question* (at least without any word of *exception* from this *Diatribists* three branches of this 18<sup>th</sup> S.) is the *vulgars* rendring ἰδελοδρησικία *Supersticio*, and Mr. Calvin's following the *vulgar*.

### SECT. 15.

The second occasion of taking ἰδελοδρησικία in an *ill sense* vindicated. The design of the *Treatise* of *Will-worship*, onely for ceremonies, not for new kinds of worship. Whether all ceremonies be forbidden, which are not commanded. The various reading of *Philostorgius*. Sitting at the *Gospell* forbidden. *Chrysostomes Testimonie*. Τετραδνεον not τετραδνον. δειθ θεσμος for *Ecclesiastical Canon*. πλπεορησικια *Will-worship*.

1. THE second cause of mistaking this word I had set down at large, §. 19. to be the reflexion on the *Judaical* διονεγια, where, in the building of, and officiating in the *Temple*, all was to be done according to the pattern in the mount, from which some may have made a shift to conclude, that so it must be in the *Christian Church*, no rite, no circumstance, no degree of worship to be used there but what hath *Christ's* example or precept to authorize:



thorize it. To this he replies, 1. That I much mistake the question, for it is not about a rise or circumstance or degree of worship commanded, but of the worship it self, and herein Christians are equal with the Jews, we must not vary from the prescription on the mount in the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment to constitute any part of worship, but what we have the authority of Christ for in the New Testament, adding the ground, for this, both the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment, and this text Col. 2. to justify that assertion.

2. To this I hasten this brief reply, 1. That this is not, in any word, to the point now in hand, the occasion of taking Will-worship in an ill sense, and tis evident that though all were true which here is said, that I mistook the question, and that no part of worship may lawfully be set up among Christians without the example or precept of Christ, yet this of the Jewish obligation to do all according to the pattern in the mount, may be occasion to give men prejudices to all that is not under particular command, or according to pattern of Christs, and his Apostles, which was all I assumed in that Section.
3. But then 2<sup>dly</sup>. 'Tis most certain, that I do not mistake the question, nor can I mistake it (who had the setting it my self) unless I first set it one way, and then handle it another, And this certainly I do not. For the very design of that Treatise was to inquire, whether the observation of ceremonies used and prescribed in our Church of England were *criminous*, onely upon this account, because they were *not commanded by God*; And in this I was then sure that I had *adversaries* enow, who concluded it so, upon this one way of probation, because all *Will-worship* was *criminous*, and the use and imposition of all *uncommanded ceremonies* were *Will-worship*.
4. And if this *Diatribist* be not in the number of those *adversaries*. then hath he done himself and me and the reader very great injury, in disputing against that conclusion which he doth not oppose. then hath he most prodigally mispent and lavisht out all his pains, in confusing (or exercising himself upon) this trash, of which this was the onely design, not to plead for any new kind or parts of worship, but to justify the use of *uncommanded ceremonies* and *circumstances*, and such are *days of worship*, and to shew that being *unforbidden* as well as *uncommanded*, they were therefore

therefore *lawfull* and free to be used by *Christian* people or *prescribed* by *Christian Magistrates*. And if he hath nothing to *resist* in this, then why should he delight in this *impertinent severity*, *arri-gn* and *triumph* over a poor *innocent* Tract, that never thought to provoke any, which allowed the *use* and *observance* of *uncommanded rites*, and *days of worship*, never attempted in the least to bring any new *part* or *kind of worship* into the *Church*? Upon this, and other *visible reasons*, it will sure be needles here to *examine* again his two *grounds*, which we have formerly been so oft acquainted with, the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment* and *Col. 2. 23*. It was no small *infirmity* of discourse in this place to *mention* them.

5. The 2<sup>d</sup> part of his reply, is, that *in worship that is condemned which is not commanded* ] But 1. What is that again to the point in hand, that *particular occasion* of taking *Will-worship* in an *ill sense*? 2. I shall demand, is that *propolition universally true*, so as to extend to every *ceremonie in worship*? If it be, then it seems, I *mistook* not the *question* (as very lately I was told) nor my *adversary* neither) this *Diatribist* being directly *contrary* to me herein, if he thus affirms, that *in the worship of God every ceremonie is forbidden which is not commanded*.

6. To the place in *Photius's* ἐκλογαὶ out of *Philostorgius*, which I *propoled* and explained, he acknowledges he *hath little to say*, yet somewhat he is willing to *note* for his own *advantage*, viz. that I *seem to make it a fault to sit at the reading of the Gospel, which the Ecclesiastical Canons did not command, and yet make it no fault to adde a Will-worship of a mans own which* Δείος Δείσις *the divine law doth forbid*.

7. To this I *answer*, that the *Diatribist* ought in all reason to have *mark*, what there I set *visible* before his eyes, and then he could not possibly have *mentioned* this. For 'tis evident in that place, 1. That I had taken notice of the reading of the *Manuscript* in the *Oxford Publike Library*, which hath ἐπεκρέπτε, in stead of ἐκλάττε in *Gotofred's Printed Copie*, and 2. That as this *latter* reading imported it a *fault* to do that which the *Canons commanded* not (for which very cause I *examined*, and then saw reason to *reject* that reading) so the former and right reading; to which one-ly I adhered, implied no more then this, that it was a *fault* to ad-

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*contrary*

contrary to Canon, to do many things ὅν μὴ θεῖον δισμός ἐπε-  
 ρέειται, which the Ecclesiastical Canon did not admit or permit,  
 or which was not in use with the Church of God, but the contrary,  
 viz that of standing up at the Gospell.

8. If there need proof of this, the plain words of \* Chrysostome  
 \* Edit. Stril.  
 Tom. 6. p. 975 (or whosoever was the Author of the Oration εἰς τὸ ἱπποδρόμου)  
 will be sufficient, τὸ διακόνου ἀνοίγειν μέλλοντος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου  
 τετραθέρον (so it must be read, as appears, p 974. l. 20,  
 where we find τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τετραθέρον ἄρμα, not τετραδύον, as it  
 is now Printed) πάντες αὐτὸ ἀπενίζομεν, ἡσυχίαν παρέχοντες, ὡς  
 ἰωὴαν τὸν δρόμον τὴν ἀναγνώσεως ἀρξήσεται, εὐθείας διαβιβάμεθα ἡμεῖς,  
 ἀπρωτῶντες, ἀλλὰ δόξα σοὶ Κύριε, When the Deacon is about to open  
 the Gospell (that Chariot drawn with four horses) we all look  
 very earnestly upon him and are still, and when he begins to read  
 (and so to run his race in that Chariot) presently we stand up and  
 use this acclamation, Glory be to thee, O Lord.
9. Certainly the Diatribist never expected that his Exercitations  
 should be examined by any, or but compared with the plain words  
 of the Treatise to which they related, when he thought fit to  
 observe this.
10. He is pleased also to retain that rendring of θεῖον δισμός di-  
 vine Law, which he must needs discern to have been there de-  
 clared by me to signifie not the Law or word of God, but the Ca-  
 nons or unwritten customs of the Church, as there appeared by  
 Nicephorus reciting that place of Philostorgius, and reading  
 ἐκκλησιαστικός, in stead of θεῖον, and by many other evidences  
 from Epiphanius and Athanasius and Pseudo-Clement, and  
 Nicephori Constantinop: συχομίσια, superadded to the former  
 store, in the Annotation on Col. 2. published since that Tre-  
 atise. To all which I now adde Leo, who having mentioned  
 \* Ser. 3. de  
 jejun. 7. mens. *Divinarum Reverentia Sanctionum*, the reverence of divine  
 sanctions, soon explains his meaning first by *quod publicâ lege  
 celebratur*, then by *quod universa Ecclesia suscipit*, that which  
 was observed by publick Law, that which the universall Church  
 received.

11. Another parallel mistake also I there mentioned in our Ang-  
 lican Councils, Can. 60. *Sub Edgardo*, where *pilpophunga*  
 is translated *sic ad libitum adorationes*, but should be rendred  
*fomni*

*fontis adoratio*, not *Will-worship* but *Well-worship*, for which I referre the Reader to the former place in the *Annotations*.

SECT. 16.

*The third occasion of the mistake cleared. Worship of Angels forbidden, not only not commanded. The reviving Judaical worship not called Will-worship, Col. 2. 23. Maimonides's words wrested to a distant sense by the Diatribist. Original of Angel-worship. Vain worships. Clemens confounding of Col. 2. 18. with 23. Worship of Angels &c. a forbidden Will-worship. The imposing of virginity and abstinences, as from God, the only crime, found fault with by S. Paul and the ancient Catholics. Alcibiades his using, and remission of austerity. The like of Spiridion and Marcianus. Cyrill of mens. 1 Tim. 5. 23. explicated.*

1. **A** Third occasion of the mistaken ill notion of *ἰδελοδουσκία* I had taken notice of to be the confounding of two veries very distant, the 18<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup> of that 2<sup>d</sup> Chap. to the *Colos.* the voluntary humility and worshipping of the *Angels* in the one, and the shew of wisdom in *Will-worship* and humility in the other. To which end I at large cleared the difference between those two phrases. To this he replies, that the distance pretended between them is so little, that they may easily be reconciled, that respecting a new devised worship only, and thus the reviving an old out-dated worship.

2. To this I answer, 1. that the worship v. 18. being expressly the worship of *Angels*, that sure is much more then *Will-worship* in the *Diatribist's* notion hitherto expressed of it, and therefore 'tis strange he should now labour to persuade us they are all one, or easily reconciled. *Will-worship*, as he hath hitherto defined it, is bare uncommanded, will-devised, or men-devised worship, and that he hath still pronounced unlawful upon that one account, because not commanded. But can he think the worship of *Angels* to be such? Is not that distinctly forbidden in the first Command-

ment? Certainly it is; And if it be, hath it no other guilt by being so forbidden, above that which is onely not commanded? 2 The *Will-worship* v. 23. is not truly affirmed to be the reviving old out-dated worship, For 1. the abstinences from marriage there spoken of, as well as those from meats, had never been commanded among the Jews. 2. Tis not there affirmed of one or other abstinence, that it was *Will-worship*, Only those doctrines of abstinences of both sorts are said to have a shew of wisdom in respect of the *Will-worship* discernible in them, and so likewise they are said to have in respect of the *self-denial*, and the worship of Angels in respect of the *humility*, that either is, or is pretended in them. And yet I hope it will not be said that *humility* or *self-denial* is the reviving of *Judaisme*.

3. But however some advantage he resolves to get by that §. and having no other means to acquire it, he will have it out of some words which I had cited out of *Maimonides*, the words are these, that the greatest part of Idolatry came into the world, existimando hanc varietatem esse Dei voluntatem, by the opinion that God was honoured by the worship of his Angels or officers, and that it was his will to have men exercised in this variety of worship. From hence the *Diatribist* subsumes, that the error that brought the greatest part of idolatry into the world was, that men conceived and taught that vain worships and superstitions were the will and pleasure of God.
4. Here I must demand what he means by *vain worships*? doth he mean bare *will-devised*, *uncommanded worships*, which have in his opinion no other crime in them, but their *uncommandedness*? If so, then hath he much misapplied *Maimonides's* words, as must be visible to him, those clearly belonging to the worship of Angels (and others beside the one God) which all men are strictly forbidden to worship. And then what a confusion of things most distant, what an injustice is this?
5. But if by *vain* he designed false forbidden worships, such as are by him fitly joined with *superstition*, and such as the worship of Angels was, then indeed he knowes, or must in charity believe, that 'tis as much mine interest and inclination, as his, to fasten an ill character upon them. and to believe as much of the danger and criminousness of affirming them acceptable to God, as *Maimonides*

des could teach, or the *Diatribist* with me to believe. I shall not fail therefore, I hope, to obey his *admonition*, if it be really such, and be abundantly *cautious* neither to *justifie* nor *imitate*, what I so much *dislike* and *abhorre* in them that are *guilty* of it.

6. What he next addes of *Clemens Alexandrinus* confounding those two the 18. and 23. verses, was by me produced and willingly confest, and made an *evidence* of the point there in hand, that some have (though without all *reason*) confounded them, and it is not imaginable how this which so evidently proved what I brought it to prove (evidencing the *occasion* of the *mistake*) should be so speedily mentioned to the *disproving* of it, or be farther *argumentative* against me, then I had before acknowledged by producing it: For sure the *Diatribist* cannot pretend that *Clemens* his reading was the true, *Μηδεις ὑμᾶς καταβεβηκότα ἐν ἰδελο-θυσίαις ταπεινοφροσύνης, καὶ ἀπειθείᾳ σώματι*, if he can, all our copies of the *New Testament* will abundantly confute him. And then it is no very good *indication* of the truth of his *cause*, which is fain to catch hold on such supports as this, which is acknowledged a *mistake* in him, from whom it is produced, and so in all reason will cause *mistake* to any that borrows it from him.

7. But the *Diatribist* enlarges in two long *Sections* more to enervate what I had said to shew the difference betwixt those two verses, And I need make no farther reply to them, then to refer the reader to the two parts of the *observation* (§. 22. and 23. of the *Traкт of Will-worship*) to which his *answers* are applied, the second of them clearly answering all that he hath objected to the first (if he would but have had *patience* to have lookt so much forward) and as clearly preventing what he hath said to the second.

8. The short of it is, that the *worship* of *Angels* being not only not commanded but forbidden by God, the *voluntary* worshipping of them is acknowledged by me to be a *fault*, but that resulting from the *unlawfulness* of the matter, which is under *interdict* in the first *Commandment* of the *Decalogue*, not from the *voluntariness* or *uncommandedness* of it. And the same I shall not doubt to yield of the *abstinences* from *meats* and *marriages*; *Christ* hath given *perfect liberty* for the using of both, and they that *dogmatize*



and impose either or both those abstinences on Christians as from God, are false teachers, and so that is their fault in imposing, and the like in those who δογματισοις subject themselves to those ordinances: And yet for all this a spontaneous abstaining from meats, at some time, δι' ἀσκησιν, ἢ διὰ βελουειαν, for exercise, not for detestation (in a religious fast, not out of opinion of the unlawfulness of meats) being in itself perfectly lawful, and so likewise celibacy or virginity in him that can receive it, there is no pretense from the uncommandedness of either, or both of these, that they should be deemed culpable, or made parallel to that other sort of uncommanded worship, where the matter is under interditt, the worship of Angels or imposing of Judaical abstinences.

9. The matter is clear to any that shall but observe S. Paul's doctrine in several places, and the arguings of the Catholicks against the Montanists. S. Paul, who resolves marriage to be honorable among all, and so brands them for heretiks who forbid to marry, doth yet not only allow but recommend virginity; and so for meats, he professeth all to be lawful to all, and that no question is to be made for conscience sake, and accordingly censures the Gnosticks that they commanded to abstain from meats, and yet the same Apostle was himself frequent in fastings, and certainly had not the least dislike to those performances.

10. So in like manner the Catholicks or orthodox Christians of the Primitive Church, which objected it as a fault to the Montanists, that they imposed fasting and made it necessary (as may appear by the character of Montanus given by Apollonius in \* Eusebius, that he was ὁ νομίς νομοθετῆς as one that required and exacted fastings as by the law of the Paraclete, for so he styled himself, and the same is evident by Tertullian in his *Traët*, De jejuniis, when being turned Montanist he pleads their cause against the Orthodox under the name of Psychici) and which anathematized the Marcionites and Encratites &c: for deeming meats unlawful. do yet every where commend and press the use of fasting, as hath formerly been shewed in part, and as it is known to all that have but lookt into their writings.

11. The passage of the \* Epistle of the Christians of Lyons and Vienna to the Asiatics concerning Alcibiades, is remarkable, he had

\* Eccl. hist. l. 5.  
c. 18.

\* Euseb. hist.  
Eccl. l. 5. c. 3.

had lived, say they, πανὶ ἀνυχθεὶς *very* *aufterely*, *ufing* *nothing* *but* *bread* *and* *water*, and when he was by the perfecutors caft in prifon, he attempted to continue this ftrict diet, but Attalus, who was in prifon, and had once been carried out into the amphitheatre, advifed him to leave it, ἀπεγλύφειν, *say* *they*, *having* *received* *a* *Revelation*, that he fhould not do well not to ufe the creatures of God, adding that he would by that means, ἀλλοῖς τύπον σχηδάλῃ ὑποδείκναι, *leave* *an* *example* *of* *fcandal*, *of* *fnare*, of ftumbling to others, whereupon *say* *they*, he ate freely and gave God thanks. Here it feems his former courfe of aufterity and fevereft abftinence was no way difliked (and had long been practifed by that Holy Martyr) onely at this time it was thought not to be fo fit to be continued, whether in refpect of the combat which he was now to undergo, (ἀγῶνα ἐν ἀμφιθεάτρῳ *a* *combat* *in* *the* *amphitheatre*, and if he macerated himfelf too much he might not be fo fit for fo weighty and difficult an undertaking, and others alfo if they fhould follow his example might weaken themfelves overmuch, and fo be enfnared by that means) or in fome other refpect, wherein his abftinence might by the example be hurtfull to others. And upon thefe confiderations he intermitted it; an example both of the praftife of the fevereft abftinences, and of the free ufe of meates according to the doctrine of Chriftian liberty.

12. The fame is yet more vifible in the known paffage of \* Spiridion, one of the Bifhops that fat in the Council of Nice, who though with his family he obferved Lent moft feverely, yet on occafion of a weary gueft made no doubt to break his cuftomary rules, and his gueft being more fcrupulous then he, παρατιμύει· ἢ λέγων χριςτιανὸν ἑαυτὸν, *faying* *he* *was* *a* *Chriftian*, Spiridion replied, τὰυτὴ μᾶλλον ἢ παρατιμύειν, *he* *was* *the* *rather* *not* *to* *fcuple*, *becaufe* *he* *was* *a* *Chriftian*, the Scripture is felf affirming that all things are pure to the pure. And the fame we have in the paffage of Marcianus to Avitus, in \* Theodoret, giving his reafon for the breaking his afceticck Laws of fafting, that charity was more honourable then fafting, τὸ δὲ τὸ θεῖας ἐξουνομθεσίας, καὶ δὲ τὸ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίας, *the* *former* *being* *a* *work* *of* *Gods* *prefcribing*, *the* *latter* *of* *our* *own* *freedom*.

13. The words of Cyrill of Jerufalem Cat. 4. may conclude this

\* Sozomen. l. x. c. 11.

\* Tom. 3. p. 791.

this matter. Πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ βρώματα φάσιν &c. *Many offend in this matter concerning meats, some eat indifferently all kind of meats, that which is offered to Idols &c. others abstain, and condemn all that eat, and so the soul is diversly polluted in this matter of meats, by not knowing the profitable causes of eating and not eating, when we fast we abstain from flesh and wine, not hating them as abominations, but expecting our reward, that condemning sensible delights we may enjoy the spiritual and intellectual Table, and that now sowing in tears we may reap in joy in the world to come. Despise not therefore those that eat, and partake, because of the weakness of their bodies, neither find fault with (ἐλγχε the Barocian MS. reads not ἔλγε) those that use a little wine for their stomach, and frequent infirmities, neither condemn them as sinners (the Barocian MS. adding to the Printed Copies, καὶ μὴ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀμαρτωλοὺς καὶ ταπεινούς) nor hate flesh as strange (or unfit for a Christian) for of such the Apostle took especial notice, saying, they forbid to marry and abstain from meats, from such keep thyself, and abstain not from meats as detestable things, if thou dost thou hast no reward, but supposing them good, omit to make use of them διὰ τὰ ἀνεκτιμώμενα (ἀνεκτιμώμενα the Barocian Copie reads) ὡς τὰ καλλίονα, because of the intellectual better things which are set before thee, or which thou hopest to receive.*

4. Where it is evident how fasting and abstinences being freely and spontaneously used, and not as necessary, or the contrary unlawful, but perfectly spontaneous and uncommanded abstinences, are yet so far from being sinful (if they be not joyned with condemning of others which ease) that they are highly rewardable by God. Nothing could be said more lucidly and fully to this whole matter.
25. This place of Cyrills will by the way give us a fuller understanding of that exhortation of S. Paul to Timothie, 1 Tim. 5. 23. *Drinke no longer water, but use a little wine &c.* ] then formerly I had taken notice of in the Annotation on that place, in relation to the words precedent there, *Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither partake of other mens sins, keep thy self pure, drinke no longer water &c.* Thus; those that by the Gnosticks infusions and false doctrines, c. 4. 1, 2, 3. have been seduced into error and by that means fallen under thy censures, are not

to be over favorably used, nor too speedily absolved, and then (on that occasion, as in a parenthesis) be sure thou fall not thyself into their snares, those errors, or faults consequent thereto, which thou art to censure in others; And these errors being specially two, the commanding to abstain, from marriage and from meats, for the former of them, be sure, that as thou abstainest from marriage, so thou preserve thy self perfectly pure from all the Gnostick pollutions consequent to their doctrines of hating marriage, (that is the meaning of ἀγόν στῆναι) and for the latter, though thou usest austerities and fastings, which may be usefull to virginal Chastity, yet do not this to the hurting of thy body, but in consideration of thy infirme habit of body, thy frequent indispositions, give thy self the use of lawfull liberties, take wine sometimes in a moderate proportion, & keep not thy self so strictly to water-drinking, as persons of austerity use to do.

16. All this (and much more might be added of the same nature) makes it most evident, that uncommanded performances (such sure were virginity or fasting) had no ill character fastened on them by those same Orthodox Fathers, who yet would not indure to have them imposed on Christians, as from God, but brand all such, as attempt it, for false teachers.

Sect. 17.

*The last occasion of the ill sense. ἰδελοθεωροσπουσία in Epiphanius. Of the Pharisees appellation. Παισόν. Dogmatizing and discriminating. Epiphanius's words cleared. Wherein their hypocrisie consisted. Ἐκυσταζόμενοι τῷ νόμῳ, 1 Mac. 2. 42. Apsdei אפסדי ἐκυσταζόμεναι turned into ἀνάγκη, the fault.*

1. **T**He last occasion of the ill sense of ἰδελοθεωροσπουσία, which I took notice of, was Epiphanius's mention of ἰδελοθεωροσπουσία, as the denotation of the Pharisees name, in respect of the voluntary performances wherein they pretended to exceed other Jews. And I leave the Reader to view in that place, §. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. what I thought fit to note on that word,

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which

which when he hath done, I shall have some confidence, that he will need no farther reply of mine to demonstrate the invalidity of all this *Diatribist's* exceptions against those *Sections*.

2. For there he will find, 1.<sup>o</sup> That the *νενωδον*, as that may denote the *superfluity* of either *noxious*, or *ridiculous*, or but (for number) many and so *burthenous ceremonies*, is not pleaded for by me, and that is answer to his 24<sup>th</sup> §.

- 2<sup>nd</sup>. That what was *blameable* in the *Pharisees* was not their bare using of some *lawfull*, *indifferent*, or else *good*, and *commendable* things, not *commanded* by *God*, but their *teaching* such for *doctrines*, and laying them as *burthens* on others, and what was consequent to this, their *discriminating* themselves *proudly* and *fastidiously* from other men, upon this account, and that prevents his 25<sup>th</sup> §.

- 3<sup>rd</sup>. That I no way plead for the *Pharisees*, but affirm them generally to have been *ill* men and *hypocrites*; Onely I say that when they imposed that name of *Pharisee* upon themselves, sure they meant not to *reproach* themselves by so doing, and that *Epiphanius* saith they thus imposed it on purpose to denote their *ἰδελοθεισσοθρησκεία*, by that meaning some *performances* of theirs, wherein they conceived themselves to exceed all others, which again was the preventing of all that he addes §. 26. And lest there should remain any doubt of this (the *Diatribist* setting it quite another way, and affirming that *Epiphanius* calls the heresie of the *Pharisees* by that name, as offending both in *Will-worship* of their own devising, and also in the abundance and *superfluity* of them) I shall set down here the words punctually as they are found in *Epiphanius*, and leave the Reader to judge on whose side the truth lies in this particular. Ελέγαντο φαρσαῖτοι,\* saith he, διὰ τὸ ἐπερισμῆνες εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὴν ἰδελοθεισσοθρησκείαν τῶν αὐτοῖς γενομισμένων, φαρὶς γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἐβραϊσά ἐρμηνεύεται ἐπερισμός. They were called *Pharisees* for being separated from others, because of the abundant *Will-worship* whether prescribed or customary (so *γενομισμένω* frequently signifies) among them. for *Pharus* in *Hebrew* is interpreted *Separation*.

1. 1. *Her.* 16.

5. In which words what is there I pray which can give the least ground for the *Diatribists* gloss, either that *Epiphanius* calls the heresie

heresie of the Pharisees by that name, when he only sets it down as the interpretation of that name of *Pharisees*, long before *Epiphanius*, imposed on them; or that this name was given them as a character of their offending both in *Will-worships* and in the superfluity of them? Certainly neither of these hath the least appearance of foundation in *Epiphanius*, I wonder the *Diatribist* could think fit to cite them from him.

6. 4<sup>thly</sup> That though *hypocrisie* were the *Pharisees* chief crime, and withal the fuel to their pride and despising of others; yet their doing some things which were not commanded was no part of this their *hypocrisie*, but on the contrary, either their saying but not doing, or their doing the lightest and neglecting the weightiest duties, or their preferring their own traditions before the commanded duties, and making the observance of the one (as in *Corban*) their commutation and excuse for neglecting the other, and this indeed was farre more likely to inflame their pride and despising of others than the real *Christian* necessary performances would have been; the lightest things ascending highest, and appearing most visibly, whilst the weightier sink down and lie hid.

7. But still this is no prejudice to those real performances of more strictnesse then the law exacts, fasting twice in the week, and the like, supposing, as we here suppose, that they are not uled to the supplanting of necessary duties (but go along very friendly with the practice of them) and offend in no other respect, but that they are uncommanded performances. And this avoids all his artifices in § 27.

8. 5<sup>thly</sup> That *ἐκστασιζόμενοι τῷ νόμῳ* 1 *Mac.* 2. 42. signifies more then a well mindednesse to the law, meaning by that the precepts of God, most evidently a spontaneous performing of some things which the law required not. Let the place be there viewed, and these two things will be evident, 1. That that phrase *ἐκστασιζόμενοι τῷ νόμῳ* is set to denote the *Asidai* by way of periphrasis; Now of them tis certain that they were so called from *חסד* which we ordinarily render *mercy*, but signifies saith <sup>a</sup> *Kimchi* *יִתְרוֹן הַטוֹבָה* <sup>b</sup> *in Psal.* 36. excellence of goodness, <sup>c</sup> others *פְּגַם הַטוֹבָה* abundance of goodness, and in *Maimonides*, *excessum* & *supremum gradum* in one place, the excess and highest degree of any performance especially of charity or beneficence, and in <sup>d</sup> another, *benignitatem erga* <sup>e</sup> *in Psal.* 36. *More Nevoch.* Part. 3.



Rabbi Ismael  
in Beracoth. c. 3.

*aliquem cui nihil planè debes, vel erga eum qui beneficio dignus est, as non tanto, benignity to him to whom you either ow nothing, or not so much as you afford him, by which it is manifest that the name Asidei denotes not only willing but spontaneous agents, which keep not themselves within the line of the law, as to do nothing which is not commanded, but have their *ixusa* voluntary performances to offer to God, above that which the *מסדר דדיון* the line of law, as the *ע* Rabbines style it, exacts of them, and so are properly styled *ixusagmōi* τῷ νόμῳ volunteers in or to the law, as that is opposed to prest or hired souldiers of it.*

9. The second thing is, that the men that are there particularly mentioned in that place of the *Maccabees*, are those that lifted themselves voluntarily under *Mattathias* to defend the law by arms, which was no where required of all men that were Jews, but was the act of the *Zelots*, at that time, and so again an *ixusagmōi* a spontaneous and uncommanded performance, above or beside the law; and such as these were farre from being blamed, being every where commended in those men. And the *Distribist* will never be able in the least degree to make good against *Scaliger* (what he undertakes §. 28.) that our Saviour condemned them.
10. Lastly, That all the Fault was when the *ixusagmōi* was turned into *ἀναγκή*, when what they undertook and acted laudably, whilest spontaneously, they at length imposed on others, as necessary, and for that it is, that (beside their hypocrisie of several kinds) the *Pharisees* are justly censured in this matter, and not for the uncommandedness of their actions, and this with the former, are a full answer to §. 28.

CHAP. VI.

*Of Free-will offerings.*

SECT. I.

*The use of them in this question. The Diatribists discourse of them. His Κεναγωγή. The Leviticalness of spontaneous offerings asserted by him, in order to denying them among Christians. Arguments against this conceit. Allowance of days as well as of worship among the Jewes. Allowance acknowledged by the Diatribist to be as good as commands.*

1. **T**O make it evident that all things which are not commanded, are not yet unlawful or prohibited in the service of God, and consequently that all uncommanded ceremonies and circumstances (and under that head, *Festivals* i.e. *Times*) of worship are not prohibited to a Christian, I thought it necessary in that *Treat* of *Will-worship* to reflect on the נדבחה or *free-will-offerings* of the Jewes, which being spontaneously, and without any obligation of divine law presented to God, were so farre from being detested or disliked, that they were accepted and rewarded by him.
2. And on this head I enlarged in that *Treatise*, conceiving the εὐλαβήματα once mentioned in the *New Testament*, Col. 2. and taken in the notion of spontaneous performances, to be directly parallel to those ἐκούσια voluntary or uncommanded oblations among the Jewes, and from thence concluding, as I thought, irrefragably, that the uncommandedness of a few decent rites, or useful seasons set apart for the worship of God, could not upon that one account, their being uncommanded, become presently unlawful and criminous, when even under the δεονεργεσία they were allowed and accepted. And if in any other respect there were difference betwixt the things thus compared, yet I was sure there was none in that, wherein I compared them, both agreeing evidently

ly in this, that they were equally *not commanded* or *prescribed* by God, and to though the *observation* of rites or ceremonies or festivals arrived not to that *excellency* of being parts, but only circumstances of worship, yet they would by those *precedents* be secured from being *abominable* or *criminous* in the sight of God upon that one account of *uncommandedness*, for if such they were, then the נִרְבִּית would be so too, and being supposed to be *uncommanded*, either *stand* together, or both *fall* under the same *condemnation*.

3. And to this part of my discourse he at length proceeds §. 29. and finding fault with me for not setting down or shewing *where* in the *formality* of a *free-will offering* consisted, he is pleased to spend some leaves on this task.
4. But as I had not offended in that kinde, nor needed this supply of his, there being evidently no more required to the *formality* of a *free-will offering*, but that 1. it were not particularly *commanded* by any law of God; and so were *spontaneous* (not *necessary*) to offer, or not to offer; 2. that it were offered to (and *graciously accepted* by) God, as being of those kinds which are known to be *allowed* by him; and both these being evidently set down by me in that *Treatise* §. 29. I have little to thank him for in his discourse on this subject. finding the greatest part of it to concerne *prescribed*, *commanded sacrifices*, and the *willingness* first, and secondly some lower degree of *freeness* observable in them, both which are certainly nothing to our purpose, who speak only of those *oblations* which were *not commanded* and might freely not have been offered (to which none but the last member of his distinction appertains. *libertas exercitii*) and yet were *graciously accepted* by God when they were offered, which one sort of *oblations* (meddling not with any other that were any way *commanded*) make it visible, that even under the *Deoxeparsia*, that government of the *Jewes* where God presided immediately and gave laws precisely for the very manner of his worship, some things were yet left to mens *free-power* and *choice*, if they offered, they should be *accepted*, if they did not offer, they sinned not, which is the perfect image and clear interpretation of that *εὐλογισμὸς* or *Will-worship*, for which that *Treatise* undertook to plead, that it was not *criminous* in a *Christian*.

Now

5. Now of these *freewill offerings*, defined by him, p. 91. just as I now, and then defined them, there is but one thing onely which he observes by way of *præcognoscendum* to his answer to that *Treatise*, and I must here take a particular view of it, because I suppose it that, on which all his contrary hypotheses must be founded; It is this, that the *formality* of a *freewill offering*, as contradistinguished to the offerings commanded by the Law, consisting in this, that it was left free for a man to offer or not to offer, beyond what was positively required by the Law, here, saith he, the *Leviticalness* or *Ceremoniality* seems to ly, whereby (he pronounceth that) they are now abolished. And afterwards oit to the same purpose, that they were parts of the worship of God in those times is true, p. 92. intimating that those times differed from these times in this respect; and this inference, saith he, hath too much of the *λόγος σοφίας* shew of wisdom, but neither substance, power, nor truth in it. It was so in the Old Testament, therefore it may be so in the New, p. 93. and Divines resolve that the worship of God then, was far different from the worship of the Gospel, and conclude the contrary. It rather follows, that they are not parts of worship now, because that *Levitical worship* was abolished. p. 94. And this is his principall engine of battery to demolish all that I had said from that parallel between those *freewill offerings* and the *ἐθελόθρονα* in the New Testament.
6. I shall therefore, I say, make some stay here to examine and consider this reserve of his, for if it shall fail him, it is evident he hath no other refuge to retire to.
7. And 1. I suppose it sufficiently resolved between us, that the kind of the worship (that by bloody sacrifices &c. among\* the Jews) was indeed *Levitical*, no longer to continue then the *Jewish priesthood* of the Tribe of Levi continued, and so is long since abolished by Christ, and accordingly I never meant (and I hope he cannot think I meant) to conclude that the same kinds of *freewill offerings* which were acceptable then, that of slaying a Bullock or a Ramme &c. do now continue acceptable among Christians.
8. 2<sup>dy</sup>. Then the onely question must be of the *spontaneousness* of the oblations, whether that being confestly lawfull and acceptable

sable under the *Law*, it be now *unlawfull* under *Christ*, or in plain termes, whether *Gods* acceptance of *uncommanded* oblations, when the *matter* of them is confest to be such as is *acceptable* to him, be to be deemed *Levitical*, and such as being peculiar to the *Mosaical* *æconomie*, is not now to be lookt for, being *abolished* under *Christ*?

9. The *question* thus plainly set, his affirmation is too far from the the least shew of *probability*, and so utterly destitute of all *proofs*, either from *reason* or *Scripture*, as far as he hath here discovered himself (and so but a *begging* of the *question* in him that thus *affirmes*) that there is no need of my pains in *disproving* it; Yet shall I offer a few considerations to this purpose, and the first such as may be of force *ad hominem*, to this *Diatribist*.
10. And it shall be the reminding him of his three speciall *proofs*, which he hath brought in his *Preface* and in his *Diatribes*, to infer the *sinfulness* of *Will-worship*, viz. the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*, the *summe* of which is, as he oft saith, *Gods* prescribed *worship*, and all *devised* *worship*, an *excess* and so *sin* against it; The words of *Deut*: 4. 2. where all *additions* to the word are *prohibited*; And (to the particular of *Festivals*) the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*, against which, saith he, it is an *offence* in the *excesse* to observe any other *holy day*, but that one of the *Weekly Sabbath*. Now of these three it is plain, that they are all taken out of the words of the *Judaical Law*, and consequently if they were fitly urged to *Christians*, then must it needs follow, 1. That they were thus of force against all *uncommanded services* in the *Old Testament*: and 2. That by way of *analogie* they still hold under the *New Testament*, which if they do, then is this the direct *contradictory* to both the *Diatribist's* present *pretensions*, to his *allowing* *unprescribed* *uncommanded* *worship* under the *Old Testament*, for how can that be when his *proofs* against *uncommanded* *worship* are all fetcht from the *Old Testament*, to the *abolishing* in the *New Testament* what was *allowed* in the *Old*, for if so, how can the *analogie* hold betwixt the *Old* and the *New*, in which his three *proofs* were founded, as to the *application* of them to *Christians*?
11. Which being so, the great evidences on which he had founded his *hypothesis*, proving so *irreconcilable* with his present *pretension*,

son, I shall still give him his choice which part of his method he will adhere to, the former or the latter ; The former he cannot (the force of those places in the *Mosaical Law*) for it is manifest by the free-will offerings, and now confest by the *Diatribists*, that uncommanded worships were allowed; and so lawfull among the Jews ; And the latter he cannot, having formerly supposed in his arguing, that the analogie holds in this matter between the two Testaments.

12. So that I may now forme a *Syllogisme* the premises whereof shall be both fetcht out of the *Diatribist*, the *Minor* from his very words, the *Major* from that on which his arguments are founded, thus, Whatsoever was lawfull under the *Old Testament*, is lawfull under the *New* ; But free will or uncommanded offerings were lawfull under the *Old Testament* ; (and then having given me my premises, twill be great unkindness to deny my conclusion) therefore, uncommanded offerings are lawfull under the *New Testament* ; *Quod erat demonstrandum*.

13. A 2<sup>d</sup> argument against his affirmation shall be, the consideration of the liberty, and advantages which result to Christians from the abolition of the *Mosaical Law*. That liberty must consist, in the taking off, not in the imposing of weights and interdicts, whereas, by this *Diatribists* affirmation, there shall by this abolition of what was *Levitical*. i. e. by this liberty, come in a multitude of unprofitable burthens, which never lay upon the Jews ; Whensoever I shall do any thing in the service of God, which I am not particularly commanded to do, I am presently ensnared, guilty of an abominable sin, whereas a Jew might, by his confession, bring a thousand free-will offerings, and in each of them be accepted. This sure must be directly against one main part of the design of *Christ's* coming, and therefore is not to be admitted in the 2<sup>d</sup> place.

14. 3<sup>dly</sup>. It is sufficiently known, and by the *Apostle* affirmed, that they were *δόγματα*, positive ordinances, and νόμος ἡ ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι, Eph, 2. 15. A Law of Commandments in ordinances, which *Christ* did by his death καταργεῖν cancell and naile to the Cross, and indeed nothing else is capable of abolition or cancelling, But this of the free-will offerings, among the Jews is not any Law or Commandments or Ordinances, but rather a negation



of all those, (for such is a bare allowance to be deemed) and therefore sure this, as to the voluntariness of them, was none of the things which were abolished by Christ.

15. 4<sup>thly</sup>. If it were true, which is here said by the Diatribist, that the Leviticalness or Ceremoniality of the offerings seems to ly here, viz. in the uncommandedness or freedome to offer or not to offer (wherein he truly saith, that the formality of a freewill offering consists, as that is contradistinguished to the commanded offerings) then sure the Leviticalness &c. would not extend to the commandedness of the other offerings, and consequently the commanded offerings under the Law would not be Levitical, Which as it is palpably false, and contrary to plain Scripture, Heb. 9. 1. 20. and elsewhere frequently, so it will farther conclude also, that the commanded offerings are still in force, for by the Leviticalness and Ceremoniality, saith he, it was, that those other are supposed to be now abolished.

16. 5<sup>thly</sup>. Against his conclusion I thus argue, Whatsoever was lawfull before the Mosaical Law to mankind, and remained lawfull under the Mosaical Law, and is not now prohibited by Christ or his Apostles under the Gospell, that certainly is now perfectly lawfull and free to Christians; But such are freewill offerings, Ergo. Of the Major I suppose there will be no doubt; And the Minor consisting of three branches, is manifest in the first of them, among many others by Abel's oblation, which the Fathers generally observe not to have been by way of precept from God, and tis affirmed by the ancient Author of the Διατριβεις, the Pseudo-Clement, c. 22. (I say not how truly) that before the Jew idolatries and high provocations, sacrifices themselves were not imposed on, or commanded the Jewes, but onely left to their free power, ἐν ποίῳ-If thou wilt do it, but upon their provocations imposed, ὅπως πεζόμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ κλοίῃ ἀγχιόμενοι τὸ πολυδαίμων ἐκείνῳ, that being constrained and comprest by this yoke, they might be kept from idolatry. In the 2<sup>d</sup> branch, it is granted by the Diatribist; And for the 3<sup>d</sup>, it must ly upon him to shew any prohibition of Christs or his Apostles, which forbids to do any the least thing in the service of God, which is not particularly commanded: Now this he hath not yet attempted to do (no not here, where it was most seasonable and necessary to do it, the whole

whole weight of his cause being divolved upon it) and though it be not incumbent on me to prove a *negative*, yet having all *Christs prohibitions* before my eyes in the *New Testament*, where this would be discernible, if there were any such, and being sure that I cannot discern the least glimpse of any such, and withal remem-  
bring upon what grounds the *Diatribist* affirms it, viz. upon the *Leviticalnesse* and *ceremoniality* of these *free-will offerings*, which hath already been competently *disproved*, and how *suspicious* and *cautions* he was in affirming that, that the *Leviticalness* seems to ly there, not daring to affirm any more, then that so it seemed, (and that I must suppose only to himself, no concurrence of any other mans judgement appearing with him) I doubt not but that I may with sobriety assume, that there will never be produced by him any such *prohibition*, and then there can be no way of *superfeding* the *conclusion*, that *uncommanded* performances in the *service* of *God* are still *lawful*.

17. But lest this should still seem but a lesse perfect, being only a *negative* probation, I must (to adde yet more force to it) referre the Reader to the many *positive* instances, in the *New Testament*, of such *free-will* performances, as *contra-distinguish* to those which are under *precept*, set down in that *Treatise of Will-worship*, §. 30, 31. 32. &c. and much more largely in the *Annotation* on *Col: 2.* And then this will absolutely *superfede* all that he hath thought fit to observe here proemial to the instance of the *Judaical free-will offerings*, or to reply to my three observations of them.

18. For as to that which he specially insisteth on, and which only hath the least shew of force in it, viz. *Gods* promulgate allowance of those *free-will offerings* among the *Jewes*, without which he conceives it had been unlawful to the *Jewes* to offer them, 1. that allowance being no command, is an *irrefragable* proof that acts of *uncommanded worship* may be allowed and accepted by *God*: and 2<sup>dly</sup>. it must be some *positive* prohibition which is required to make any thing *unlawful*, the want of a *declared allowance* will not do it; and 3<sup>dy</sup>. there are many evidences under the *New Testament* of the like allowances for those things, which are not under *precept*, yea, and sometimes of more then allowance, of *Gods* accepting and rewarding of them.

19. And if, as he desires to have it observed, those *voluntary obligations* were a part of Gods worship, then, though I am not obliged to make good the parallel so farre, as that every *rite* and *festival* shall be a part of Gods worship also, yet certainly I may conclude 1. that ἰδωδευσμία, *Will-worship* is such, and that is the whole matter of our present debate; 2<sup>d</sup> that the *voluntary* (I mean *uncommanded* *spontaneous*) use of these *rites* &c. is now as *lawful*, as it would have been, if they had been parts of worship, both by force of the argument, à majori ad minus, (parts of worship are much more considerable, and more specially taken care for by God then *rites* and other such *circumstances*, the reasons of which may be temporary and uncertain, upon some new or accidental emergents, whilest the reasons of performing, or instituting parts of Worship are most constant and certain) and also because among the same *Jewes*, as we have *uncommanded offerings*, so we have *uncommanded daies* of worship, both *festival*, the feast of *Purim*, and of the *Dedication* of the altar, and *fasting*, that of the fourth and fift, and seventh and tenth moneth, in *Zachary*, and all these allowed by God among them, at least approved, when used without any *precedaneous special allowance*.
20. And then, if it have any truth in it (which the *Diatribist*, when he thinks it for his turn, saith expressly) that a *special allowance* of God was as good, and equivalent to a command, then, 1. So Gods approbation will be also; and 2<sup>d</sup> I see not how he can avoid the inference, that then, it seems, these other *festivals* and *fasts* stood by as good an authority as did the weekly *Sabbath* of the fourth Commandment, or the great yearly *Sabbath*, the day of *Expiation*. But this by the way, what influence it will have in this whole scheme of *Phænomena*, I leave him to consider.

SECT. 2.

*A first instance of uncommanded Pieties, Davids intention to build the Temple. Vindicated from the three answers of the Diatribist.*

1. HIS 30<sup>th</sup> §. proceeds after these *prelusive skirmishes*, to adapt answers to the several instances, which I had given of performances uncommanded, and yet accepted by God, and the first is that of David, whose intention to build God a Temple, exceeding Gods command, 2 Sam. 7. 5. 7. was yet very acceptable to God, 1 King. 1. 18. and so appears to be by Nathans message to him, in that place of Samuel. To this he hath returned three branches of answer, I shall take a brief view of them.

2. The first [that this is one of Bellarmines arguments for their religious vows, and is fully answered by Chamier, 1. that it was in time of the Law, when free-will offerings were allowed, but the times of the Gospel give no such allowance] is already answered in the last Section, where the Leviticalness and so abolition of that allowance of free-will offerings was competently examined and confuted. Yet *ex abundanti* I here adde, that the allowance that was express in the Law belonging to sacrifices, did not expressly pertain to the building of Temples, and if still by the analogy or parity of reason it may be extended to such other things, which were not express in the allowance, and yet which were not merely ceremonial, viz. to Davids intention of building God an house, when God had never express any such command or desire, I desire to hear some satisfactory reason, why the parity of reason may not in like manner extend the same allowance to uncommanded acts of piety under Christ, in case no such allowance should appear to be express in the Gospel.

3. This first answer therefore having so little of solidity in it, it was meet that it should be introduced with a *proæme*, which might cast a prejudice upon the Argument, viz. that it was one of Bellarmines for religious vows, and fully answered by Chamier.

But 1. every *Argument* is not *invalid* which *Bellarmino* hath once used, I do not believe him so ill a *manager*, that a *sharp* weapon taken into his hands would presently be *blunted*.  
 2<sup>dly</sup>. *Bellarmino* uses it to another purpose, that of *religious* *vowes*, supposing it *fully answered*, as to that, can have no influence on my using it to prove the *lawfulness* of *spontaneous* performances of *piety*; It might not come home to such *vowes*, and yet might and doth come home to *resolutions* or *intentions*.

4. And therefore if this be the truth of the matter, as it lies betwixt *Chamier* and *Bellarmino*, if it concern only the business of such *religious* *vowes*, of *building a Temple* before *Gods* pleasure be known concerning it and the like, then this *Diatribist* hath not done well to enlarge *Chamiers* words to this other so distant matter, and to vouch his authority both here and formerly, for the *abolition* of *free-will offerings* under the *Gospel*. It cannot be a good cause, which needs such *aides* as this.

5. His 2<sup>d</sup> answer is, that *God* doth not absolutely deny that he had commanded, but saith he had not commanded it to *David*, or any before him, not because he would not have it done, but because not yet, and therefore foretels that *Solomon* should do it. To this I answer 1. that here is very nice distinguishing betwixt absolutely denying that he had commanded, and saying, he had not commanded. Can conscience ever be satisfied of the *sinfulness* of *voluntary oblations*, or the *charitableness* of judging a *Church* *superstitious* for using *uncommanded rites*, upon such answers as these?

6. But 2. to disinvolve this *intricacy*, and take asunder this *subtile* *fabrick*, I demand, did *God* ever command *David*, or any governor before him to build him a *Temple*, or did he not? If he shall say, he did; Then is that expressly repugnant to the plain words of *Nathan* 2 *Sam.* 7. 5. Thus saith the *Lord*, *Shalt thou build me an house to dwell in?* the question implies, that he shall not; and v. 7. *Spake I a word with any of the tribes of Israel, saying, Why build ye not me an house of Cedar?* and so forward to the same purpose; But if he shall acknowledge that *God* never did thus command *David* or any before him to build him a *Temple*, then it is clear, his intention to build was a *free-will offering*, under no command of *Gods*, and yet that intention accepted and

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commended by God, which was all I undertook to conclude in this instance.

7. 3<sup>dly</sup>. What he adds, that *God saith this not because he would not have it done, but because not yet &c.* is evidently nothing to his advantage, for still it is confessed God would not have it done by David, which was all I contended, and then *David's* designing to do it, was without command, and so a *freewill offering*; As for the *prediction*, that *Solomon* should do it, 1. That is no *intimation* in the least of any command to David; and 2. It followed *David's* resolution of doing it, and was *God's* answer to David, v. 13. on occasion of his resolving to build God a Temple, v. 1, 2. and so that is onely a farther evidence, that what *David* resolved to do, was, without any the least command, onely that which the dignity of the matter suggested to a pious soul v. 1, 2. and accordingly was approved by *Nathan*, v. 3. *Go do all that is in thy heart*, and also by *God*, 1 *Kin.* 8. 18. though he were not permitted to actuate this pious resolution.
8. His 3<sup>d</sup> answer is, that the house that David would build was not to be a part of worship, but by accident, as the house of *Obed Edom*, or the place where David settled the *Arche*, and our Churches now, onely a circumstance of worship. I answer, 1. So is a Festival now, a time, as that place, and so equally a circumstance of worship. And 2. It being already evident that voluntary oblations were then lawfull, and that those are parts of worship, 'tis visible that this had equally been lawfull, if it had been a part, as it is now, being but a circumstance of worship.
9. But then 3<sup>dly</sup>. The intention of building this place was sure a pious intention, an act of reverence and love to God, whose house it was designed to be, and so that being uncommanded must needs be an ἐθελοσθένεια, and so directly parallel to the ἐθελοσπνυαία, to which I thought fit to compare it.
10. And so still there is no other virtue in these answers save onely to evidence his distrust in his σοφὸν φάρμακον, and to assure us, that he could not heartily believe, that voluntary oblations were now abolished under the New Testament, for if really they were, having rendred that for his first answer, he could not have wanted or satisfied himself with such evasions as these.



## Sect. 3.

A 2<sup>d</sup> instance, and that under the New Testament. Paul's taking no hire from the Corinthians; This, no action of common life, nor yet a due debt. Καταχρησάου for using, 1 Cor. 7. 31. 1 Cor. 9. 17. explained. The authority of Augustine, Chrysostome and Theophylact.

1. **M**Y 2<sup>d</sup> instance was that of St Paul, who might have received hire for his labour among the Corinthians, but would not, and counts and calls this matter of boasting. This, saith he, is as little to the purpose, if not less, for it is not in an action of worship, but an action of common life as himself speaks, and it is also a mistake to call it a free-will offering, when it was a due debt.
2. But 1. Tis certain that I no where said that this was in an action of common life, the Reader, if he will view the place at the top of p. 17. will find that it is misreported, and truly I should have been to blame to think the Apostle's preaching and officiating among the Corinthians, in which this was, to have been an action of common life; And I shall appeale to this Diatribist himself, whether he can really doubt, whether an Apostle's exercising his office be not an act of worship, and consequently any (but) circumstance thereof, a circumstance of worship, and this over and above, an act of sacred alms and so of piety. And if it be so, then this instance of St Paul's not receiving hire, was either an action or in an action of worship, or both, and so surely a נדבה or free-will offering.
3. 2<sup>dly</sup> Then. for his assertion, that it was a due debt (for which he cites Chamier) I shall make my appeale no farther then to the text it self, and the notion, which the Fathers had of it.
4. The matter is set down at large, 1 Cor. 9. The preaching of the Gospell, saith the Apostle, was committed to him, and was under precept and so no free-will offering of his; That is his meaning, when he saith, For if I do this willingly, v. 17. ἐκὼν, as a volunteer (so saith \* Theophylact, εἰ μὴ ἐκ ἐκείνου τὸ πρῶτον

\* In 1 Cor. 9.

εὐγυα, ἀπ' ἑμαυτῆς δὲ τῶτο ἰπνίον, *If I had not been commissioned to preach, but had done it of my self, It I did preach the Gospell without any command, and so necessary to do so, if of my self, spontaneously, μισθὸν ἔχω, I have the reward, this would be rewardable in me, i. e. the very preaching would, without any other honorable circumstance to inhance it, εἰ δὲ ἄνω, but if involuntarily, i. e. εἰ ἐν ἐνχειρίδῳ, saith Theophylact, if I am commissioned to preach, and so my preaching be an act of obedience to a plain command, and so necessary, v. 16. (and woe to me if I do it not) then all that can be said of me is, that οἰκονομίαν π. π. σ. δ. μα, being intrusted with a Stewardship, I discharge it, ἐφοδῆλον ὅτι ἐκ ἀπ' ἑμαυτῆς τῶτο ποίω, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς ἐντολῶ πληρῶ, τῶτο γὰρ βεῖ το ἄνω, it is manifest that I do it not spontaneously, but I performe my Lords command, for this is the meaning of involuntary; And so there is nothing of excellence in this, ἡ φιλοπνία τὸ πᾶνγμα this will bring me in no reward, Upon which it follows, Τί ἔν μοι ἔσιν ὁ μισθός; What reward then shall be to me? i. e. What in this whole matter shall bring me in any reward? To which the Apostle answers, ἵνα ἀδάπανον θῶτω, that preaching the Gospell, I do it freely, without making it chargeable to the auditors, εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρῆσθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, so that I make not use of (not as we render it, abuse not) my power or liberty that I have in the Gospell, i. e. the power of receiving maintenance from others, whether by hire from them to whom he preaches, (the labourer being worthy of that) or by way of aide from other pious persons (such as Phœbe and the like, intimated by the ἀδελφῶν γυναικῶν, some Christian women that attended and ministred to them v. 8.) without putting my self to bodily labour to earn necessities, v. 6.*

5. The doing of this thus was that which would yeild him the reward, And although this was not observed by Cephas and other Apostles, v. 5. yet sure Cephas is not conceived to have sinned thereby, but 'tis positively said that twas lawfull for all, v. 7. 1 r. 14. for as for Cephas and others, though onely Paul would not use it, v. 12. and accordingly both there, v. 15. and after, 2 Cor. 11. 9, 10. he distinctly counts and calls this matter of rejoicing or boasting, in respect to the reward which he was allowed to expect from God for it.

6. And so nothing can be more plain then that this was a *נרבה* a voluntarie act of piety in that Apostle toward his Corinthians, and so sure it was conceived by St Augustine, *Potuit Beatus Paulus ex Evangelio sibi victum quærere; quod malis operari, amplius eregabatur*, Blessed Paul might have had his food for his preaching; that he chose rather to labour for it with his hands
- \* In Aft. 21. was a greater liberality then he was bound to. And \* St Chry-  
Tom. 4. p. 860. *ἔκρινεν οὐκ ἔπειν ὅτι λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ βέλπον τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν,*  
I. 12. he said not those words, Aft. 20. 35. because it was ill to receive,  
\* Ibid. lin. 20. but because it was better not to receive. And \* again, that it is  
*τέταρτος βαθμὸς* the fourth and highest degree of munificence,  
*κηρύσσοντα καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα λαμβάνειν, μὴ λαμβάνειν*, for one that  
preacheth, and hath power to receive, yet not to receive. And on  
the place to the Corinthians, *τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν*, τὸ δὲ τῆς  
ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὁρῶμεθα, One was a precept, the other a virtuous  
action of his own choice. *ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν*, above the Command-  
ment, and *κατὰ τὸ*, in this very respect, *πλὴν ἔχει μισθόν*, it  
hath a plentiful reward; And again, of the word *ἀνάγκη* necessity,  
he saith, that it pertains to the command by which it became  
necessary *ἀπὸς ἀντιδικαστικῆς τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐν τῷ λαμβάνειν*  
in opposition to the freedom in receiving (i. e. the power to re-  
ceive from the Corinthians, v. 12.) forementioned. So again  
Theophylact, *Τὸ δὲ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι ἐπαγχαλὸν ἐστίν, καὶ ἐάν πληρὸν τὸ  
ἔδωκεν κατὰ τὸ*, &c. preaching the Gospel is a precept to me,  
and so a debt from me, and if I do it, there is no great matter  
of excellence in it, *τὸ δὲ ἁπαλὸν κηρύσσειν ἀποκατάστατος φιλοτιμία,*  
*καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ κέννημα ἐστίν*, but to preach without charging them is the  
honor of my will, and in that respect there is place of boasting,  
in this I may fitly rejoice.
7. This I have set down thus largely to clear all difficulties or  
doubts in this matter, and to shew how punctually home it  
comes to the matter for which it was brought, to shew not  
onely the lawfulness but acceptation of such uncommanded  
performances now under the Gospel, as well as the *נרבה* under  
the Law.
8. The only exception he offers against this, is that from v. 18.  
where what he doth he saith was done that he *abuse not his power  
in the Gospel*; But saith he, *to abuse power is to sin*, &c. But that  
is.

is already answered, that καταχρησάσθαι signifies to use to his own advantage, and not only to abuse; Thus in *Lyfias*, ταύτας λαβὼν κατεχρήσατο, he took and used them, and in *Ilocrates* in *Panegy.* ἐν καιρῷ κατεχρήσαται to make a seasonable use of other mens actions, by way of example: in *Plato*, ἐκ ὁρῶς κατεχρήσατο δαρεῖᾶ, *Ep.* 8. he hath not rightly used the gift. And so *I Cor.* 7. 31. χρώμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι, using the world as if they used it not, so it must be rendred in proportion to what goes before, weep as though they wept not, rejoyce as though they rejoiced not, buy as though they possessed not, and so the vulgar reads, tanquam non utantur, as if they used not. And so *Chrysostome* on *Act.* 21. in the place even now cited, doth thus paraphrase it, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα λαμβάνειν, μὴ λαμβάνειν, not to receive what he hath power to receive, and so here *Theophylact* expressly interprets it, ἵνα μὴ καταχρήσωμαι, τυτέστι ἰλῶς χεῖσωμαι, τῷ ᾧ ἁπλῶς χρῆσιν καταχρησιν ἀνόμασεν, the word signifies simply to use; δεικνύς ὅτι ἐδὲ οἱ λαμβάνοντες ἡμαρτανόν η, shewing that they which received, sinned not a whit, which is the direct contrary to the conclusion of this *Diatribist* from the same premisses; And so *Chrysostome* also δεικνύς ὅτι ἐδὲ οἱ λαμβάνοντες ἐγκλημάτων ἄξιοι, by this expression he shewed, that they which received are not worthy of accusations, guilty of any fault; which they must be, if they are bound by any special call, as the *Diatribist* cites from *Chamier* (but against the whole contexture of the place) to do what they did. And so this may suffice for the second Instance, so particular, and that in the *New Testament*.

## Sect. 13.

*The third of Paul's going up to Ierusalem : this under no precept. No refusing to suffer, no retarding of the Gospel. The example of Christ and S. Paul at other times, the testimony of Origen, and confession of the Diatribist.*

1. **T**He 3<sup>d</sup> instance was taken from Paul's going up to Hierusalem, *Act. 21.* when, being told by a Prophet *v. 11.* that bonds expected him there, he might lawfully have avoided that danger, and gone some other way, and been justified by *Mat. 10. 23.* and yet in this conjuncture, when he might have abstained, he would yet needs go up, *v. 13.* and so that was his *נדרה*. Now to this, saith he, the like may be answered, viz. that it was no free-will offering, for though by the general allowance he might have fled, yet if he should have refused to suffer, with the retarding of the Gospel, he had surely sinned.
2. To this answer the reply may be brief, that Paul's not going to Ierusalem at that time, did in no wise imply either his refusing to suffer, or retarding the Gospel : 1. The not going, when he knows, that if he goes, he shall suffer, is not refusing to suffer, it is only the diverting at that time, the not casting himself upon apparent danger, which we find sometimes exemplified by Christ, *Mat. 12. 15.* upon knowledge of the Pharisees designe to kill him, though sure he never refused to suffer, but esteemed it a prime part of his mission.
3. Upon this occasion it was \* *Origens* observation, *ὡς διαὶ ὁβελ δα-  
vατς &c.* Christ did not this for fear of death, i. e. refusing, or being in the least degree unwilling to suffer, giving thereupon this universal axiome, *ὡς ἀγεννὲς ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ εὐνομίᾳς πεποιθέντος τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐκὸς αὐτοῦ χαρτῆν*, 'Tis no degenerate thing to avoid dangers prudently, and not to go among them.
4. And sure it would have been the same in S. Paul who was not obliged to runne into danger here, any more then to go unto the multitude, or into the Theatre, *Act. 19. 30, 31.* both which when he was willing to have done, he yet abstained from both, upon the intreaty of the disciples, & the Asiarcha that were kind to him,

And

\* *Contra Cel.*

And accordingly we know at other times he made use of the same liberty, & industriously avoided the persecutors hands. 2 Co. II. 33.  
 5. And 2. his *not going up* was no way *retarding* the Gospel, only the *reserving* himself to do *Christ* more *service* upon earth, in preaching the Gospel and *confirming* the Churches; For of this there is no question, that the Gospel might be advanced by his *life*, as well as by his *death*, and as it appears in his *Epistle* to the *Philippians*, it might be better for the *Christians* committed to his charge, that he should continue to *live* and *labour* among them, and accordingly the pious *Christians* here besought him that he would not go up, and, I hope, were not guilty of *designing* treachery to the Gospel in so doing, and to the *Disciples*, v. 4. who had by the Spirit, i. e. by the gift of *prophecy* received *knowledge* of his danger, *advised* him also. Not that I think the Spirit, either by them, or by *Agabus*, dissuaded his going, for then it had been an act of *obedience* to the Spirit, and so of *duty* not to go, but that the Spirit made known his *hazard*, which there he should run, leaving it *free* to him to go, or not to go, and that there were *Spiritual* reasons on both sides, and for *not going*, over and above, *motives* prudential, in regard of his own *safety*, and no *command* to despise these, nor consequently ground of *necessity* or *obligation* to go up, only an *intuition* of some things that seemed to be *more excellent*, *exercising* of many admirable *graces*, of *courage*, and *constancy*, and *confession* of a *persecuted Christ*, every of which received lustre from the certain *fore-sight* of his danger, and these, it seems, weighed down the *balance* with him against all the *importunities* of his friends, superadded to the contrary *motives*, and accordingly he *chose* that which was most *noble*, most *excellent*, most *contrary* to *flesh* and *blood*, made not use of that *liberty* which God had given him, and in that respect this is directly *parallel* to the former, that of *refusing* of hire, μὴ καταχρησάμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, he made not use of the power which he had, and so still his נדבה his *voluntary*, *spontaneous* *oblation* of himself even to *martyrdom*, without any *command* or *obligation* for it at this time.

6. *Origen* shall conclude this in his *Books* against *Celsus*, καὶ οὐδ' ἔτι ὁ Χριστιανὸς, ὁ διὰ δειλίαν φέρεται ἄλλα τῶν ἐν πολλῷ τῷ διδασκαλῇ, καὶ ἐξουτὸν φυλάττειν κατὰ δὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ποιομένων τῇ συνέσει.  
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## Sect. 13.

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1. **T**He 3<sup>d</sup> instance was taken from Paul's going up to Jerusalem, Act. 21. when, being told by a Prophet v. 11. that bonds expected him there, he might lawfully have avoided that danger, and gone some other way, and been justified by Mat. 10. 23. and yet in this conjuncture, when he might have abstained, he would yet needs go up, v. 13. and so that was his דבר. Now to this, saith he, the like may be answered, viz. that it was no free-will offering, for though by the general allowance he might have fled, yet if he should have refused to suffer, with the retarding of the Gospel, he had surely sinned.

2. To this answer the reply may be brief, that Paul's not going to Jerusalem at that time, did in no wise imply either his refusing to suffer, or retarding the Gospel: 1. The not going, when he knows, that if he goes, he shall suffer, is not refusing to suffer, it is only the diverting at that time, the not casting himself upon apparent danger, which we find sometimes exemplified by Christ, Mat. 12. 15. upon knowledge of the Pharisees designe to kill him, though sure he never refused to suffer, but esteemed it a prime part of his mission.

3. Upon this occasion it was \* Origen's observation, ἐν δὲ φόβῳ σωμάτων &c., Christ did not this for fear of death, i. e. refusing, or being in the least degree unwilling to suffer, giving thereupon this universal axiome, ἐν ἀγώνεσσι οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐκονομία σωτηρίας τῶν σωζομένων μὴ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπολοῖς χαλεπὴν, 'Tis no degenerate thing to avoid dangers prudently, and not to go among them.

4. And sure it would have been the same in S. Paul who was not obliged to runne into danger here, any more then to go unto the multitude, or into the Theatre, Act. 19. 30, 31. both which when he was willing to have done, he yet abstained from both, upon the intreaty of the disciples, & the Asiarche that were kind to him,

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And accordingly we know at other times he made use of the same liberty, & industriously avoided the persecutors hands. 2 Co. II. 33. 5. And 2. his not going up was no way t<sup>e</sup> retarding the Gospel, only the reserving himself to do Christ more service upon earth, in preaching the Gospel and confirming the Churches; For of this there is no question, that the Gospel might be advanced by his life, as well as by his death, and as it appears in his Epistle to the Philippians, it might be better for the Christians committed to his charge, that he should continue to live and labour among them, and accordingly the pious Christians here besought him that he would not go up, and, I hope, were not guilty of designing treachery to the Gospel in so doing, and to the Disciples, v. 4. who had by the Spirit, i. e. by the gift of prophecy received knowledge of his danger, advised him also. Not that I think the Spirit, either by them, or by Agabus, dissuaded his going, for then it had been an act of obedience to the Spirit, and so of duty not to go, but that the Spirit made known his hazard, which there he should run, leaving it free to him to go, or not to go, and that there were Spiritual reasons on both sides, and for not going, over and above, motives prudential, in regard of his own safety, and no command to despise these, nor consequently ground of necessity or obligation to go up, only an intuition of some things that seemed to be more excellent, exercising of many admirable graces, of courage, and constancy, and confession of a persecuted Christ, every of which received lustre from the certain foresight of his danger, and these, it seems, weighed down the ballance with him against all the importunities of his friends, superadded to the contrary motives, and accordingly he chose that which was most noble, most excellent, most contrary to flesh and blood, made not use of that liberty which God had given him, and in that respect this is directly parallel to the former, that of refusing of hire, καὶ καταρχαίαν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, he made not use of the power which he had, and so still his נדבה his voluntary, spontaneous oblation of himself even to martyrdom, without any command or obligation for it at this time.

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*Though a Christian fly (and yet that is more then not going up here) yet he flies not for cowardise, but observing the commandment of his Master, (and then sure he offends not, much lesse betrays his Master) keeps himself pure, that others may be profited by his preservation, and so still this is not the betraying, but rather advancing of the Gospel.*

7. That there was no such command to S. Paul or others, binding to be bound, beaten, stoned, is here acknowledged by the Diatribist, and from thence I conclude, therefore it had not been sin in him not to go up, when he knew he should be bound, for sin is a breach or transgression of a law. This Diatribist therefore denying it to be a free-will offering, that he chose the danger, when he might have preferred his safety, ought in all reason to have shewed the ground which rendred his going necessary, which having not attempted to do, but only instead of it, affirming, that if he had refused with the retarding of the Gospel, he had surely sinned (which is equivalent to acknowledging that his bare not going to Jerusalem had not been sin, in case it had not been (as certainly it might not have been) to the retarding of the Gospel) tis certain there remains no appearance of reason for his negation, nor consequently of objection or pretence, why this should not be a נִרְבָּה as well as the former, or any thing which is most spontaneous.
8. The vulgar answer of some, that this was an instinct or motion of the Spirit, is not here adhered to by the Diatribist, and therefore I shall not speak to that, being also sure, that no such thing doth here appear in the *Storie*, and therefore must not be supposed, without all proof.

Sect. 14.

The fourth of the more liberal almesgiving. Sadduces and Asidai. Righteousness. Mercy. Paul's advice without command. 2 Cor. 8.2. The Diatribists answer satisfied. Almes the Christians sacrifice in the offertory. Allowance no command. A latitude of degrees in the middle rule. The Apostles direction of giving as God hath prospered. Of the circumstances of giving.

1. THE fourth instance is in the almesgiving or works of mercy where the *quotum* (what proportion of the whole every rich man should set apart for this purpose out of his yearly revenue) being left free, and not particularly defined by God, there is evidently place for voluntary oblations, above that which is under command or necessary, as is set down undeniably in that Tract. §. 32.
2. To what is there said I now adde these two considerations, for the evidencing of it; the first from the very denotation of the names, *Saducæi* and *Asidæi* or *Esseni* among the *Jewes*: A proportion there was of charity and liberality, which was by law required of all, and this was called their צדקה righteousness, and from hence I suppose the Sect of the Sadducees, called *Tsadikan*, first derived their title, they that observed the whole righteousness of the Law, did all that by the Law they were required to do, and so transgress not in this respect, But beside this, there was חסד that which exceeded this necessary proportion ייתרון abundance of goodness or mercy, as hath formerly been said, and from thence the *Esseni* had their title חסידים *Chasidim* or *Asidai*, and they were supposed to have their *ἐκτὸς τῆς νόμου*, their over-measure performances, more then the Law exacted from them, and so that is an example of what I now speak of, the free-will performances of mercy.
3. The Second shall be from S. Pauls language, 2 Cor. 8.2. where speaking of the *Corinthians* equalling the *Macedonians* in liberality to the poor *Jewes*, he gives them no command to do so,

(ὡ καὶ ἐπαγγελίᾳ λέγω, I speak not by way of precept, v.8.) but only his advice or opinion, his γνώμῃ, just as in the case of single life, 1 Cor. 7. 25. ἐπαγγέλλομαι ὡς ἔχω, γινώσκω δὲ διδάσκω, I have no commandment of the Lord, but I give my advice; And if the Corinthians did observe and practise according to this advice, if they did give in proportion to the Macedonians, or (in case they did not) yet still the Macedonians themselves, which certainly were thus exemplarily liberal, and that αὐθαίρετοι of their own accord, v.3. without any obligation of precept lying upon them, and yet farther πρὸς δύναμιν, above what they were well able to do, are again an instance of doing more in this kind, then either all men at all times, or they at this, were obliged to have done, and so this was a נדבה in them.

4. Now to this instance of works of mercy, he first resolves, that it may be answered in part, that it belongs not to the question, which is of worship, not of actions of civil life.] But to this I reply, 1. that an answer in part is no satisfactory answer, and so this professing to be no more, needs not be considered. 2. that the parity of reason holds from one act of Christian performance to another, that if in duties of charity between fellow Christians, there may be an εἰς τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου, somewhat above the commands of the law of Christ, there may also by analogy be the same in matters of Christian worship, there being neither reason nor revelation of Christ's will, not yet of his allowance, to one more than to the other. But then 3<sup>dly</sup> This of works of mercy is generally defined to be, in a Christian performance of it, an act of worship, set in the front of such by Christ, Mat 6. 1. appointed to be exercised on the Lords day (as a work of the day) 1 Cor. 16. 2. and accordingly interpreted by Christ to be done to himself, Mat. 25. 40. and so by S. Paul styled θυσία and δευτέρα θυσία, a sacrifice, an acceptable sacrifice, Phil. 4. 18. Heb. 13. 16. And yet 4. to remove all scruple, I wish that after the custome of the Primitive Apostolick Church, this almes be presented to God, in the offertory at the Sacrament, and then, as it will certainly be a branch of Christian worship, so my instance shall be set particularly to that sort of almes, and it will certainly hold in that, as exactly as in any other.

5. But this imperfect answer being not confided in, he is pleased to  
 add

adde more, 1. That the question is not of a degree of an act of obedience, commanded, as *Almes-giving* is, but of the act it self, if not commanded nor allowed in the speciall nor in the generall. But this answer cannot be of any manner of use to the *Distributist*. For 1. The question being certainly this, Whether *Ceremonies* and *Festivals* in a Church are *criminous*, if they be not commanded by God; and *ceremonies* and *Festivals*, being *gestures* and *times*, and so *circumstances* not acts of worship, 'tis visible that the question is not onely of the act it self. 2. The reason being the same of *circumstances* and of *degrees*, of one *accessorie* and of another, it follows, that if *uncommanded degrees*, may be *lawfull*, *uncommanded circumstances* must be *lawfull* also. 3. Though *almes-giving* in general be commanded, yet as long as the *degrees* be *uncommanded*, the argument from the *lawfulness* of those *degrees* will hold to the justifying of *Ceremonies* or *Festivals*, because as *almes-giving* is commanded, so *praying* to, and *praising* of God is commanded also, and these *ceremonies* and *Festivals* are as visibly *circumstances* of *prayer* and *praising* as these *degrees* are of *almes-giving*. Nay 4. To take away all possibility that this answer should be usefull to him, the instance which I set of *almes-giving* is of an *uncommanded act*, for supposing the utmost degree of the *uncommanded merey* to be oncedefined and determined, and suppose me to exceed that proportion in *giving*, 'tis evident that that exceeding is an act first, and then an *uncommanded act*; an act, for so is every exercise or work of *mercy*, and this *giving* is such an exercise; and an *uncommanded act*, for so is all which is not under precept, and so this is supposed to be, and herein it is perfectly answerable to the *free-will offering* among the *Jews*; *Sacrifice* or offering was a determined and commanded duty, and every exercise of that, above what was commanded, was a *freewill oblation*, and as such accepted by God; and so it is here.

6. As for his *cautious restriction* added in the close of that answer, which pretends that the question is of such acts, which as they are not commanded, so neither are they allowed in special or in general, he must needs know that this is an imposing on the reader; For 1. The question being of the *lawfulness* of *uncommanded acts*, and allowance, whether general or special, being yet no command, for no man is bound to do all that he is allowed to do; tis evident that



that the *acknowledging* the *lawfulness* of *allowed* acts, as they must needs be *lawfull*, if they be *allowed*, is the *acknowledging* the *lawfulness* of some *uncommanded* acts; for such are they which are no more then *allowed*.

7. 2. For the clearing of this, I shall offer the *Diatribist* this *Dilemma*; Are these *high* but *uncommanded* degrees of *mercy* *allowed* either in *general* or *special* now under the *Gospel*, or are they not? If they are *not*, then this *cautionary* clause was very *impertinently* added, and my *instance*, though it proceeded of *degrees* which are *not* thus *allowed*, yet proceeding of *degrees* which are *not* *commanded*, was a *valid* instance. But if they are *allowed*, as I suppose by his *caution* he will affirm, why then, it seems, there is either *general* or *special* allowance still under the *Gospel* for *uncommanded* acts, and then there is as much for them under *Christ*, as there was under *Moses* for *freewill offerings*, and so the *Leviticalness* of the *freewill offerings* consisted not in this, that they were thus *allowed*, and then this was no part of that *Levitical Law*, nor consequently of that which was *abolished*, as \* before he had affirmed, and so the *Diatribist's* whole scheme is demolished, or rather *fallen asunder* of its own accord, as all *infirm* *fabricks* are apt to do.

\* p. 91.

8. What followes in the 2<sup>d</sup> place, as if it were an *answer* to the *instance*, is but an *attempt* or two of the *Diatribist's*, out of my words to gain some *advantage*, and thereby to *conclude* that there is some *middle rule* that *binds* men so, as that *whatsoever* is *more* or *less* then that, *offends* either by way of *excess* or *defect*.] But both this and all the other *artifices* were exactly *prevented* in the manner of my setting of the *instance*, of a *proportion* exceeding that, whatever it is, which can be defined our *duty*, and yet not *offending* against any other *ingagement* of the *givers*. For if that which is done be *more* then that which we are any way *bound* to, 'tis *impossible* it should *transgress* in the *defect*; and yet being no way *forbidden* to give so *much*, not being *guilty* of *neglecting* any other part of *duty* incumbent on us, 'tis on the other side as *impossible* that there should be any *excess*. Nay there being, in the *New Testament*, a *visible* allowance, of *selling* all and *giving* to the *poor*, of *laying* that all at the *Apostles* feet, and S<sup>t</sup> Paul commending the *Macedonians* who had been *audacious*  
imp.

ὁμῶς δὲναται, willingly liberal above their power, 1 Cor. 8. 3. and the like, our greatest liberalities, if they be prudently ordered and seasonably placed (and there is no necessity, that he that is most liberal or merciful should be a fool) are competently secured from offending on that side.

9. And therefore the Diatribist that from the possibility of falling into extremes, was willing to collect a middle rule, and from thence a debt, should in any reason have assigned that rule, and produced his authority for it in the New Testament, and then the weakness of his answer would soon have been visible. For I should immediately have assigned some proportion exceeding that middle, and made my instance of that, and so have proceeded as formerly. But the truth is, such a middle cannot be produced; And if it cannot, then is this an evident proof, that there are no such middle points quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum, the variation from which is always criminous; Nay if it were not simply impossible, and yet cannot easily be done by every man for himself, or by the teacher for all, then still it is evident that this obligation is not universally revealed, & so no duty universally obligatorie; and then my instance shall be set to such a person, to whom it is not obligatory.
10. But, as I said, there is no ground in the Gospel for defining or determining the middle rule, which constitutes a debt. The truth is, that this middle rule consists not in any indivisible point, but in a latitude, wherein there are many degrees, but all within the rule of allowance, though not all within the rule of precept, he that observes the duty in any degree of the latitude, doth well (for if not, then that was too great parsimonie, and so no observation but a breach of the rule) and he that goes yet farther, but not beyond the latitude, doth better, for so he must, unless he go too far, which if he do, then he is prodigal, and that is a breach of the rule again on the other side.
11. By this it appears, that as there is allowance not onely for some one point, but for every degree within the latitude, so every degree of that latitude doth not bind every man, so as to make that degree a debt or duty in that man; No nor the general rule of giving according to God's prospering them (the onely thing which the Diatribist hath still behind) For besides that that rule, 1 Cor. 16. 1. seems to have a propriety to that particular time in consideration

sideration of the *great distress* and *famine* in *Judea*, and consequently is not a *rule* for *all other times*; Besides this, I say, it is manifest, that they which do *observe* that *rule*, i. e. offend not in the *defect* against it, may yet be able to *exceed* the *proportion*, which that *rule* strictly *required*, and then not only do *well* (as they must, if they offend not against any *other rule*) but also do *better*, for such must all that be, which is *more* then *well*, and yet *degenerates* not into *ill*.

12. For suppose a man, in desire to *observe* that *rule* of *giving* as *God* hath prospered him, to give the *tenth* of his *profits* *weekly* or *yearly*, and suppose him to do *well* in so doing, i. e. not to offend against the *rule*, as it is set and meant by *S' Paul*, or if the *tenth* be not a fit *proportion*, let any other be *assigned* which is fit, and then suppose that man yet to give *more*, so that still he offend not against any *other precept* by *excessive* giving, and then you have the *instance* of the *נרבה* the *uncommanded* yet *acceptable* work of *mercy*, still the same, as formerly, though somewhat *more explicitly* set, and so a *more manifest* evidence, that nothing is by this *Diatribist* (I may say, *can be*) produced as a *valid exception* or *objection* against it.
13. For as to that of the *circumstances* of *time* and *place* and *persons* in regard of the *necessities* of the *poor*, the case which I set is not capable of those *considerations*, my *instance* being not laid in any *particular almes*, terminated in a *particular person* (though that also would admit of a *latitude*, I might give as *much* as were my *duty* to that *particular person*, and then I might exceed that, give *more* to him, and that would be my *נרבה*) but in a *weekly* or *yearly consecration* or setting apart of some more *liberall* proportion for *pious* and *charitable uses*, not *foreseeing* particularly what they are, and withall not *restraining* my self from giving *more*, if *objects* offer themselves to my *charity*, above what my *affignation* will extend to. This setting the case evidently prevents all those *difficulties* arising from *circumstance* of *time* and *place* and *persons* by remaining absolutely loose and *abstract* from all these, and thus the case was (and is to be) set, and will not doubt to secure it self from all *objections* by this means.

Sect. 6.

*The fifth instance vindicated. Circumstances of Prayer acknowledged free. Difference between placing worship in gestures, &c. and pleasing God by them. So in Festivals,*

1. **M**Y fifth instance was in *secret prayer*, 1. of the adjoining bodily worship to it, any such as is most *humble*, and yet not under command, as *prostration* &c: 2. of the frequency of it, *seven times a day*, with *David*, or some other proportion above that which is by the *evangelical law* supposeable to be required of us. To this he answers briefly, that *Prayer indeed is a worship of God*, but for the manner, gestures, times, frequency, they are not properly worship, but circumstances, rites, &c. left to the liberty of every person, and so though free, not parts of worship.
2. This answer is very brief indeed, but needed not to have been larger, being in these few words a yielding of the whole cause; For is it not evident, that if gestures and times be free, then ceremonies and Festivals are so too, and if they are, then are they lawful at once and uncommanded, for freedom comprehends both those being free to be done and so lawful, free to be left undone, and so uncommanded. I need add no more, sure, of that.
3. What follows in that S. is on purpose designed to involve this plain matter, and reduce it into an intricacy: And the way to do it is to confound or shuffle together, these two things, placing the worship of God in them, and pleasing God by them. But to this I answer, that these are two distant things, and so in all reason to be severed. He that justifies or defends the use of the humblest gestures in the service of God, and affirms them to be more acceptable to God, then either the lesse humble gestures, or those which have no humility at all in them, doth not yet place worship in them but willingly acknowledges that God may be worshipt without them.
4. So he again that undertakes the defending of other Festivals annually commemorative of the birth and ascension of Christ, &c. beside the weekly commemoration of the resurrection, and affirms it to be acceptable to God that we observe these also, and that the thankful pious observation thereof is more acceptable to God

God then the *contrary* whether *negligence* or *contumacy*, doth not yet place the *worship* of God in these *Festivals*, but in the *prayer* and *thanksgiving* which are offered to God in those *Festivals*. And the same will certainly hold in all other *particulars*, to which either the *Treatises* arraigned by this *Diatribist*, or this *defence* have attempted to *extend* it. Such are the *frequent, daily*, and *constant* *houres* of *prayer*, either *publick*, or *private*, supposing as still I do, that they do not *interfere* with, or *supplant* any other *duty*. or run out all into *formality*, &c.

5. Of this last *frequency* of *Prayer*, he would fain perswade us that it is not a *נדרבה* (but a *debt*) and to that end tells us first of *pray continually*, that the *scope* of it is to *command* *frequent* *prayer* *every day*, and 2. that it hath *respect* to the *frequent* *occasions* and *necessities* of *men* *every day*, and so *bindes* to *pray* as oft as *need* shall be, with *ejaculatory* *prayers* at least. And yet in the *midst* of this, speaking of the *particular* *number* of 7 times a *day*, he is content to acknowledge it true what I say, *i.e.* that it is *no debt*. And if so, then is that all that I contend for, supposing a man to *pray* as oft as that *precept* [*Pray continually*] obligeth, & withal to use *ejaculatory* *prayers* as *need* shall be, and yet farther to have more *frequent* *daily* *returns* to the *solemn* performance of that *duty*, then that *precept* is pretended to *require*, then still this is under no *precept*, and yet no doubt *acceptable*, and so still as exact a *נדרבה* as could be pitcht on.

### Sect. 7.

*Of the difference betwixt a precept and a grace. The proportionable return to grace is in a latitude. The highest no excess. A possibility for grace to be given in vain.*

1. **H**IS next branch of discourse is designed to discover my *mistake* in making the difference so great betwixt a *precept* and a *grace*. And my setting down of that difference consisting of many *degrees*, of which each *superaddes* to the former, and not any one single, but all taken together are a perfect *staring* of it, the *Reader* is desired to review the whole matter §.39. and by so doing he will soon finde that every of the *Diatribists* *objections* to the former

former degrees, was perfectly prevented and answered in the following, save only the last of them, and therefore that only remains to be now examined.

2. The objection is p. 103. that *sure as grace it self, so any measure or degree of grace being a talent also, requires a proportionable return to that degree, as to whom more is given, of him is more required.* But to this also my answer hath formerly been intimated, viz. that as in the middle rule of almes-giving there is a latitude, so herein the proportionable return to any degree of grace, this proportionable return is not so placed in any indivisible point, that as he that comes short of that point offends in the defect, so the exceeding that point in the least degree shall be an offence also, but, as I said, in a latitude, wherein there may still be a variation, and yet all the degrees of that within the latitude.

And therefore as it may be true of two men that have the same grace in specie, that both may use it well, and yet one make better use of it then another, so it is supposeable of the same degree of the same grace, for though to that degree of grace, there be some degree also of return proportioned, that who so fails in that, offends by defect, yet it doth not follow from thence, that whoso exceeds that *minimum quod sic*, that least degree that was proportionable, shall presently offend by way of excessse, but indeed the contrary will be most visible, that he that thus exceeds is more acceptable and more highly rewardable.

3. He that had *ten talents* intrusted to him to occupy withal, and having gained other *ten*, was accepted and rewarded, had he been yet more industrious, and brought in his Master more profit, gained *eleven* or *twelve talents* by those *ten*, tis not imaginable but this would have been acceptable also to his Lord, and yet more highly rewardable.
4. Paul laboured more abundantly then all the Apostles, and this by the grace of God that was in him, and by some eminent measure of that grace, and supposing that measure to have been no greater in him then it was either in John or Peter, yet would this certainly have been accepted by God, and more richly rewarded, and not used like the giants on Procrustis his bed. all the exuberance cut off and cast away, I mean required to come down to that lower degree of return, which either of those other disciples did make, or



to lose his reward of that higher degree. And so this is full answer to all his exceptions against the difference by me assigned between Precept and Grace.

6. As for his incidental wonder at my expression when I said [ it is the designe of grace only to strengthen and incline, which he that makes use of as he should, is promised a reward ] upon which he cries out, *This is strange divinity, doth God give grace only to strengthen and incline, and leave men free to use it or not to use it? so grace might be given in vain.* To this I briefly answer, 1. from the words of Scripture, Heb. 12.28. that men are exhorted to have grace, i. e. I suppose to make use of it; as when to him that hath, Christ promiseth it shall be given, and he shall have abundance, tis evident it signifies, to him that makes use of the grace which he hath, and certainly that exhortation were in vain, if the contrary were not possible, and so likewise when he which hath not (makes not due use of it) is threatened with the *auferetur, & ejicietur*, taking away from him his talent, and casting him into utter darknesse, sure tis supposed possible, that some man may not make use of his talent, or else these threatenings must be in vain, or men both deprived and cast out without any demerit.
7. Again, doth not the Apostle exhort, that we receive not the grace of God in vain, that we grieve not, quench not (as elsewhere there is mention of resisting) the Spirit? Doth he not tell us of some that did abuse the grace of God unto wantonnesse? and can none of these be done? Is it not possible, through our own corruption and sinful negligence and default, to resist, to grieve, to quench the spirit, be it of prayer, of faith, of charity &c. to abuse it to wantonnesse, or not to use it through idlenesse? What then is the meaning of laying up the talent in the napkin, that was for punishment? Did not he receive the talent, the grace in vain?
8. But as generally it falls out, that those that reprehend this kind of Divinity most demurely, if they be a while observed, need no other evidence to confute them but what their own words will yield us they that leave nothing to mans will, do yet often exhort and reprehend men, which must certainly be vain and ridiculous, unless they that are exhorted be in some possibility by Gods grace to do what they are exhorted to do, and they that are reprehended

in the same possibility to have done otherwise; so hath it happened to this *Diatribist*; He that just now thought the *Divinity* so strange, that *grace* might be given in vain, adds in the very next words that *S. Matthew* saith, *take him and cast him into utter darkness for not using his talent*, which certainly is that identical strange thing, with *grace being given him in vain*, as to all fruit, or use he made of that *grace*. And in the very next words again he adds, *Is he not threatened with loss of his talent for not using it?*

9. But tis possible the *strange divinity* here censured, may have been somewhat else, not my supposing that it was left *physically* free or possible for man to use or not to use *grace*, but that it was *morally* free, i. e. *lawful*, or that which included no *sin*, and then *Gods not giving of grace in vain*, must be his not giving it so as that it shall be no *sin* not to use it; And if that be his meaning, then, as his expressions were very *strange*, much more then my *divinity*, so *strange* that I, whose *divinity* it was, could not understand it, as it was thus *disguised* by him, (for who would say that to give *grace* without any designe of laying obligation *sub periculo anime* to make use of it, were to give *grace in vain*? Is there no other possible use of *grace* but to condemn them, and render them *unexcusable*? this indeed is another branch of no very old *Divinity*, though these daies have not made it *strange* with some men) so I suppose I have already given answer to this in the former part of this §. and must not now so soon repeat it.
10. The short is, though *grace* bring obligation with it, and that to some return proportionable to that *grace*, yet still this proportionable return consists in a latitude, which hath several degrees in it, and as the lowest of these are under obligation, so the superior are not, but yet such as will be accepted and rewarded by God, to him that arrives to them. And so much for that of the difference between the *grace* and precept, which he thought would have yielded him so great advantage.

## Sect. 8.

*My answer to a first head of objections vindicated. Prudence lost by mans own sin recoverable by grace. The punishments of Adams sin are not our faults. Perfection of innocence capable of degrees. So perfection of the Judaical law, and of the Christian. So mercifulness to ability. ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀντιπαρὸς 2 Cor. 8.3. Merciful as God is merciful belongs not to the degree. Gods righteousness punishes not where there is no law. Intuition of reward in Christian performances, no Popery. Proofs of this from Scripture, from the nature of Hope, Faith, Gratitude. Not alwayes prudent to undertake the highest. Martyrdome no conceited Popish perfection, yet under no precept to all. S. Hierons words examined. Two notions of the word Perfection. Some perfection possible in this life, and yet capable of growth. The law, as it signifies the condition of the first Covenant, is not now in force with believers. Of Christs perfecting the law. Every man is not bound to do what is best. 1 Cor. 7.3.8. κατὰς πρὸν of moral good. The saying of Gregory explicated.*

1. **W**Hat remains now in that Treat of *Will-worship*, was by me added for the preventing of mistakes; To which end three heads of objections I propoed, the first arising from the obligation that prudence seems to lay upon us to do alwayes that which is fittest and best, the second from the general precept of loving the Lord with all the heart, &c. the third from the seeming favourableness of our doctrine to the Romanists works of supererogation, &c to each of these I gave particular answers, which must be viewed in that Treat from S. 40. to the end. And to these answers, what he now opposes, I shall now examine ἀντιπρὸς.

2. And first, saith he, *Every man is bound to be prudent to that degree of prudence which he lost by sin.* To this I answer, that if he speak of the mans own actual sins, whereby he hath any way

way *infatuated* himself, there is then truth in his affirmation; but tis not applicable to the matter in hand, *viz.* to such an high degree of *prudence* as now I speak of, for of that he may come short, without any degree of *actual sin* as shall thus *infatuate* and deprive him of *prudence*; and besides, speaking, as I do, of a *pious, merciful*, and so of a *regenerate man*, I may suppose him by the *enlightning* wise Spirit of God returned to that state of *prudence* from which his own *actual sins* may have degraded him, &c in case he be so, then, as he is as *prudent* as by this rule of the *Diatribists* thus understood he is bound to be, so certainly he is yet capable of *growing* in that, as in other *graces*, and so of being yet *more prudent*, and if he do so, and thereby obey that *exhortation* of *S. Peters*, *Grow in grace and in the knowledge*— he is still free from sin in this respect, though he have not yet arrived to the highest degree of *prudence* that *humane*, but *last nature* is capable of.

3. But if by *sin* he means not *actual* but *original sin*, and so thinks that every man is bound to be *prudent* to that degree of *prudence* that *Adam* lost by his fall, this sure will be found to be a *mistake*; For this loss of *Adams* was a *punishment* of *Adams sin*, and when it is inflicted by God on his posterity, must be lookt on as a *punishment*, and he that is *punish* cannot be obliged *not* to be *punish*. No man is now obliged to be as *prudent* as *Adam* was in his *integrity* any more then to be as *healthy*, i. e. in effect to be *immortal*. Nay supposing *Adam* to have *sinned*, and so to have *transgressed* the *Law* in that, it cannot be imagined, that it is over and above that, a *new* or *farther* act of *sin* in him to be *lesse knowing, prudent, or healthy*, then he was; all these, without any new act of his *will*, nay contrary thereto, falling upon him by *Gods decree* or *punitive justice*; and if it were not *sin* in *Adam* himself, then sure it cannot be such in his *posterity*, and so a man now, one of his *posterity*, cannot be bound to that degree of *prudence* which *Adam* once had, any more then to be *born* in the state of *innocence* and *perfection*, when yet he is necessarily supposed to be *born* after the *image* of the *last imperfect Adam*, which he could not be, if he were born in this *perfection*.

4. And when in the same place he adds, that every man is bound to be *pious* in the highest degree, proving it by this, that the *law requires*

perfection of holiness, and the Gospel (saith the Doctor) yet greater perfection, and every man is bound to be merciful to his ability, as our heavenly Father is merciful (which sure is the highest degree) this is but an heap of *paralogismes*, no one of the proofs belonging to the highest degree of piety or mercy, which was the one thing which was to be inferred from them.

5. For 1. the perfection of holiness which the law required, was but either sincere and upright, or at the most but unfinning obedience, and neither of those includes the highest degree of piety, which is possible.
6. If by the law be meant the Covenant made with Adam in innocence, then indeed tis true that the perfection which that required was unfinning obedience, and if Adam had performed that, tis yet evident that he had been capable of higher degrees of piety than that law required, there being in unfinning obedience, a latitude, and so many degrees, of which the lowest denominates it unfinning, and so perfect in that sense, and all the superior degrees are additions, and to each of those highest the Law cannot be thought to binde when it is satisfied with the lowest.
7. This will be plain by the instances formerly given of frequency in prayer &c. wherein it is visible that Adam in innocence might have exceeded any proportion which Gods law will be supposed to have required of him; And in a word, if Adam had never sinned, yet might his state have been a state of proficiency, by which it is evident that the perfection required of him was not the highest degree of piety, for then he had sinned by any lower, and so innocence and growth in him had been incompatible; Beside, there is no reason to doubt but that Adam and his posterity should have been rewarded according to their works, and so have been capable of different degrees of rewards; in case they had continued in innocence, which yet had been impossible if every man had been bound to be pious in the highest degree, and had sinned as oft as he did not arrive to it.
8. But this is but speculation; & by the law I rather suppose he meant the law of the Jews, & then the perfection of holiness which that required must, I suppose, signify truth & sincerity of holiness, such as was in Zac. Lu. 1. 6. & in respect of which he was said to be just & blameless in all the Commandments of the Lord—Now tis as certain that

this

this perfection is as capable of degrees also, and that all that are thus perfect, are not yet so in the highest, or in the same degree, Tis certain Zachary and Elizabeth were both thus perfect, but no way probable that they were arrived just to the same degree of it, one might very reasonably be deemed to excell the other.

9. This may appear of the Judaical Law by that which we have oft cited out of the Law, that there was one degree of mercy which was called צדקה their righteousness, that to which they were obliged by the Law; another styled רחמים abundance or excellence of goodness, *χρηστότης, ἀγαθότης*, w<sup>ch</sup> the Law did not command, *sub periculo animæ*, require or exact from them; This is so plain I need say no more of it.
- 10 Secondly, That greater perfection, which Christ required, is yet but a higher degree of the same perfection, but not the highest that is possible; Suppose there be eight degrees as of heat in nature, so of zeal or piety, or perfection, and suppose a Jew required to have so many of them as would denominate him perfect, i.e. at least five of them, and a Christian to have more then a Jew, suppose six, yet 'tis visible that he that hath all that is required of a Christian, is yet capable of having more, then is so required, viz. seven, & yet not to arrive to the highest that is possible, i.e. to the 8. degree
11. But beside this, there is in every such degree a latitude also, and in it as it were fractions, of each degree (and all this subdivision little enough to bear proportion with the great difference of the works of pious men here, or with the difference of the degrees of their glory hereafter) and he that hath the lowest fraction of the sixth degree, hath the sixth degree, but not in so high a measure, as he that attaineth to an higher, viz. to the seventh degree, or to another fraction of the sixth, and so 'tis evident in the hypothesis or application, that every Christian may be obliged to exceed a Jew in piety, mercy &c. and yet nothing hinder but that one Christian may exceed another in every of these.
12. Thirdly, Though every man be bound to be mercifull to his ability, yet 1. That mercifulness which is according to ability is not placed in any indivisible point; Two men that have the same abilities, and the same opportunity and occasion requiring mercy from them, may very lawfully give or be merciful one more then another; For supposing any summe that in all those circumstances both are bound to give, yet certainly one may lawfully exceed that summe.



summe give more then he was thus obliged, and yet not do beyond his ability; and 2. In case he do yet give more, even beyond his ability, i. e. deny himself lawfull enjoyments on purpose to inable himself for this higher liberality, yet sure this will not be *sinfull* in him, but on the contrary more acceptable and commendable, as it was in the *Macedonians*; of whom *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* testifies that they were *ὡμῆς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδραγαθῶς* thus liberall of their own accord beyond their power, and as such are proposed for an example to the *Corinthians*, 2 Cor. 8. 3.

13. Lastly, The precept of being mercifull as our heavenly Father is mercifull, is not (the *Diatribist* well knows) applicable to the degree of mercy which is in God, for finite creatures cannot attain to that but onely to the kind of it, mercy to enemies as well as friends, and so could not with any colour be brought for a proof of his objection. And indeed after all this the *Diatribist* hath let fall a few words in the close of this 4<sup>th</sup> §. which shew he had no belief in the force of it, For having set the case so as is the most for his advantage that he could wish, all circumstances so concurring that a man should be bound to give so much as will supply anothers wants, and to give less were neither prudent nor pious, yet he dares not pronounce it an offence against either of those virtues, to go beyond this, but breaks off abruptly with these words [whatever it were to give more] From which in confidence of his I shall not doubt to infer, that in that very case, so clothed with all those circumstances, he cannot deny, but that as I am bound to supply his present wants, so I may make provision also against his future necessities, and be far from sinning, do that which is more acceptable to God in so doing.

14. His next return to a 2<sup>d</sup> degree of my answer, is taken from his old Topick, of virtues consisting in a middle point between two extremes, from which if it swerve to either extreme it is a fault though not observed, perhaps observable by men, yet justly punishable by a righteous God. But to this though much might be said afresh, from the consideration of that righteousness of God, which doth not use to punish those facts which have no Law observable by man to forbid them, but first shews men his will, and what is good, and then requires obedience to it, yet because so much hath already been said both to that of all virtues being placed

placed in the *middle*, and to the *latitude* and not *indivisible point* of that *middle*, I shall not now give farther *reply* to that; Any more then to the next branch of it, of *prudence* in our *created nature*, requiring to do what was *fittest*, for to that I have spoken already in this §.

15. Under this head of *prudence*, one farther degree of *objection*, I foresaw, *viz.* that *Prudence* knowing the greatest perfection to be most gloriously rewarded, would bind a man to aspire to perfection, and not to content himself with any thing but the best. Upon the first sight of these words the *Diatribist* is startled, and disclaims making any such *objection*. But to this I answer, that he well knows I had no *intelligence* with him, and consequently could not *divine* his pleasure, but as well as I could proposed all *objections* I foresaw possible from him, or any man else, of the most different persuasions.
16. But then till he shall please to propose other which have more force in them (as all this while he hath not proposed any, but such as those from the 2<sup>d</sup> Commandment) I might expect that this my *service* should not be so very ill interpreted and fastidiously cast off; with a [ *we should not have framed such an objection.* ]
17. The crime which was thus to be averted, was it seems, a *leaven* of *Popery*, in those words wherein I had proposed the *objection*; And 1. If it were so indeed, I wonder, what error I had committed, or why *Papists* may not be permitted to make *objections*, or how the *Diatribist* came to have the *monopoly* of making them. But then 2. What was the *suspicious phrase* which I had used? Why forsooth, that I mentioned *glorious rewarding*, *This*, saith he, *seems at first sight to touch upon the mercenary and mercitorious way of Romanists.*
18. This is not to the business in hand, yet I cannot but make some stay, and behold this *rarity*. For 1. Is the *mercenary way* all one with the *Romanists doctrine of merits*? If it be, it is to be feared, that *David* was a *Romanist*, for certainly he affirms it of *God*, that he rewardeth every man according to his works, even when he deprecates the *mercy* and *free grace* of *God*, and makes this the prime evidence of it that he thus rewards men. Nay what is *Christ* when he minds them of their great reward in heaven that suffer for him, *Mat. 5. 12.* That give, and pray in secret, *Mat.*

*Mat. 6. 2. 5. of a prophets reward and a righteous mans reward, Mat. 10. 41. and of St. Paul of such works peculiarly as were not under precepts, 1 Cor. 9. 18. and a multitude of the like nature every where in the Scripture? Is not this reward, merces, and is not all that obedience which is performed in intension of the glory which shall be revealed, this very mercenary way? and being so, is it presently the meritorious way of the Romanists; Is there not merces ex pacto, reward by the tenure of Christs promise, as well as merit either of congruity or condignity; and is it as unlawfull to look at and expect the performance of Gods promise, as to challenge heaven as the merit of our works?*

19. Again, hath not *Christ* proposed his rewards on purpose to allure us to come unto him? and is it not lawfull for us to come that very way which *God* hath called us? Is not hope a Gospel grace, and such as sets us a purifying, 1 *Joh. 3. 3.* and is not the future reward the object of that hope, and so that which regularly sets a *Christian* about his work? Nay is not that Faith which justifies, in this *Diatribist's* opinion, the belief of the promises? and may not a *Christian* then look at those promises, which yet he must believe?
20. But, saith he, he must first look on the commands of God, and beauty of holiness, and seek that first for its self, and by and by, it is but carnal prudence, advising onely or first to look at the perfection of glory. But to this I answer, 1. That the forme of my objection was not such as supposed prudence to look either onely or first on glory, but on the greatest perfection (of virtue here) as the way to the most glorious reward (hereafter) And therefore to insert the word [onely] was that to which he had no kind of temptation.
21. Nay for the priority of order, looking first on the reward, it is visible that I had not given the least intimation of it, but contrariwise I had said distinctly, that prudence would advise to aspire to perfection, and to the best, meaning evidently the perfection of virtue (not of glory) to which the most glorious reward was proportioned. And yet after all this, suppose I had spoken of some man (in my objection) who looks first at the perfection of glory, and in order to that last end, pursues virtue as the one way to it, could he justly say this were carnal prudence in him and sinfull?

The

21. The beauty of holyness is a thing seldom discerned but by the experience and practice of it, and in that case sure there is need of promises to excite and attract to that practice (yea and of terrors to drive) and the Gospel makes use of both these, and so doth Faith, which is the Spiritual, not carnal prudence. And indeed, if the beauty of holyness may first be lookt on, and that is one promise, but that a lesse perfect one and to be enjoyed in this life, then why may not the τελειωσις or eternal reward, which is also the beauty of holyness, and that a perfect beauty, a purity from sin, as well as immunity from burthens and miseries, a wiping away spots, as well as tears, be first lookt on also.
22. Briefly I shall demand of the Diatribist, whether gratitude in a regenerate man who hath received from Christ the great benefits of election and redemption and justification, may not be allowed to incite and stir up duty? If it may, I demand again, whether the reward decreed to him in his election be not lookt on by him, and whether that do not excite this gratitude? If it do, whether this be a carnal gratitude, and the mercenary way of the Romanists?
23. But I must not allow my self farther to expatiate on such digressions: The Diatribists divinity in this point is but suitable to what formerly he gave us a taste of, in the passage of slavish fear, and both together are exemplified to us by the woman that went about the city with a firebrand in one hand, and a bason of water in the other, saying, that one was to burn up heaven, and the other to quench the fire of hell, that neither hope nor fear, promises, nor terrors might have the least influence on her, but pure ethereal love do the whole work. And all that I shall need adde, is only this, that still there is an heaven and hell in Scripture (and all duty is not quite rarified and converted into this love) and many good Christians there are, which make use of both these, and offend against no precept of Christ in doing so.
24. But I have at large handled this point of looking at the promises in our obedience, not only in a Sermon on 1 Cor. 7. 1. but more punctually in an addition to the Pract. Catech. now in the Press, p. 416. &c. and so shall not here any farther enlarge upon it.
25. My answers there to the forementioned objection are fitter for

the *Diarribist* to combat with. I proceed therefore to consider what replies he makes to them.

26. To my first answer, which was this, *That though prudence doth advise to this of aspiring to perfection, yet doth it not lay any command, so as not to obey it will be presently sinful*] (a thing which had oft been proved formerly, by the example of *S. Pauls* advises when he had no commands, for sure *Prudence* may well imitate *S. Paul* herein, and do so too) To this I say, he replies by bare affirming but not proving or offering the least proof for the contrary, only when he mentions the perfection of virtue, he adds [*required by the commands of God*] as if the highest degree of virtue were under command, which he knowes is the thing which through this whole debate is denied by me, and the proofs and reasons of my denying it given at large, and then what a begging of the question is it to affirm it here, without any tender or overture of probation?
27. To my second answer then, which was by considering the want of strength in some men, which makes it not prudent in them to undertake the steep way of the greatest perfection, founded in the words of *Christ*, *He that can receive it, let him receive it.*] He replies by asking what perfection I mean which will be dangerous to undertake as a steep way? that which is required in the commandments of the Law and Gospel? I answer, twere a contradiction and madness in me, when I speak of perfection, which is not under command, to mean that which is required in the commandments. It is certain I mean uncommanded degrees of virtue, the undertaking those courses be it of virginity, austerities, abundant labourings, Martyrdoms it self, when either I am not competently furnished with strength from God for the going through with them, or have not any reason to perswade my self that I shall be so furnished. Forthen, if indeed I have not strength, the very undertaking such heights may prove treacherous and precipitious to me. And that this is my meaning, he at last takes notice, and fills his margins with proofs of it, both from this, and from another *Tract*, and when he hath taken all that pains to finde out my meaning (which I profess to be it, and thought it had been obvious to any man before) he fairly takes his leave of it again, hath nothing to say to it, but returns to that perfection of holyness

*holiness* which, saith he, *is the duty of all*, and all that I need return to him, is this, that if it be so, it is not that perfection I speak of *viz. virginity, &c.* for that, I hope is not every mans duty, but at the utmost his, who *can receive it*.

28. This he is resolved not to take notice of, and accordingly proceeds, and when I say, that *even the precept of God may sometimes interpose and make it unlawful for us to aspire to the most perfect state* ( meaning evidently *virginity, martyrdom, &c.* ) he saith *this is as strange* ( and again in the rear, by way of exclamation, *What strange divinity is this !* ) demanding *whether Gods precepts cross one another* — when he cannot but see that *my whole discourse and process* is founded in the supposition of that *evident truth*, that these states of *perfection* are not under any precept of Gods, and so that the precept which shall cross the *undertaking* of them, is far from *crossing any precept of God*.

29. After this repeated exclamation and wonderment, he is content at length, as he saith, to *hear me speak and explain my self*. And my explanation being by supposition of a duty of our *calling* *awaiting us on the one side, and an opportunity of martyrdom* on the other, and that exemplified by S. Cyprian's case, that then *obedience* is better than the *richest sacrifice* ] here he findes place for *triumph and ovation*. By this is evident, saith he, *he means not perfection of holiness according to the commandments of God, but a conceited perfection of martyrdom, as Papists do*.

30. That I who speak through that whole *Traict of uncommanded acts*, should not mean that *perfection* which is according to ( as that signifies *required by* ) the *Commandments of God*, is too evident to be any *special evynna or discovery* at this time now toward the *conclusion* of his view of that *Discourse*. Of that therefore he hath my *free confession* ; But if by *perfection according to the Commandments* he will allow me to mean ( as the words literally import ) that *sort and degree of perfection* which the *Commandments of the Gospel* allow of very well, though they *require* it not of every man, or lay it under *precept*, then I shall not doubt to approve the *perfection* which I instance in, *viz. that of martyrdom*, to be such, ( unless when some discharge of known duty or yet *greater good* calls us another way ) and if this be the doctrine of *Papists*, I hope yet that all *Protestants* are not therefore bound to *disclaim*



it, I never heard that our *old English reformation*, which I thought had been sealed by the blood of many *martyrs*, had lookt on *martyrdome* as a *conceited Popish perfection*, And if this be the *privilege* of the present *deformation* to exclude *martyrdome* out of the catalogue of *virtues*, as the *Martyrs* and *Saints* out of our *Calendars*, if this *Diatribist* be now one of that *Triumphant Church*, which hath thrown all *cross* from their *shoulders*, and disclaimed all *pretensions* to this *conceited perfection*, and resolved all to be *Papists* which shall thus *communicate* with the *sufferings* of *Christ*, and observe this *conformity* with the *image* of *Gods son*, *Rom. 8.* I shall only tell him that I shall be very well pleased to be *guilty* of this piece of *Popery*; and to suffer from this sword of the *tongue* till *God* please to call me to any higher *trials*: Mean while when the *Apostle* and the *Church* which hath transcribed his *style*, have used the phrase *πληῖσιν διὰ παθημάτων* being perfected by *sufferings*, and called *martyrdome* *πλειωσις* perfection, I cannot retract that *style*, what *envy* soever fall on me for the using it.

31. What now follows in pursuit of this matter, Does God call all men at all times to *martyrdome*? Is there any command for all men to be *martyred* &c.] is directly the evincing my assertion against himself, for upon that very foundation it is that I *superstruct*, therefore *Martyrdome* which is the highest degree of perfection, is not under any command, *Quod erat demonstrandum.*
32. In my third answer, which was, that perfection here had degrees in it, and consequently supposing men bound to be perfect, *Mar. 5. 48.* yet it follows not that they are bound to the highest degree of perfection) his answer is, he will grant this, and yet deny my voluntary oblations still,] But how can that be, when that higher degree of perfection is supposed to be under no precept, and so to be free, and so when arrived to, a voluntary oblation? But his grant, it seems was only conditional, for it follows in his words [For we say there are degrees of, or rather to perfection here, upon condition that he will grant that every degree, even the highest, is required by the law of God, and what is short of that highest is so far culpable] This condition I confesse I cannot perform, and so must lose the advantage of his grant, And truly to require it of me is to grant my premises, and require me to renounce my conclusion

clusion, For from that concession, that there are degrees in perfection, and there may be perfection, where yet there is not the highest degree of perfection, it infallibly follows, that the highest degree of perfection is not under obligation of that precept which requires no more then that we be perfect, as when the precept binds to no more then to be mercifull in some degree, it is evident that it binds not to be mercifull in the highest degree, and consequently that the highest degree of mercy shall be still free, under no obligation of precept.

33. In this matter he desires to speak his own sense in S<sup>t</sup> Hieromes words, *Charitas qua non potest augeri* &c. citing Ep. 62. for it. But this citation is sure mistaken, there is no such thing in that Epistle. The place sure is in S<sup>t</sup> Hieromes Epistle to S<sup>t</sup> Augustine, where he desires his sense of those words, Jam. 2. 10. *He that keeps the whole Law, and offends in one point, is guilty of all.* On which occasion he discourseth a great while, how one virtue may be found in them which yet are guilty of other sins, and so from one thing to another, not by way of defining, but by raising of difficulties to provoke S<sup>t</sup> Augustines solution of them.
34. And on these termes he purposes his notion of virtue, that it is the loving of that which is to be loved, and is in some greater, in some less, in some none at all, and then addes, *Plenissima verò, qua jam non possit augeri, quamdiu homo h<sup>c</sup> vivit, est in nemine; quamdiu autem augeri potest, profecto illud quod minus est quam debet, ex vitio est. Ex quo vitio non est justus in terrâ qui faciat bonum, & non peccet, &c.* But the most full virtue, such as cannot be increased, is in no man as long as he lives here; But as long as it may be increased, that which is less then it ought to be, is faulty, whereby it is that the Scripture saith that there is not a just man on earth, which doth good and sinneth not; and, in thy sight shall no man living be justified; and, if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves &c.
35. By this view of the place it is evident that the virtue, which, on occasion of the place in S<sup>t</sup> James, he speaks of, being an universal, impartial observation of the whole Law, and consequently every failing in that a vice (for to that all the proofs belong, that there is no man but sinneth sometimes) there is no reason to extend his speech any farther then to this, and then it will in no wise be

applicable to our business, which is onely of the degrees of this or that particular *virtue*, which it is certain that man may have, who yet is guilty of some *sin* in other particulars.

36. Thus therefore I willingly acknowledge, that he that *failes* of any part of his *duty*, is therein *faulty*, or this is *ex vitio* in him, and if of that onely S *Hieromes* words [ *quamdin augeri potest* ] be understood (as it is most reasonable they should, whether wee judge by the *occasion*, or the *proofes* of his speech, or by the *express* words, *quod minus est quam debet ex vitio est*, that which is *less* then it ought, i. e. *less* then he is bound to do, is *faulty* ) then as I fully consent to the truth of them, so when that is granted, no man can hence infer, therefore every *regular* act of *obedience* which comes short of the *highest degree* of *perfection*, is a *sin*; for beside many other *inconveniences* formerly noted, this fresh one will be observable from S *Hieromes* own words, that then every act of *virtue* in this life is a *sin*, for as for that *fullest perfection* which cannot be increased, the beginning of this testimony acknowledge, that it is not to be found in any man in this life.
37. In a word, the word *Perfection* is capable of two notions, either it may signifie the *perfect obedience* of never *sinning*, and of this onely S *Hierome* speaks, both when he saith it is not attained in this life, and when he addes, that *whatsoever is less* then this is *sinfull*. Or else it may signifie any *higher degree* of exercise of any particular *virtue*, *chastity*, *mercy*, *fortitude*, &c. And of this onely it is that I speak (and S *Hierome* in the words cited from him appears not ever to have thought of it) and to this onely my *affirmation* belongs, that there are *degrees* in that *perfection*, and that he that hath attained to any of those *degrees*, *sins* not against *Christs* precept of *perfection*, though he was not arrived to the *highest degree*.
38. But, saith he, the Doctor goes on, *If there be any perfection attainable in this life, it will be capable of degrees and growth also* ] and then he addes, *whether he be of their mind who hold perfection possible in this life, I cannot say, but this I can say, he speaks contradictions, for perfection admits of no degrees or growth.*
39. Here I see the Reader may be abused, if I do not give him a true *narration* of my words in that place, §. 46. Having mentioned

tioned one interpretation of the perfection which Christ commands us to aspire to, *Mat. 5. 48.* viz. that it signifies mercifulness, *Lu. 6. 36.* I adde, if that sense will not be admitted, yet if it be any perfection acquirable in this life, it will be capable of degrees and growth also. Now by a slight change of [if it be] into [if there be] this sense is quite altered and made lyable to suspicion, that I teach perfection (I suppose he must mean the unsinning perfection spoken of by S' Hierome) possible in this life, and to the charge of speaking evident contradictions, that I can talk of growth in such perfection.

40. Truly there was little of justice in this, I hope he will be sensible of it. The perfection which I there speak of, be it love and mercy to enemies, or be it any other Christian duty set under precept by Christ, is certainly in some degree attainable in this life by them which have sinned, and do still sinne through infirmity, in other things, and perhaps in some circumstances of this, and then I hope there can be no heresie in this, to say that by the grace of Christ one may obey such a precept of Christs, love his enemies &c. when S' Paul professeth unlimitedly he can do all things through Christ that strengthened him.

41. And then what contradiction can there be in affirming that in this virtue of loving enemies, of mercy &c. there are degrees and consequently possibility of growth? Of mercy it hath oft been exemplified that it is so, and whatever particular virtue it be that can be phansied to be meant by Christ by τελειότης perfection, I doubt not but it will be as visible, when that virtue is named. But the Diarribist attempts nothing that way, onely mistakes perfection for some other thing, either for a sinless perfection, or for such a state as cannot be increased, knowing well enough that that is not attainable in this life, and certainly is not the matter of Christ's precept, *Mat. 5.* and as certainly is not the perfection that there I speak of.

42. Once more, what I said in this matter [that if the perfection (spoken of in the objection) be not acquirable in this life, 'tis certainly not under Evangelical precept now, citing that of *Mat. 11.* of Christs light and supportable burthen, and his commands not grievous, i. e. possible to be performed by us] falls under his very sharp discipline, This, saith he, is strong and strange confidence.

His

43. His language I shall not onely willingly bear with, but thank him for it; I shall onely examine the reasons which he offers for thus accusing me. They are three, First, because the Law requires perfect obedience of Christians, as the rule of eternal righteousness, adding that all orthodox Divines have maintained this against the Church of Rome, Onely the Doctor is of the Church of Romes mind, and charges the Law with imperfection, citing it from *Pract: Cas: p. 94.*
44. Here are many misadventures, I shall but name them, 1. That the Law requires perfect obedience of Christians, meaning by that the Mosaical Law, for that onely, he knowes, it is, which the Doctor chargeth with imperfection. The Law indeed sometimes signifies the Covenant of exact unsinning obedience, and of that Law or that Covenant it is most true that it required perfect, as that signifies unsinning obedience. But then 1. This was the first Covenant, and is not now in force with faithfull penitent Christians, who are not under this Law but under grace, i. e. under a 2<sup>d</sup> Covenant which requires not innocence but repentance, sincere, not perfect obedience: And therefore 2<sup>dly</sup>. It cannot truly be said that this Law requires this perfect obedience of Christians, nor consequently that it is the rule of Evangelicall righteousness, i. e. of that righteousness by which believers are now said to be justified: I shall not insist on the proving of this here, because it is but a digression in this place, and is abundantly explicated elsewhere, in the *Pract: Cas.* concerning the two Covenants.
45. 2<sup>dly</sup>. That he makes this doctrine of the Law's requiring perfect obedience of Christians, to be one of the Doctrines maintained by the orthodox against the Church of Rome, when it is indeed but a contention of words, that the Diatribist (it seems) and some others have espoused against I know not what adversary.
46. 3<sup>dly</sup>. That the Doctors charging the Law with imperfection is a thing wherein he complies with the Church of Rome, when its evident in that place of the Catech: that 1. The words of Christ that he came, πληρῶσαι νόμον to fill up the vacancies of the Mosaical Law, and 2. The many express examples of his doing so, in that 5<sup>th</sup>. of *Mat.* his additions to the Law in so many particulars

ticulars introduced with [ *It was said of old—But I say unto you* ] and lastly, the uniforme suffrage of all antiquity joyning in this interpretation of Christs words, was the ground whereon I built my affirmation, and if in this the Church of Rome were of my mind (as I do not find it is, making some of those additions, *Mat. 5. counsels*, not all of them precepts) I should never disclaime the doctrine upon that account, any more then the articles of the Creed, which the Church of Rome is acknowledged to believe with us.

47. His 2<sup>d</sup> proof is, that the Gospel calls for the perfection of the law, *Be ye perfect as he is perfect, Mat. 5. and be ye holy as he is holy, 1 Pet. 1. 15, 16.* I answer, 1. this proves not his proposition, v.z. that it was strong and strange confidence in me, to say, that if the perfection be not acquirable in this life, tis not now under Evangelical precept, Acquirable perfection may be (and some degree of it is) under precept, but unacquirable perfection is not. Christs easie yoke is not now made up to us of impossible precepts. 2<sup>o</sup>. That perfection in one of the places mentioned by him, appears to be mercifulness, and the holiness in the other, that of S. Peter being opposed τῆς πρὸτερον ἐν ἀνομίᾳ ἐκιδουσίας, to the former lusts, when they were in ignorance, respects either that sort of purity particularly, or however that more universal purity, which is now more severely required of all Christians, in an higher degree, then it had been under the Jewish æconomy; and of either of these I never doubted, but they are now under Evangelical precept. But then still that is nothing to the higher degrees of those, or other Christian virtues, which all this while we speak of. No more is that which follows from the Doctor himself, saying that Christ came to perfect the Law. So he might do, and yet leave some degrees of mercy &c. free and not under precept, as hath oft been said.

48. I shall not now take leisure to examine, with what truth he addes, that that perfection which Christ came to adde is still the perfection of the Law. It is true, it was the requiring of what the law had not required, and so the adding more to it, and perfecting it, as a law, requiring all that ever shall be required of men by law, or precept. But this concludes nothing against higher degrees of this very perfection, being still left free, and not under law, the onely thing which now he contends against.



49. His 3<sup>d</sup> proof is taken from the account I give in the *Pract. Cat.* p. 95. of the lightness and supportableness of Christs burthen, 1. in taking off the burthen of unprofitable ceremonies, 2. in taking away the damning power of every least sin, &c. 3. in giving greater strength. From whence he concludes, *It was not then, that he required not perfect holiness under the Gospel.* I answer 1. *οὐκ ἐνταῦθα*, that this conclusion can with no Logick be thus deduced being à *testimonio negativè*. It is very possible there might be other reasons, beside those I there named, My mention of three being sufficient for the matter then in hand, did no way prejudice or exclude more. But then 2. I grant that this now mentioned, neither was, nor well could have been any part of my account of the easiness and supportableness of Christs Evangelical burthen, above that legal of Moses, because it was common both to the law of Moses and of Christ, that there were some degrees of perfection, which were by neither of them under precept, Moses's law had place for free-will offerings, as well as Christs, nay Christs hath put some things under precept, as I conceive, which were not under precept by Moses's law, in this one respect there lies more weight on a Christian then did formerly on a Jew, but that is abundantly recompensed by other respects, which this is not a season to enlarge upon.
50. Having thus answered all his objections in this matter, it will I hope be consequent, that he hath not yet demonstrated the truth of that assertion, which from what he hath said he assumes to be apparently and visibly true, viz. that every man is bound to do that which is best, because the law and the Gospel also require perfection of obedience in every commandment; For to this I have oft replied, that both of them require perfect obedience to all, that either of them requires, which notwithstanding there are still *נדרות* under both, which no precept either of law or Gospel requires, or puts under necessity of obligation to any.
51. The falseness of that proposition, that every man is bound to do that which is best, I had formerly evidenced by two means, 1. the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 7. 38. *he that marries doth well, but he that marrieth not doth better*, 2. by this, that the best being a superlative, supposes the positive, which is lower then that, to be yet good, &c.

52. To these he will now apply answer; To the first, that *well* and *better* there, do not refer to moral goodness but worldly good, for the preventing of troubles in those afflicted and persecuting times. But this answer will be soon shaken asunder, 1. by considering that as the *well* and *better* do certainly belong to the *same* kind of good, so it is visible that the *well* cannot belong to the *worldly* but *moral* good, and then consequently the *better* must do so too. That the *καλῶς ποιεῖν*, doth *well*, belongs to *moral* goodness, is evident by v. 28. where advising them that are loosed from marriage, not to *mary*, he addes ἐὰν ὅτι καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἠμαρτετε, but and if, or, though thou do *mary*, thou sinnest not, and if the virgin *mary*, she sinneth not, What can be more clear then that the *doing well* is not *sinning*, and sure that is a *moral*, not only a *worldly* good.
53. Nay 2. the *Apostle* is as expresse that the *marying* is quite contrary to the *worldly* good, for having said, that they that *mary* sin not, he addes immediately v. 28. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμετέροις ὁ πόνος, but such shall have trouble to the *flish*, and what can be more contrary to *worldly* good? But yet farther 3. the *Apostle* sets down the advantages of not *marying* v. 32. the *unmarried* careth for the things of the *Lord* how he may please the *Lord* and the *unmarried* woman in like manner that she may be holy both in *body* and *spirit* v. 34. whereas the *married* man cares for the things of the *world* how he may please his wife, and the *woman* in like manner how she may please her husband; And then are not these *spiritual* (not barely *worldly*) advantages, and is not the holyness of both *body* and *spirit*, and the caring for the things of the *Lord*, a greater *moral* or rather *spiritual* good, then the bare caring for the things of the *world*, to please a *yoke-fellow*? I hope I need say no more on this; nor sure on that which he next addes, that if the person have not the gift of continence, it is then not only good but necessary for him to *mary*, for he knowes that as *S. Paul* spake of him that had that gift, when he saith he doth *better*, so I that only cited *S. Pauls* words, must be resolved to speak also. But as long as of him that hath that gift, i. e. hath power of his own will, it is true, that if he *mary*, he doth *well*, i. e. *sinneth* not, but yet doth *better* if he do not *mary*, it is evident that I have all that I pretend to, and certainly this is given me by *S. Pauls* words.
54. To my 2<sup>d</sup> argument that the best being superlative, supposes the

the positive to be good, he replies [ *I hope the Doctor will not deny but works done by Faith are good, and yet that they are not perfect in this life, i. e. come short of what we are bound to by the Gospel, will he now say they are evil?* ] I answer, I will not say they are evil, but they are good though not perfect from all possible mixture of sin. And what now he can gain from this his question thus answered by me, as he expects I should answer it, it will not be easie for any man to imagine, For sure this is the confirming not the disproving of my argument, For by his own setting it, it is manifest, that those things are not evil, which yet are capable of a greater perfection, and then the perfection being the superlative the positive is supposed to be good, and not evil, and yet evil it must have been, if every thing which is inferiour to the most perfect, were sin, or if the highest perfection were under Precept.

55. What he adds out of Gregory, that all humane justice is convinced to be injustice, if it be strictly judged] is 1. contrary to his former question to me [ *will he now say they are evil?* ] whatsoever the Doctor think, the Diatribist it seems will say they are convinced to be injustice, and that, I must suppose, is evil, (and is not this great inconstancy in him?) 2. It is of no force against my pretensions, for when I said, such a thing is good, and another best, I never meant that either of them is not convincible by Gods strict judgement to have some mixture of evil, but that the evil which is or may be adherent to it in some other respect (as of all humane actions is acknowledged) being pardoned by God in Christ, the lower degree being good, i. e. an act of obedience to Christs command, that which is higher and so better then that, may yet be somewhat which he hath not commanded, and so still a *דבר* in a Christian. And thus much on occasion of the several degrees, and passages of my answer to the first objection, which I foresaw, that which was taken from the consideration of what Prudence might advise and seem to require of us, which hath proved a business of some length.

Sect. 9.

*My answer to a second sort of objection, vindicated. Loving God with all the heart. Adam's love in innocency capable of degrees. Perfect love that casts out fear, to be had in this life. Christ more intense in prayer at one time then another, an argument that all is not sinne that is less then the highest.*

1. **T**O the 2<sup>d</sup> objection from those large comprehensive words, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c.* I answer'd thus, that that phrase [ *with all &c.* ] denoted onely two things,
1. The *sincerity* of this *Love of God*, as opposed to *partial, divided love*, (to which I now adde for farther explication, that what we do according to the *precepts of Gods Law*, we do out of love toward God, not *hypocritically*, or as by *constraint*; and
  2. not admitting any thing else into competition with him, this *sincere love of God*, mean while being capable of *degrees*, so that it is very possible for two men to love God with all the heart, and yet one to love him more intensely then another (as was exemplified among the very *Angels*) nay for the same person, which so loves him, to love him, and expresse that love more intensely at one time then another, as appeared by the example of *Christ*, Lu.

22. 44.

2. Now to this he replies: that these two are there required, but not onely these, but perfect love, such as casts out fear, 1 Joh. 4. 18. such as was in Adam in innocency; To which I need say no more then what hath formerly been said, that even that perfect love which was in Adam in innocency, consisted not in any indivisible point, but had a latitude, and consequently severall degrees of that perfect love. But then withall it must be remembered that the perfect love, 1 Joh. 4. 18. is not all-one with that which Adam had in innocency, for that he confesseth is not acquirable in this life, whereas the love in S<sup>t</sup> John that casts out fear is in every Confessor, and Martyr for Christ, and is elsewhere styled, ἀγάπη ἐν ἀφάρασι, love of Christ in sincerity, Eph. 6. 24. in the notion wherein perfection is all one with sincerity; But then this

- also is capable of *degrees*, one *Martyr* or *Confessor* may be more *zealous*, & expresse more *intense* and *fervent love*, then another doth.
3. What he addes, and confirms out of *Hierome*, was in one part answered before, and must not now be repeated; As for the other, it may answer it self, one part being directly *contrary*, if not *contradictory* to the other; For when he hath admitted and allowed of the *supposition*, that *sincere love is capable of degrees* either in one man at severall times, or in two men at the same time, and so both obey the precept, yet, saith he, *those degrees argue love not to be perfect, and so far faulty in vitio.*] But sure if those of whom the *supposition* is made, do both obey the precept, then they do not offend against it; if they do not offend against it, then is not this *faulty*, or in *vitio*, for sure every *fault* or *vice* must be a *transgression* of the *Law*. The evidence of the matter may, it seems, extort some few words of *truth* from a *gainsayer*, though to acknowledge it *intirely* and *constantly*, it must not be expected.
4. In the next place he passeth to the inforcement of my *argument* from what we read concerning *Christ* himself, that he was more *intense in prayer at one time then another*, when yet the lower degree was sure no *sin*; and prepares to make answer to it, viz. that *Christ was above the Law, and did more then the Law required, but men fall short many degrees of what is required.*
5. But sure this answer is nothing to the matter now in hand, for the evidencing of which that *example of Christ* was brought by me, viz. that *sincere love is capable of degrees*, This was first shewed in *several men*, and in the *same man at several times*, in the *several ranks of Angels*, and at last in *Christ himself*, more *ardent in one act of prayer then in another*; wherein what is affirmed of *Christ* is common to *Angels and men*, and so still may be though he differ from them in other things, to wit, that he is *perfect* and never *sins*, though men be *imperfect* and *faulty*, the best of them, For still it must be remembered, that it is not the *sinless perfection* we speak of when we say it consists in a *latitude*, and hath *degrees*, but *sincerity* of this or that *virtue*, exprest in this or that *performance*, and as this, though it excludes not all *mixture of sin* in the *suppositum* (the man in whom it is) yet may by the *grace of God in Christ* exclude it in this or that *act* (for it is certain

certain that I may in an *act of mercy*, give as much as any *Law obligeth* me to give, and so not *sin* in giving too little) so to this, his *answer* belongs not at all; nor shews any *difference* or *reason* why such *sincerity* may not in any *pious Christian*, be capable of *degrees*, as well as in *Christ* himself, and the *lowest* of them be *sinless*, and all the *Superior, voluntary oblations*, more then the *strict Law* required of us.

6. Suppose a man should in one *ejaculation*, pray to God *sincerely* and *ardently*, to *avert* an *evil* from him, I shall ask, whether he commit any *sin* in respect of *ardency*? If it be answered, yes, he doth, in case it be *possible* for him, or any man else, or *Adam* in *Paradise*, to pray more *ardently*, I shall then hope I shall have refuted his *answer*, by the *example* of *Christ*, who when he *prayed ardently*, did not *sin*, though he fell *short* of that *higher degree*, which after that we find he *used*.
7. As for that which alone he *addes* in this matter, that the *example* of *Christ* holds forth, that *great pressures* call for *enlargements of affections*, not as *voluntary oblations*, but as *duties*. I shall onely ask whether they did so call for that very *degree of enlargement*, which *Christ* at last *used*. If it did not, then it seems this *addition* was little to the *purpose*. If he shall say it did, then how could he even now say, that *Christ* did *supererogate* in this *particular*, and that it was not *appliable* to men.

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SECT. 10.

*My answer to the last objection, of Supererogation. A place in S<sup>r</sup> Cyprian vindicated from the Romanists reading. Imputare. An act of mercy in God that our works are rewarded. Supererogation wherein it consists. The Diatribist's etymology of the word disproved. Erogare. Erogatio. The Diatribists ways of Supererogating. Pride, Glorifying. More reward for eminent uncommanded excellencies superadded to duty. The Diatribists charity, and confession of us. His censure of the Bishops unjust.*

1. **N**ow follows my *answer* to the last *objection* freeing this doctrine of *voluntary oblations*, or of doing somewhat which is *free* and



and uncommanded, from all *lyableness* to the *suspicion* of being favourable to the doctrine of *Supererogation* among the *Romanists*, which is founded in their *opinion* that a man may by these *performances* make *satisfaction* for his own and other mens *sins*, which I that no way believe or acknowledge, cannot be charged as guilty of that *opinion*.

2. And to what is there said, I must suppose with some *evidence*, §. 51, 52, 53. I shall here adde, and apply one considerable saying of S<sup>t</sup> Cyprian's in the *Epistle ad Lapfos*, telling them that *Qui in Ecclesiâ semper gloriosi & granditer operati sunt, opus suum Domino nunquam imputaverunt*, Those which have through all times wrought gloriously and heroically in the Church, yet never thought their Master beholden to them. That is the meaning of *imputare* to reckon their sayings out & charge him with whom they reckon to be in their debt. For want of understanding of which (or from some worse principle) the latter edition of S<sup>t</sup> Cyprian by *Pamelinus* leaves out the word [*nunquam*, never] which the old *Basil* edition doth retain, and the sense evidently requires in that place.
3. By this (which is my full sense in this matter) and by what is already said in that *treatise*, that *objection* is wholly *superfeded*, for I do not pretend that God becomes a debtor to any man for any of his most bountifull spontaneous oblations, but that 'tis an act of infinite mercy in God, as the *Psalmist* saith, that any the most excellent work of ours is rewardable with him. And that partly because we being *sinners*, the utmost we can ever do, can never make *satisfaction* for our *sinnes*, and partly because whatsoever degree of perfection either by doing or suffering we can aspire to, 1. It is still a work of God's good grace and strength in us, (for what hast thou which thou hast not received? and then what place for glorying?) and 2. It is in no degree meet or worthy to be compared, bears no proportion to the glory which shall be revealed, and partly again, because God wants neither our obedience, nor our richest performances, we onely are like to receive the benefit of them, and so we onely are debtors to our selves, and can claime nothing from him, save onely on the account of meer mercy.
4. Now in his reply, the first thing that he objects, is that this distinction betwixt doing more then is commanded, and doing something which is not commanded, is new, and sometimes coincident for

for he (saith he) that doth somewhat not commanded, doth also somewhat more then is commanded. And because he cannot but know my notion there of doing something more, viz. doing all, and and more then all, he therefore presseth it farther, that in this sense the Romanists in their supererogation doe not suppose that he which supererogates hath done all that is commanded him.

5. To this I answer, by yielding that the Romanist is not so grosse, as to affirm him that supererogates not to have sinned. And therefore I never defined that to be the Romanists doctrine, or that our doctrine was by that one distinction, differenced from theirs, but having by way of foundation laid that distinction (as will appear to any that shall view the place §. 51.) I make the notion of supererogation to be founded in one of these two, either in having paid all that is due (i.e. having never sinned) or 2. (having been a debtor, i. e. a sinner) in paying that debt by satisfaction. And the latter of these two it was, and not the former, wherein I placed the Romanists opinion, and wherein I conceived the doctrine of free-will oblations under the Gospel to differ from their doctrine of supererogating, as appears §. 52. And this he sees, and sets down in his next words, It was but the multiplying of my lines, and his own, that he could not earlier take notice of it.
6. To this 2<sup>d</sup> then at length after some proöme he will proceed; that still I cannot free my doctrine from some kinde of supererogation, for, saith he, such works have not their denomination from satisfaction made by them, but they are therefore called satisfactions, because they are something more then the law required, supererogare is as much as super quod erogavit lex.
7. By this at length appears what bottome all this Diatribists structure is built on, the extraordinary etymology which his fancy, or somewhat else hath suggested to him, of the word supererogation, which if it should hold, I (after all this debate thus farre prolonged) am obliged to yield the cause to the Diatribist, thus farre at least, that I were a friend to one word made use of by the Romanists. But I am so well assured of this Diatribists failings in this kind, by the experience of his super statutum, from whence he would have superstition deduced (and lost his chief hold, when that origination of the word was wrested from him) that I may be allowed again to question his skill in that faculty. That erogare

*gare* signifies to *lay out* (and not to *require*) is evident enough, *erogare pecuniam in classem*, to *lay out money upon the navy*, is Cicero's phrase, *pro Flacco, erogare pecunias ex arario*, in his *Oration in Vatinius*, *erogare in oleum*, in *Plinie Ep. 240.* joyned with *conferre in operibus balnei*, unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur, in *Livie l. 1.* and the substantive *erogatio* for *expending* or *laying out*, *erogatio pecunia* in *Cicero ad Atticum l. 15. 32.* *Tot impendiis, tot erogationibus*, saith *Plinie* in his *Panegyrick*, and in *Suetonius* 'tis explained by *largitio*, and *profusio pecuniarum*.

8. And accordingly *supererogo* is to *lay out all and more*, and from the opinion of pious mens doing so, the Romanists have clearly raised their treasure of the Church, as the bank into which these payments are made. I could not have expected that there should be any question made of this; As it is, I hope this will satisfy it, And then alas what a remote, unhappy etymologie hath this *Distributist* fallen on, *supererogare* is as much as *super quod erogavis lex*! Had he been pleased to have englished this *laine*, the mistake had been too visible, and therefore that was more prudently omitted; For what can *erogavis* signifie in that period of his? *Required*? (so he renders it in the following period, *works*, saith he, *may be said supererogare, when men think they have done more then the law required*) But 1. that is in no wise the meaning of the word, as hath already been manifested; 2. whatsoever it shall be resolved to signifie, yet in this way of etymologie, the *erogavis* belongs to the law, whereas we know in the use of the word among all *Romish* writers it is the man or the works (not the law) which *erogates*, i. e. *lays out his money, pains, life, &c.* and proportionably which *supererogates*. 3. (and which is yet more grosse) the *super* must in this etymologie be assigned to the man, as the *erogating* to the law, and so the one word be divided betwixt them, the law must be said to *erogate*, the man to *super*, and what is that, either nothing, or else to *supererogate*, and yet that he cannot do in any sense wherein the law could be said to *erogate*. Thus (beyond all either reason or grammar) *incongruom*, and *inconsistent* is this etymologie.

9. And this being said concerning the nature of the word, all that remains of his *exercitation*, being built upon this mistake,

is perfectly superseded, yet I shall attend him *ἕως τῆς θανάτου*.

11. In many respects, saith he, such works may be said to supererogate, 1. with respect to the law it self, when men think they have done more then the law required, which makes them not supererogatory, but derogatory from the perfection of the law of God, and lays imperfection upon it (as the Doctor hath plainly done above) To this I answer, 1. that by his own confession these which he now mentions, are not supererogatory works, but the contrary, why then doth he set them as a first instance of the many respects in which such works may be said to supererogate? 2. When he knowes, that that treatise of mine, on which he exercises his discipline, doth not defend the thinking a mans self to doe more then the law requires, but precisely (in distinction from that) to doe somewhat which the law doth not require, why should he still confound things thus severed, and lay that to my charge which he knows I am not guilty of? 3. There is no truth in his suggestion, that this doctrine as it is taught by me, is derogatory to, or lays imperfection to the law of God.

12. For if by the law of God, he mean the *Mosaical law*, then though from Christs own words I conclude that he came to fill it up, or perfect it, and so that it had in it before vacancies and imperfections, yet the doctrine of the treatise of *Will-worship*, is no way founded or concerned in that; As for the law of Christ, under which, as well as under the law of the *Jewes*, some things are left free and uncommanded (and consequently I affirm it possible for a Christian to do something which is not commanded him) I never accused that of imperfection, but doe without all doubting suppose it to be a perfect codex of commands, to which God will never adde more; and when I have done so, I found this doctrine of the Christians voluntary oblations, in this perfection (not imperfection) of this law, viz. that even in the greatest perfection there is a latitude, and the higher degrees of that latitude are not under precept.

13. A 2<sup>d</sup> way of supererogating he mentions in respect to other men, as the Pharisee that said with scorn and pride enough, I am not like other men, I fast twice a week, &c. To this I answer, 1. that this as little belongs to the true, as it doth to his false notion of supererogating. For in neither of them doth the super

include or intimate superiority above other men, and 2. that he that thus scorns and exalts himself above other men, is far from doing more herein then is commanded, tis evident he comes short of very duty in an eminent most rewardable *virtue*, that of *humility*, wherein he that strives not to exceed as much, and more, as in any voluntary oblations, tis evident that he is no good Christian, and I never undertook to plead for such Pharisees, but of all others think Christians obliged to use all diligence to avert this ship-wrack.

13. And yet 3. the Apostle himself both by his doctrine and practice, allows of a *καυχῆσθαι*, that signifies literally a glorying, but it is certainly an humble rejoicing, in having done things which he knowes are eminently acceptable to God, and elsewhere, rejoicing in his own work, and as this is no way increasable to a Christian by comparing it with other mens defects or *ὑστέρηματα*, for his charity makes him passionately wish, and his humility really think all others better then himself, so it is very far from that scorn and pride in all Pharisees which makes them discriminate themselves from other men.

14. The 3<sup>d</sup> way he mentions is, with respect to the overpleasing and acceptance of God, when they that think they can do something not commanded, expect to find more acceptance from God then they themselves or other do for doing onely what is commanded. To this I answer, 1. That still this is nothing to the notion of the word *supererogating*, (which sure signifies not overpleasing) 2. That if one caution be taken in, viz. that uncommanded works can never satisfy for disobediences, and consequently that it is perfect impiety and folly to neglect any duty, on one side, and then to think to compensate that by doing more then is commanded, on the other side: If I say, this caution be premised, and proportionably the earliest and principallest care be taken to secure duty, to make good obedience, in cannot be amiss in the next place to superadde this other care of the most eminent heroical (uncommanded) performances, and he that shall have observed this method uprightly, eschewed evill, in a strict mortifying of lusts &c. in abstaining from sin, and doing all that is commanded (as, *Virtus est vitium fugere, & Sapientia prima Stultitiâ caruisse* ——— )



And whensoever he hath failed, secured his retreat by an early humiliation, confession, begging of pardon in Christ, and sincere reformation, and then laboured industriously to superstruct doing of good, works of the more eminent (I mean uncommanded) degrees of virtue, I shall not doubt to encourage him, to think confidently, and expect from our great Benefactors and Benefactors more and greater acceptance (I shall adde, reward also) then the same person could in reason expect for doing onely what is commanded.

15. And though it be not best for him in this case to compare himself with other men, the possible hazard of that, exemplified by the Pharisee, perswading the contrary, yet of the truth of the success there is no reason to make question, or suspect, but that of two men which have been equall in obediences, one exceeding the other in acts of uncommanded perfection, the more perfect shall have the richest reward, as is most evident whether by considering the degrees of glory in heaven, or the rule by which God distributes them still under the Gospell, by way of reward to every man, *secundum opera*, according to his work.
16. What he addes of Papists thinking they can merit with God by such works for themselves and others, though ours, saith he; are not come so far yet ] is an essay of his charitable opinion of us; and I shall take it by the best handle I can, and conclude from it, then, by his own confession, we are not Papists yet, and then I do not (after all that tract of Will-worship) maintain works of Supererogation yet, and then I need onely adde, that tis no way usefull for him to lose his pains and his charity by confuting those of whom he onely divine that they may hereafter fall into false doctrine, which yet I hope I shall not do, having no temptation from all this Diatribist's Exercitation, and the arguments therein contained, to fly to any other Sect of Religion to furnish my self with answers for him.
17. What now remains in the shutting up this 2<sup>d</sup>. Exercitation, is wholly spent either in proving it to be my doctrine (which I willingly and expressely grant it to be) that the voluntary oblations are more acceptable and rewardable with God, or in repeating his own sense, the more voluntary the more abominable (wherein it seems we are already at distance enough, a man need not fly to the



*Papists doctrine of Supererogation* to make the breach the wider) or in *charging* on this doctrine that it makes *Superstitious Will-worshippers* and *formalists* to overlook others with abundance of contempt and insolence, adding *Characters*, by which we may discern who they are to whom he is pleased to affixe these titles.

18. To which my answer is 1. with *S<sup>t</sup> Paul, Rom. 14.* that as those which freely do those things which others account *unlawfull*, ought not to despise those which do them not; so on the other side, those which do them not, ought in no wise to judge or condemn those which do them, and consequently that if our *Bishops*, whom he seems to translate, those who did overlook others, had really been guilty of contempt and insolence toward them, yet had not this been more *criminous* in them, more contrary to *S<sup>t</sup> Paul's* direction, then this which is here visible in this *Diatribist*, in calling them *Superstitious Will-worshippers*, and *Formalists*, which first presumes all use of *uncommanded ceremonies* to be *Superstition* first, and then *Formality*: and so is a double untruth, and 2. charges those two great sins upon his own *Lawful Superiors*, and so is a double *uncharitableness*, attended with *disobedience* to and *separation* from them: I delight not now to compare these sins, and affirme, which is more culpable; If his own plain words or conscience do not accuse this *Diatribist* in any of these, neither shall I accuse him, but rather implore *God's pardon* for him; And onely adde 2. That I have reason to hope and believe that the *Governors* of our Church, and those who lately presided in it, did not make their own *voluntary performances* the foundation or occasion of any degree of contempt or insolence towards others which used them not; If any did, I neither intended nor now design any defence for them: And so much for the 2<sup>d</sup> *Exercitation*.

CHAP. VII.

*Of Christmase and other Festivals.*

Sect. I.

*The observance which is due to the Custome of a Church. The Testimonies of Ambrose, and Augustine, and Isidore.*

IN our entrance on the discourse of *Festivals*, I had thought that *Numb. 1.* the *customary practice* of the *universal Church of Christ*, and particularly the *perpetual immemorial usage* of the *Church of England*, continued, as farre as we can discern, from the *first plantation*, without any *interruption*, to the time of *writing that treatise*, might have had some weight with any that were not *contentions*, if it were but upon the account of *S. Pauls argument* thus drawn from the *customary practise* of the *Churches of God*.

2. On occasion hereof the *Diatribist* falls presently into the *examination* of that place where *S. Paul* useth that argument *1 Cor. 11. 16.* and inquires what inferences naturally arise from the words of the *Apostle*. But I who designed to conclude no more from that *reference* but only this, that the *custome* of the *Church* ought to be of some *force* and *weight* with any *meek son* of the *Church*, have no need of following him into that *inquiry*, if the loosest consideration and very first *view* of those words do not prove that, neither shall I farther contend for it.

3. *Paul* argued from *custome*, and I proposed the like *argument*, and so made a *reference* to *S. Paul*, whose *example* I thus farre transcribed, and if in other respects the *analogy* held not, it matters not, so it held in *this*, that *custome* was considerable in *circumstances of religion*, such was *covering* or not *covering* the *head* in the service of *God* there, and such is the *observation* of a *Festival* here; And this is all that I need reply to his first s.

Yet

4. Yet I shall *ex abundanti* adde one or two testimonies for the confirming the *weakest* part of that consideration, viz. the *reasonableness* of complying with, (so as not to *oppose*) the *custome* of any particular Church, though they be no more then so, though they pretend not to be derived from the *Apostles*, whether by *institution* or *practise*, supposing withall that they are no way *contrary* thereto.
5. And 1. We have the words of S<sup>t</sup> Ambrose, sufficiently known. *Ad quamcunque Ecclesiam veneris, ejus morem servare, si pari scandalum non vultis aut facere; To whatsoever Church ye come, observe the custome thereof, if you will neither receive nor give scandal.*
6. 2<sup>dly</sup>. The (as clear) words of \* S<sup>t</sup> Augustine, *Ego te illud*  
 • Ep. 28. Tom: *breviter admonendum puto, traditiones Ecclesiasticas (presertim qua fidei non officiunt) ita observandas ut a majoribus tradita sunt, nec aliorum consuetudinem aliorum contrario more subverti.* I would briefly admonish you that Ecclesiastical traditions (especially such as offend not the faith) are so to be observed as they are delivered by our Ancestors, nor must the custome of some be subverted by the contrary custome of others. And yet higher in the same Epistle, *Unaqueque provincia precepta majorum leges Apostolicas arbitretur,* Let every Province esteem the precepts of their Ancestors as Apostolical Laws, i. e. certainly pay *observance* to them, though they be not of Apostolical institution.
7. So Isidore, l. 2. de Eccl: c. 43. *Nec disciplina in his meliore est gravi prudentique Christiano, nisi ut eo modo agat quo agere viderit Ecclesiam ad quam devenerit.* There is no better rule in such things for a grave and prudent Christian, then to do in that manner as he sees the Church do to which he comes.
8. Store of *suffrages* might be heaped up on this occasion; these few may suffice to *justify* all that I had said in that first §.

Sect. 2.

*Heathen adherents a proof of the first Antiquity.*

1. **T**HE 2<sup>d</sup> §. had propos'd one argument for the antiquity of this *usage* among us, founded in the *adversaries suggestion* against it. The *adversaries* generally accuse the *Christmàs Festival* for some *heathenish mixtures* retained in it; From which, if it were true, or however from the *concession* of those that affirm'd it, I conceived an argument might be drawn, that therefore it was to be taken as *granted*, that this *usage* was continued among us from the time of our first conversion from *heathenism*.
2. And I cannot yet see how this inference can be avoided; For how can any *heathen usage* adhere to this *Festivity*, if all *heathen* customs were laid aside long before this *Festival* were observed? Can it be imagined that after the *ejecting* of *heathenism* and the solemn *abolition* of all their *feasts*, *Saturnalia* and the like, when *Christianity* had gotten the possession, there should still continue among them those *adherent rites* of their *heathen feasts*, so many accidents without their subjects? Or that *Christians* that had long since renounced *heathenism*, and at length received this *Christian feast*, should ransack their *heathen rituals* for ceremonies wherewith to adorn it?
3. But this, it seems, is of no force (as he saith) *no way construent* with this *Diatribist*; For, saith he, they might be added some good while after the first conversion of some part of this *Island*, the better to win the rest to a liking of *Christian religion*, by conforming to them in the celebration of *festivals*. As the like was done to win the *Jews* in observing the old *sabbath*, *Pentecost*, &c.
4. But sure there is little force in this evasion; For 1. it is by this answer confess'd, that as to some parts of this *Island*, my argument is of force, and that in those this *festival* was introduced as early as their *Christianity*, and if that may be granted me, I shall contend for no more by this medium, but think I have gained a very fair confession for the antiquity of this *usage* in this *Church*, that this *festivity* was thus early introduced among us, even as soon,

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if not before *Christianity* had gotten possession of this whole *Nation*.

5. Meanwhile, that the *Nation* was not converted the several parts of it together (I mean not every person of every part, but some of all) or that there was any such *interstitium* or *interval* considerable betwixt the *conversion* of some part of this *Island* and the rest of it, this is incumbent on the *Diatribist* to prove, or else the *argument* remains in full force to the whole *Nation*, as well as to any part of it. And for this he hath offered no proof, and so hath yielded the force of my *argument*, when he went about to *refute* it.
6. 2<sup>dy</sup> The example of the *Christians* complying with the *Jews*, will stand him in as little stead; for when was it that the *Christians* thus complied with the *Jews*, or that they retain'd their old *sabbath*, out of that design of compliance with them? Was it not at the time of the first *conversion* of the *Jews* to *Christianity*? Can it be imagined that the *Jews* were a good while before converted to the faith and to the doctrine of the abolition of the *sabbath*, and then, some good while after that their *conversion*, the observation of their *sabbath* should be reduced, *ex post liminio*?
7. Would not this be a *constringent* argument to any gainfayer to prove that *baptism* was introduced at the first beginnings of *Christianity*, because *baptisme* is known to be a *custome* taken from the *Jews*? And so sure of the *sabbath*, and the like; If any space or *interval* had come in after the planting of *Christianity* among the *Jews*, it is no way probable that the *sabbath* once laid aside, as a ceremony nail'd to the cross of *Christ*, would ever after have been recalled, and observed among *Christians*; only at the first *conversion* or *plantation* of the faith such things might from the *Jewish* state adhere unto the *Christian*, though they were not taught by *Christianity*, and so some others from the *heathen* also, is possible and imaginable; but tis no way supposable after the space of many years, when *heathenisme* with all its *rites* and *adherents* had long ago been cast out.
8. And let this serve for his 2<sup>d</sup> §. The matter is not so weighty (being but an *argumentum ad homines*) as to deserve any greater length of discourse to vindicate it.

Sect. 3.

*Of Crescens coming into France, and Simon Zelotes into England. The difference of keeping Easter in the West and East. Testimonies for our conversion in the Apostles times, Before King Lucius. The Diatribists suggestion disproved. Britain not converted from Rome.*

1. Concerning the first planting of Christianity in this Nation by some Apostle or Apostolical person, what was said with competent probability out of our histories, is considered by the Diatribist in the next place, but nothing said or offered to be proved by him, which may exact answer from me, the whole matter especially being but a *πάρεργον* to the business of Festivals: only some passages of his must be shortly noted.
2. As 1. when from my saying that *Crescens his being in France removes all improbability from those histories that record the plantation of Christianity in these Islands in the Apostles times* ] he seems to believe it my opinion that *Crescens came over hither, (for so, saith he, the Doctor would have it, and proves it out of Scripture)* which very thing he knowes I absolutely disclaim, and only conclude it as *credible* that some other Apostle or Apostolical person should so early come over hither and plant the Faith, as that *Crescens* should come into France in S. Pauls dayes, which yet the French generally believe that he did, and have received it by tradition, and the words of Scripture may very fitly be so interpreted as to affirm it (and I do not believe that *Estius* hath, or that this Diatribist can demonstrate the contrary, I am sure he hath here produced nothing toward it, but the bare name of *Estius*).
3. That *Joseph of Arimathea*, or *Simon Zelotes* was the person that first planted the faith here, I receive from our Stories by tradition, and accordingly satisfy my self therewith, and never attribute it to *Crescens* or any other, but particularly express my reasons why I cannot imagine it to be *Crescens*, and therefore am very much misreported in this matter.



4. All that I had to do with *Crescens* in that place was only this, that from the *authority* of the relations of *Crescens's* coming so early into *France*, I thought I might conclude against the *improbability* of *Josephs* or *Simons* coming hither, the latter being perfectly as *credible* as the former, and the *passage* from *France* to *England* so *short* and *easy*, that there can be no *difficulty* or *disparity* in the matter, that one should be believed by the *French*, and the other be *incredible* to us. This was set down intelligibly enough in that treatise, if the *Diatribists* haste or somewhat else had not cast the cloud over it.
5. Secondly, when from the *time* of celebrating *Easter* anciently in this *Nation* I conclude that neither *Peter* nor *Paul* nor *Crescens* did *first* bring the *Faith* into this *Island*, and the *Diatribist* thinks he hath thereby gained an advantage, and that the same reason is of force against *Joseph* and *Simon Zelotes* also, this is an evident *mistake* in him. For it is sufficiently known that as the *Western* custome of keeping *Easter* was deduced from *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, so the contrary *Eastern* observation pretended to *tradition* from other *Apostles*, particularly from *S. John*. Now as to the former of these it is consequent, that none of the *associates* or attendants of *S. Paul* or *S. Peter* were the *planters* of the *Faith* here (and so not *Crescens*, who was such, 2 *Tim.* 4. 11.) because of those it is not imaginable that they should *vary* from the custome received from those two *Apostles*, as tis apparent the *first Christians* here did, in the celebrating of *Easter*; so it is no way *conclusible* of all others, which related not to those two *Apostles*, and such I suppose *Joseph* and *Simon Zelotes* were, it being very possible that either of these might comply with the *Jewish* account, and accord with *S. John*, and the *Eastern Church* in this *celebration*.
6. And accordingly as by this *indication* it appears, that the words of *Metaphrastes* concerning *Simon Peters* preaching the *faith*, and *constituting Churches* &c. in *Britain* in the 12<sup>th</sup> of *Nero*, cannot be deemed to have truth in them, so if it may be supposed that *Metaphrastes*, receiving his *intelligence* from some more *ancient* author or *tradition*, mistook *Simon Peter* for *Simon Zelotes*, I see not what could be objected against the *probability* of the relation, either in respect of the person of that *Simon*, who is by  
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very good Authors deemed to have been the planter of the faith here, or in respect of the earliness of the plantation, in or before the 12<sup>th</sup> of Nero, i. e. within 34 years after Christs ascension.

7. To this matter of the antiquity of the faith in this Island, and that particularly by this Simon Zelotes, I shall now add some few considerations: First out of the <sup>a</sup> words of Theodoret in his *Therapeut. Ser.* 9. *ἐν Νόμων*, where having compared the Apostles of Christ, under the title of <sup>b</sup> *ἡμίτεροι ἀλιεῖς καὶ τελῶναι* our fisher-men and Publicans, with the Lawgivers of the Grecians and Romanes, he affirms that whereas these latter did not persuade or gain upon their next neighbours to live according to their laws, those former wrought upon not only Grecians and Romanes, but *ἅπαντα τὰ βαρβάρων τὰ φύλα* all the nations of the Barbarians (among which we know the Britains were vulgarly contained) and brought them to embrace the Evangelical law; and if this be yet too general, he then adds the enumeration of the severals, and among them by name specifies the Britains, *οἱ δὲ ἡμίτεροι ἀλιεῖς, καὶ οἱ τελῶναι, καὶ ὁ σκυτοτομὴ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τὰς δαυαρυλικὰς ποσειδωνόχας νόμους, καὶ ἕκαστον Ρωμαῖους καὶ ἑκάς τέτοις τελῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκυδικὰ καὶ τὰ σαυερματικὰ ἔθνη, καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ Πέρσας, καὶ Σῆρας, καὶ Ἑρμάους καὶ Βακτριανούς καὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ Κιμβρὺς, καὶ Γερμανούς, καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπὸ πάντων ἔθνεσιν καὶ γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων διέξαδας τὸ σαυερῶνται τὸς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν.* A clear testimony that the Apostles themselves in person paid this obedience to Christs command of going to all nations, none excepted, and that with some kinde of succeſſe every where, particularly here in Britain.

\* See Sir H. Spelman De Exord. Christ. Rel. in Brit. p. 2. p. 123.

p. 125.

8. <sup>2<sup>dy</sup></sup> From the expreſs words of \* Nicephorus Callistus, who \* *Hiſt. Eccl.* setting down the several plantations of the Apostles, hath these *l. 2. c. 40.* words of Simon Zelotes, *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπισηῶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παναίγιον πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησιν, Αἰγυπτῶν, Κυπρίων τε καὶ τῇ Ἀρεμὴ προσβαλὼν Μαυριανίαντες, καὶ ὅσοις τὸ Λιβύης ἐστὶ, τῶν δαυαρυλικῶν διαδεγμένων, καὶ πρὸς ἑσπερίον Ὠκεανὸν ἐσβαλὼν καὶ τὰς Βρεταννικὰς νήσους δαυαρυλικῶν πολλοῖς τε σημείοις καὶ θαύμασι ἐπιδείξαι, θεολογία τε καὶ διδασκαλία χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἀνυμνήσας, ἀπείρους δὲ τῶν ἐθνικῶν ἐξεταδαίς τε καὶ ὅσῃ τὸ διὰ σαυρῶν θάνατον, ἀλλήλων τινι χαρᾷ σισδεξάμενοι, πρὸς τὸ αὐτῷ διδάσκαλον μετεχώρησεν.* After the coming of the holy Ghost upon him, he took himself to Egypt,

and Cyrene, and Africk, and passing through Mauritania and Lybia in the preaching of the Gospel, and adventuring on the Western Ocean, and preaching the Gospel to the Brittish Islands, and depredicating Christ as was needful both by many signes and wonders, and by divinity and doctrine, and being tried with many afflictions, at last with endless joy embracing the death of the cross he departed to his Master. Which last passage of his death, that it belonged to these Islands also, is affirmed by *Dorotheus*, who addes that he was slain and buried here, and thereto accord the *Greek Liturgies* in their *Menologie*, though *Baronius* and others dissent in that particular of his death.

9. Thirdly, That *Gildas Brito* or *Badonicus*, who affirms that Christ was preached to *Britanny* (under the name of *glacialis frigore rigenti Insula*) *summo* *Tiberii* *Cæsaris*, in the last year of *Tiberius* *Cæsar*, i. e. in the fifth year after *Christis* resurrection, is by *Sir Hen: Spelman* cited as *author gravis & eximia fidei*, a grave author and of great fidelity, anciently styled *Sapiens*, *The wise*, and so agreeing with these former testimonies, may deserve to be heeded by us, and not cast off, as by the *Diairibist* he is, magisterially dictating, that his affirmation was meer tradition and far from probability, but not adding the least proof of it, but only that no authors of any credit lay it so high, with what truth, doth now competently appear, and is yet farther confirmed by a former testimony brought by *Mr. Fox* out of *Gildas Albanicus* in his book of the victory of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, where he affirms *Britannie* received the Gospel in the reign of the Emperor *Tiberius*. To this accordeth also the *Vatican MS.* out of which *Baronius* placeth the reception of the Faith in this Island about the year 35. which is two years earlier then the last of *Tiberius*.

10. For other passages to the same purpose, especially for the relations of *Joseph of Arimathea* in *Guil: Matthesbur:* I refer the Reader to that worthy *Antiquary*, *Sir Henry Spelman*, de exord: p. 4. &c. And whatever the *Diairibist* suggests, I see not indeed in any or all of this the least degree of either impossibility or improbability; For of those Apostles that immediately after *Christis* ascension took their journeys to several corners of the world, to publish and propagate the Gospel, what difficulty is there in belie-
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ving, that in the space of *four* or *five* years, some one either by himself, or by his *missive*, at least that the *tidings* of that blessed *newes*, should finde the way hither into this *Island*? I shall now adde no more of this.

11. Lastly, when in the setting and translating the *supposed* words of *Eleutherius* to *King Lucius*, the *Diatribist* chargeth me for leaving out or not translating *nuper* (which the *Latine* in my *margent* retained) adding that I did it wisely (I suppose on some *designe* to assist my cause) and *leaving others to judge why it was done*; this is but a *calumny* all this while.
12. For 1. having (as he acknowledges) set down the word *nuper* in the *margent*, that was a fair *evidence* to any charitable person that there was no *treachery* designed the *Reader*, for it being certainly *foreseen* by me that my *Readers* would easily understand so much *Latine* as the rendring of *nuper* would amount to, I had been by any such *designe* engaged to conceal the *Latine* also, the setting down that, was the certain way of *discovering* any such supposable *treachery*, and so sure no *artifice* or *master piece* of *wisdome* (which the *Diatribist* imputes to me) but at once an *act* and *punishment* of *folly* such as I heartily desire may alwaies attend such *enterprises*.
13. But I need not such *prelusorie* answers as these, the matter is plain to any man that hath *eyes* in his *head*; My *English* translation was not *verbum verbo*, yet by way of *paraphrase* perfectly answerable to the *Latine*, the *Latine* is, *Suscepistis nuper miseratione divinâ in regno Britannia legem & fidem Christi*, and the *English* is as explicate to every minute part of it, that *before that writing of his* (is not that the full *paraphrase* of *nuper*, without defining what is not there defined, how long, or how little while agoe this was, but only *before* the *writing* of *Elutherius's Epistle*) the *kingdome* of *Britain* had received by *Gods mercy* the *law* and *faith* of *Christ*. I see there is no hope of approving myself to this *Diatribist*, If there were, I should not have fallen thus causelessly under his severest discipline, for such I must esteem this his *suggestion*, and the *insinuations* accompanying it.
14. And yet after all this, if I had done the utmost which he can suppose, *viz.* not rendring *nuper* at all, on purpose that this *conversion* of the *Island* might be thought to be long before the time  
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of *Lucius* and *Eleutherius*, which was above 140 years after *Tiberius's* decease, I hope it is by this time plain by what hath here been said of our conversion by some *Apostle*, particularly by *Simon Zelotes*, that I should not much have abused the Reader. That the faith was not first preached in *Lucius's* days, but revived after the death of the first planters of it, I refer the Reader to learn from Sir *Henry Spelman* p. 12. out of our ancient records: And for the truth of the passages between *Eleutherius* and *Lucius*, as I never had engaged my self, so if from thence, as the *Diatribist* pretends, any inconveniences be now found consequent toward the support of the *Romanists* plea to our subjection, it will be his (not my) concernment to fence himself against them, having heretofore acknowledged the truth of the story that *Lucius* sent to *Eleutherius* for some to baptize him and his people, withall from hence concluding that *Christianity* was not here planted from the *Apostles* times.

15. And here let me adde in reference to his sixth §. that if I should yield what here he doth, that this Nation first received baptism not from any *Apostle* or *Apostolical* planter, but in *Lucius's* days from *Eleutherius* Bishop of Rome, it could not well be imagined how our ancient *British* should be found so different from the usages of Rome in the celebration of Easter &c. as it is known they were before, and at the time of *Augustines* coming hither. For certainly the *Western* manner was conveyed to all who had their *Christianity* or baptism from Rome.
16. And indeed, as to the other concernment, what would it avail us to prove that we had not our *Christianity* first from Rome in *Augustines* time, if we be yielded to have had it first from Rome in *Eleutherius's* time? I desire the *Diatribist*, which even now foresaw the danger, will now see to it.
17. What to this he saith (*viz.* that the *Eastern Christians* which kept their Easter after the Jewish manner, kept it not so in the *Apostles* times) is neither proved to have any truth in it, nor if it had, would it give any account of the reason of the *British* retaining the Jewish and Eastern custome, in case they had their baptism from *Eleutherius*, for as to the latter of these, though this difference were granted to be of a later original than the *Apostles* times, yet what possibility were there that the *British* should have the



the *Eastern Jewish* custome from *Rome*, when the *Romish* was constantly the *contrary*, or that receiving *Baptisme* from *Rome*, we should have our most *ancient* rites from *Greece*, quite contrary to the *usages* of *Rome*.

Sect. 4.

*The keeping of Easter in the Apostles times. Polycrates's Epistle to Victor. The Asiatick way from Philip and John. From Philip derived to Britanny. Εορδαζωδω. Κυριακη. The testimonie of Socrates against Festivals, examined.*

1. **A**S for the truth of his negation §. 6. that the *Eastern Christians* which kept their Easter after the *Jewish manner*, kept it not so in the *Apostles times* ] It will deserve considering a while, and the rather because this of *Easter* being certainly a *Christian Festival*, the annual commemoration of the *resurrection* of *Christ*, and that observed by the *Asiaticks* on any day of the *week* on which the *quartadecima Luna* should fall, and not only on the *Lords day*, if that shall be found to be so kept by any of the *Apostles* themselves, this will be no small prejudice to the *Diatribists* pretensions, who will not, must not allow any other *festival* among *Christians*, but that of the *weekly sabbath* or *Lords day*, as tis by him deduced from the *fourth Commandment*. And accordingly in his reasoning here against it, his arguments proceed not only against the *Jewish manner*, but against the *feast* it self being observed in the *Apostles times*, as will presently appear.
2. Now then for the clear trial of this negation of his, on which his cause so much dependeth, I appeal to the *history* of that *question* or *controversie* betwixt the *Eastern* and *Western Church*, as it is set down with very little difference by *Eusebius* l. 5. and *Nicephorus* l. 4.
3. And first, tis *Eusebius* affirmation of it that *all the Provinces of Asia* observed it on the *fourteenth day*, ως εν *Εσθονος* *αρχαι* l. 5. c. 27.  
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οτις. as from a more ancient tradition, and again as τὸ πάλαι  
 πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἑσθλὸν ἔσθ, a custom long before delivered to  
 them; which, considering the time wherein this question was  
 agitated at the end of the second Century, can amount to little  
 less than Apostolical.

4. But I need not lay weight on this, his 24 Chapter gives us  
 the full debate of it in the Epistle of Polycrates to Victor.

5. This Polycrates was the eighth Bishop of Ephesus, and was  
 then 65 years old, which reacheth up very high, within 30 years  
 of S. Johns time, and he<sup>a</sup> set down and manifested the tradition  
 to be Apostolical, expressly deducing it from two of the Apostles,  
 Philip one of the twelve, which, saith he, died at Hierapolis, and  
 John the beloved disciple of Christ, who lived and died at Ephesus,  
 adding to these Polycarp Bishop and Martyr of Smyrna, and  
 Thraseas Bishop and Martyr of Eumenia, Sagaris of Laodicea,  
 Papyrius, and Melito of Sardis, All which, saith he, observed,  
 the fourteenth day χτὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, according to the Gospel, μὴ ἐν  
 παρακλαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ χτὶ τὸ κανόνα τὸ πίστεως ἀκολουθῶντες, keeping  
 exactly the Canon of faith, and no way varying from it.

6. Here it is undeniably evident, that the Asiatick custome was  
 by Polycrates (and all the Bishops of Asia οὐκ ὀκνήσαντες τῇ ἐπιστολῇ  
 consented to this Epistle of his) fetcht from two of the twelve  
 Apostles, S. Philip and S. John. And if that which<sup>b</sup> our sto-  
 ries tell us of Philips being in France, and sending Joseph of A-  
 rimathea and others into Britain, be to be understood of Philip  
 the Apostle, as<sup>c</sup> Gildas Aibanicus expressly affirms, then have  
 we a clear account of the derivation of this custome of keeping  
 Easter in this Nation from Philip to our first Christians, just as  
 Polycrates in Asia deduces it from the same Philip.

And that affords us an irrefragable instance of the observation  
 of Christian festivals among us, not only from the first plantation  
 of Christianity among us, but even from the practice of the very  
 Apostles themselves, which was the utmost that I could pretend to  
 in this matter.

8. And it is farther observable, that Pope Victor of Rome, though  
 he was willing to have proceeded with greater rigor against the  
 Asiaticks, even<sup>d</sup> ἀπολύμην τὰς Ἀσίας πᾶσις ἀμα ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐκ-  
 κλησίαις πατριῶν, to cut off or excommunicate all the Provinces  
 and

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν Ἀπο-  
 σταλικὴν περὶ  
 θανάτου αὐτοῦ  
 ἵκαν ἄχρι δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ  
 ἑλθόντων πε-  
 ρεφθῶν.  
 Niceph. l. 4.  
 c. 37.

<sup>b</sup> See Guil.  
 Malmesb. de  
 Antiq. Glaston.  
 Eccl. ex Fre-  
 culpho l. 2. c. 4.  
 Et Baron: Tom.  
 1. an. 35. num. 5.  
 Et MS. Hist.  
 Angl: in Vati-  
 can. Biblioth.

<sup>c</sup> Addit is mis-  
 sum fuisse Gal-  
 liam in Britan-  
 niam a Philippo  
 Apostolo Jose-  
 pho Arima-  
 theum. Sir H.  
 Spelman Ap-  
 par. P. 1.  
<sup>d</sup> Κτε. νε.

and Churches of Asia, *ὡς ἑτεροδόξους*, as heterodox, yet never questions the truth of Polycrates's affirmations, concerning his receiving the custom from those Apostles; And indeed the other Bishops assembled, were not for such severity, but for peace, and unity, and charity with these fellow Christians, and reprehended Victor severely for his thoughts of severity.

9. And the \* Epistle of Irenæus to Victor is very considerable to this purpose, who though he resolved on Victor's conclusion for the keeping it on the Lords day only, yet he is absolutely against communicating the Asiatics upon this very ground, that these Churches of God did ἀρχαίως ἔχεις παρὰδοσιν ἐκλήναι, observe the tradition of ancient or original custom, and he farther tells him that the Bishops before him had never broken peace with any on occasion of this difference, instancing in Polycarp who came to Rome in Anicetus's time, and as Anicetus could not persuade him to leave his custom, ἀτε μετὰ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ μαθητῇ τῷ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις οἷς συνῴκησαν αἰεὶ τελενεύοντες, as having observed it alwaies according to the practice of John the disciple of the Lord, and the rest of the Apostles with whom he had conversed, So neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to leave his way, and yet they communicated one with another; Here again by Irenæus his own confession, who was for the Western custom, the Eastern was practised by John and the rest of the Apostles (sure more then one) with whom Polycarp had conversed.

10. Lastly, There is no doubt all this while of that which the Western pretended for their custom, that they had it ἐκ ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως by Apostolical tradition, saith Eusebius, ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἀνωθεν ἐκ ὁρίων following the Apostolical tradition upward, or from the beginning, saith Nicephorus, and that expressly from S. Peter the Apostle, which still leaves the matter most evident and irrefragable, that this feast of Easter, which sure is a Christian festival (and all others are to be rated by that standard) was observed and celebrated by the Apostles, and so is the evincing of all that I need to pretend to, for the vindicating of that Resolution of the Quære concerning the Festivals of the Church.

11. What now can be invented by way of reply to this argument thus enforced, I profess not to be able to foresee; what he hath

thought fit to offer for the proof of the contrary, I shall now very briefly consider.

12. And 1. saith he, there is no mention of the institution or observation of it in Scripture, nor any ground to found it on. But to this, 1. It is sufficient to answer, that there is small virtue in this argument from Scripture negative. 2<sup>dly</sup> That the Apostles word *ἑορταζώμεν* let us keep the feast, which by circumstances is applied to the feast of Easter, is some (be it acknowledged a lesse weighty) ground in Scripture for the observation. 3<sup>dly</sup> That the mention of *Κυριακὴ* the Lords day, Rev. 1. is some farther ground whether that signifie the weekly or annual Lords day; If it be the annual, there is then a clear evidence for the observation of it in the Apostles days; and if it should be the weekly, yet in any reason the annual day of the resurrection was the foundation of this weekly day, which we know is to commemorate the resurrection, as it is evident that the weekly friday fasts in the Church had their foundation in the annual great fast on the day of Christs death in the Paschal week.
13. 4<sup>thly</sup> If the Scripture should give us no kinde of mention of this, yet seeing it hath otherwile appeared from the most ancient and undoubted records of the Church, that Easter was observed by the Apostles, by Peter and Paul in one manner, by John and Philip in another, what place of doubt or question can there be in this matter?
14. What he addes in the close of his first reason that the Apostles were so farre from instituting these as Christian feasts, that they do expressly repeal them and cry them down, hath not the least degree of truth in it, as hath formerly appeared in the view of Gal. 4. 10.
15. His 2<sup>d</sup> proof is from Socrates the Historian saying that the Apostles were not sollicitous to appoint any festival days at all, therefore not this of Easter. To this I answer, that Socrates's words do not at all deny this to have been the practice of the Apostles, only his conceit is, that neither Christ nor his Apostles \* νόμον ὡς τὸ ἑσθυλάειν παρὰ γέμιαν commanded to observe this by any law, and again that they intended not *καὶ ἡμερῶν ἑορταστικῶν νομοθετεῖν* to make laws of festival days, referring the original of them to custome, which varied in severall regions, as appeared to him

him by that difference betwixt the *Asiatick* and *Western Christians*, from whence his *conclusion*, or (as in the same matter he saith, *παραίρεσις*) his conjecture was, that *ἡ τῶ παλαιῶ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐκ σωτηρίας τινὸς ἐδιδόσαν ἔσχε τὴν περὶ τήν σελήνην, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι Ἀποστόλων μὴδ' ἐνὶ νενομισμέναις ἀλλ' αὐτῆς, the feast of Easter among all sorts of people had a peculiar different observation from some custome, because none of the Apostles had made any law concerning it.*

16. The short is, *Socrates* saw that several Nations had their several *customs* of keeping *Easter*, some, saith he, from *John*, others from *Peter* and *Paul*, setting down the very story, as we have given it, out of *Eusebius*, and from thence he collectts (how truly it matters not) that no *Apostle* had given any *binding law* to all *Christians* concerning it.
17. And so I that speak only of the *practice Apostolical*, and not at all of their *νομοθεσία* commanding it by law, am no way *incommodated* by this testimony. And for any more then so (*practice* and *custome Apostolical*) it will be hard for the *Diatribist* to produce any evidence for the *weekly Christian sabbath* or *Lords day*; sure the *New Testament* hath no where any *νομοθεσία* giving of law concerning it.
18. His 3<sup>d</sup> proof taken from the difference of the observation of it in the *Eastern* and *Western Church*, which, saith he, makes it evident that it was not instituted by the *Apostles* hath sure now been competently answered, for though that difference conclude against the *νομοθεσία* or appointment of the day by *universal law*, yet it no way prejudgeth the *practice Apostolical*, or the derivation of the several *customs* from this *original*.
19. How true, or pertinent to his purpose that is which followes, that the observation of *Easter* hath better antiquity then this of *Christmas*, though not *Apostolical*, doth already sufficiently appear, the *Apostles practice* for the one being so evident on all hands, by the confession both of the *Eastern* and *Western Christians*, (the several practices being derived from several *Apostles*) that there can be no doubt in that matter; And then the *analogy* holding, and the argument proceeding in full force from one *Christian festival* commemorative of *Christs resurrection*, to another commemorative of his birth, or his ascension, will certainly justify the

the lawfulness of the observation, though the antiquity should not equally be pleadable for it.

20. And so I hope I have fully cleared and vindicated the conclusency of this argument.

Sect. 5.

*Midwinter-day. The Winter Solstice. Julius's Calendar.*

1. **N**Ext he proceeds to view the argument drawn from the title which our ancient records give *Christmasse day*, calling it *Midpintpa-dæg* *Midwinter-day* (and as I now finde in other Saxon monuments *Midpintpær-mæsse* *Midwinter-mass* or *feast*) and with this he is pleased to refresh himself and to be cheerful [How sweetly all agree, &c.] and then to make offer of some answer; But the truth is, he hath not made any the least discovery by those answers, that he adverted at all to that one thing, wherein alone all the force of the argument was placed; I shall therefore repeat it again for him.
2. The *Winter solstice* falling now many days earlier then the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December*, the acknowledged day of *Christs* birth, we are in reason to believe, that at the time when that title of *Midwinter-masse* was bestowed on this festival, the *Sun* entred into *Capricorn* (i. e. the *winter solstice* fell) if not upon, yet very neer to the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December*. And then this will drive it very high, up to the *Apostles* and our *Saviours* time, at the year of whose birth though as the learned exactly calculate it, the *Sun* entred *Capricorn* on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *December* at *Rome*, yet tis certain that *Iulius Caesar* ordering the *Calendar* 43 years before that, and believing that in his time it was as *Hipparchus* had said (*viz.* that the *solstices* had anticipated 8. days, for so in his time *Hipparchus* had observed) he placed the *solstices* on the eighth of the *Calends*, i. e. on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *June*, and 25<sup>th</sup> of *December*: In consonance whereto, the difference being yet not great, the first  
Christians

*Christians* might well call this feast *Mid-winter masse*, being indeed so neer the *solstice* then, though the farther we descend from those first times, the less *exactness* of truth we shall still finde in that *appellation*.

3. Now to this Mr. C. is not pleased to make the least word of *reply*, and so hath not qualified himself to expect any syllable of *return* from me to his 7<sup>th</sup> s. Only I shall tell him for his utmost satisfaction, 1. That my *argument* no way depends on the falling of *John Baptists* day on *Mid-summer* day, and only mentioned it to shew the *agreement* betwixt them. 2. That if *Christmas* day were not celebrated till the end of the 2<sup>d</sup> Century, it could not with any propriety be called *Mid-winter masse*, for *An. 200.* the *Winter solstice* was certainly at a pretty distance from the 25. of *December*. 3. That though now *Mid-winter* day be a fortnight sooner then the 25. of *December*, yet in the *Apostles* times it was not so, and so that is an *argument* for, not against the *observation* of it in, or neer the times of the *Apostles*, for else it could not with any truth be called *Midwinter* day.
4. By this time I hope the *Diatribists* eyes may be opened to discern some force in this *argument*, and how nothing he hath replied to it.

## Sect. 6.

*Festivals not Romish. The primitive Churches pure from the heresies that solicited them; The Romish corruptions not fetcht from them.*

1. **I**N the next place he proceeds to my two *inferences*, the former of which being only this, that the *antiquity* or *immemorial* usage of any festival in our nation doth no way argue that it hath any of the *corruptions* of the *Romane See* adhering to it, but the contrary, It is freely granted by him: And then I may for once congratulate the unexpected successe of that *Paper*. For it seems the use of *Festivals* is not *Romish* and *Antichristian*, on the score of which he certainly knowes some who have cast them out, and



I foresee not how he will ever approve himself to them again, after this one confession.

2. However he will make no delay to make some reparations, For though *festivals* have none of the *corruptions* of the *Roman See* adhering to them, yet, saith he, *they may have too much of the corruption of those Churches wherein they were first invented, corruptions which crept into those Churches not long after the Apostles days, and the Romish religion is a bundle of most of those corruptions.*
3. To which I answer, that nothing could be more *unjust* at once and *improbable*, then what is here without either *proof* or *diffidence* suggested against the *most ancient Primitive* (and next to *Apostolical*) *Church*.
4. That there were many *foul* and *dangerous errors* which very early, even in the *Apostles* days, solicited and infested the *Church*, there is no doubt; that impure detestable sink of the *Gnosticks*, and the several sorts of *hereticks* which all joined together under that title; But then tis most evident that the *Governors* of each *Church*, by the strength of that *depositum* committed to them by the *Apostles*, used all care to secure their *flocks* from such *pests* as these, and were by *Gods* blessing successful in it, *noted, branded, expulst* these *hereticks*, and kept the *Catholic Church* inure from their *corruptions*.
5. And then as it is most incredible that those *Churches* that censured these *corruptions*, should be *infested* with them, so nothing can be more *unjust*, as well as *uncharitable* and *impious*, then to *affix* that *character* on the *Churches*, which belonged only to the *hereticks* that *disturbed* and were *ejected* out of those *Churches*.
6. By this account the *Apostolical Churches* themselves, whilst the *Apostles* presided in them, might be blasted also, for we know there was in their very time a *mystery of iniquity*, *and* *many deceivers* and *Impostors*, *Antichrists*, and *false teachers* good store, but as *S. Iohn* saith of these, that *they went out from us, separated from the Churches*, and so discovered that *they were not of them*; So it was also after the *Apostles* death, the *hereticks* and *schismaticks* infused not their *corruptions* into the *Church*, and so they cannot with truth be imputed to those that were preserved pure from them, the *corruptions* of the *enemies* of the *Church*, unto the *Churches*.  
And

7. And however the *Doctor* have been accused sometimes of *complying* with the *Papists*, I am confident he never let any thing fall which yielded them so true and *solid* advantage, as this one affirmation of the *Diarribist*, that the corruptions, of which the *Romish* religion is a bundle, are those which crept into the Churches not long after the *Apostles* days: For what is that, but an *agnition*, that the most accused *Romish* practices now adays are the same which were delivered to them from the *Primitive Church*. For my part I protest my dissent (and so sure doth the whole Church of *England*, and every true son thereof) to this conclusion.

SECT. 7.

*The grounds why this Feast may not be abolished among us. The Diarribists mistake of the question.*

1. MY 2<sup>d</sup> inference now followes, that any such ancient usage of this particular Church, if it had no other "ground to stand on (as its foundation) or concurrence of all Christian Churches (as pillars) to sustain it, were a very competent authority for the present continuance of such a practice in the Church, and that upon this score, because the *Anglicane Church* being one of those which by its foundation is *ἀντοκράτωρ* subject to no foreign Patriarch, is consequently invested with unquestionable power to institute Ceremonies for it self, which consequently may not without great temerity be changed or abolished by any.
2. To this, because I see there are some pages of objections inserted by the *Diarribist*, before I read them over, I desire it may be adverted, wherein the force of my inference consists, viz. in these 3 things, 1. that this particular Church of ours being first planted by some either *Apostle* or *Apostolical* person was thereby constituted *ἀντοκράτωρ* of absolute power within it self, as that excludes subjection to any other foreign power.
3. 2<sup>dly</sup> That in all probability this feast was set up, or celebrated here, by those that first planted the faith among us, i. e. by some

K k

*Apostle*

*Apostle* or *Apostolical* person, by *Simon Zelotes* or by those 12 which were sent higher by *Philip the Apostle*, and *Ioseph of Arimathea* one of those.

4. 3 That what was by so good *authority* introduced, having no equal reason to *superse* it (such as was the contrary tradition of other *Apostles* in the businesse of *Easter*) may not without temerity now be *abolished* by any; not by any other person or persons, *Pope*, or *Consistory*, because no other hath power over a Church which is *αὐτοκράτωρ* founded by the *Apostles*, and not subjected by them to any; not by the Church it self, which cannot now be supposed to have any such persons in it, as may be fit to compare with the first founders of it, at least, not without some greater reason for the changing and abolishing, then they may appear to have had for the using of it.
5. Upon these grounds my inference being built, as is there apparent by the premisses, and the very expressions cautiously used in setting it down, let us now see what the *Diatribist* hath to object; And 1. that it is *αὐτοκράτωρ* by its foundation, he willingly grants, subordinate to no forain Patriarch, I shall only demand whether it be subordinate to its own sons, or to any but the legal Fathers of it? I hope it will be as reasonable for me to presume it is not, as it was for the *Diatribist* to grant the former, for else M.C. a son of this Church by devesting the *Pope* of his authority, shall only have removed and vested it in himself, and such as he, translated it from the *Papacy* to the *Presbyterie*, which I hope he will not professe to do, lest that be the very crime which was charged on our *Bishops*, that they assumed to themselves the *Papal power*, or the power of ordaining ceremonies, which sure is no greater then that of abolishing them.
6. Having made this grant of the *αὐτοκράτωρ* of this Church, it is observable what he presently interposeth, Yet, saith he, we justly question whether it be invested with such unquestionable power to institute what ceremonies it please, which may not upon good reasons be changed and abolished. In which very form of proposing his question or exception, tis visible what change he hath thought fit to make in my inference, when I spake of the power of this Church to institute ceremonies for it self, I never affirmed of those ceremonies once instituted that they might not upon good reasons be

be changed and abolished, for I doubt not but the same power which may on good reasons institute, may on good reasons abolish also; But first I desired to examine the present reasons of abolition of this Festival, whether they were as important as those whereon this Festival was supposed to be instituted, viz. that of the pious and thankful commemorating the birth of Christ; and withall  
 2. whether those reasons pretended for abolition, were not feigned reasons, as those taken from the heads of Will-worship, and Superstition, have, I must hope, been evidenced to be: or again  
 3. whether they might not otherwise be satisfied, as that of the riot (charged only as a consequence accidental to the Feast) by care and exercise of discipline.

7. To which considerations may 4<sup>thly</sup> be farther added this reasonable *aphorisme* of Christian policy, that what was thus brought in on such grounds by the governors of a Church, supposing them but such as are of an ordinary rank of governors, and not the Apostolical founders of the Church (to whom certainly more respect is due) may not be cast out by sons of the Church, or indeed by any other then the authority of the succeeding Governors.

8. And these few considerations I suppose, may competently evidence the unreasonableness of this changing the terms of the question, if not of his plea for the abolition of the Festival.

9. And therefore whereas, upon this occasion, he enters into a large discourse concerning the power of the Church to institute ceremonies, I shall take leave to passe it over untoucht, it being certain that the two branches of the one proposition, for which I contend, are no way concerned in any part of his state of this question, nor indeed any thing with the least probability suggested against either, viz. 1. that a National Church planted by the Apostles or their successors may lawfully use a festival for the commemorating the birth of Christ, and on it pray to, and praise God in the solemn assembly, preach out the word and Sacraments, exhorting all good Christians to partake thereof and to lay aside their ordinary labours, that they may be vacant for such holy exercises; and 2. that when such a pious usage hath gained a reception, either from the time of the first planting of the faith among us, or however by immemorial custom (all other Churches in the world for very many hundred years, and for ought we can dif-

cern, from the very *Apostles* practice, concurring with us) it ought not to be *declaimed* against, as *Antichristian*, or *laid aside*, or *covenanted* against by this *Diatribist* or others, persons not in but under authority, upon no weight of *solid* reasons, but upon some *causeless suggestions*, that it is *criminous*, under the head of *Will-worship* and *Superstition*.

10. This was so plainly set down before, to be the whole matter in debate betwixt me and any *gain-sayers*, that there was nothing left to the *Diatribist*, but briefly to point at the *weak* part, if there appeared to be any such in either branch of this *proposition*, and having nothing from him to this purpose, I shall now omit to take notice of the *infirmities* of which this *discourse* of his is as full as from any writing of no greater length may well be expected, and hasten to his following §§. in hope of *springing* somewhat more *pertinent* to our *controversie*.

### Sect. 9.

*The Reformation in this Kingdome. No imperfection in it in point of Festivals. The states joyning in it no disadvantage to the Church.*

1. MY 10<sup>th</sup> §. proceeded to some few *considerations*, the advertising to which might render this *change* or *abolition* of the *Christmas Festival* more *unreasonable*; As 1. that this *observation* was an *undoubted part* of that *establishment* which the *Reformation* in this *kingdome* enacted for us, and that by act of *Parliament*, and not only by *Church Canon*.

2. To this he answers two things, 1. That the *Reformation* was not so full as the *Reformers themselves* could have wished; Never considering how far this is from being *applicable* to the point in hand, For I shall demand, Did all or any of the *Reformers*, to whose *piety* and *temper* we owe our *establishment*, ever expresse their wish that all *Festivals*, particularly this of *Christmase* should be *abolished*? or did they not? If it shall be said, they did

did, I then presse that the *Record* may be produced, by which this hath been notified to the *Diaribist*; But if he confesse they did not, or offer no *proof*, that they did, then what is it to this matter of *festivities*, wherein only our present *debate* is concerned, if in other things of a quite *different* nature, as that of bringing all *notorious sinners* to *penance* every *Lent*, mentioned in the office for *Ashwednesday*, they *wisht*, and exprest their *wish*, that the *Reformation* were more *perfect*? The rule in law is seasonable to be here applied, *Exceptio firmat in non exceptis*, Their expressing their *wish* that other things might be more *perfect*, gives us assurance, that they *wisht* not any farther *change* in this particular of *festivals*, then that which they made in the *Romish Calendar*.

3. This answer therefore had little of *advantage* for him, and yet his only *Reserve* is, that 2. this seems to grant that the *Reformation* was made by the *State* and not by the *Church*, which now is pleaded for.
4. And I pray what is that to the *disadvantage* of the *Church* that the *State* joined with it in the *Reformation*, confirming and *establisshing* it by *Act* of *Parliament*; or 2. why is that the *sister* to be *abolished* which stands by *Statute law*, as well as by *Ecclesiastical Canon*, and *Custome immemorial*; or 3. how doth the *Parliaments* confirming the *Liturgie*, and therein the *festivals*, inferre that this *festival* was not first *introduced* by the *Church*, when it is most evident that the *Festival* was in the *Church* long before that *Act* of *Parliament*?
5. These indeed are all the *answers* we can have to an *argument*, which seemed to have been of some force with a *friend* of *Parliaments* or *establisshed lawes*: and therefore we must content our selves with them.



## Sect. 3.

*The Lutheran Churches accord in this. Morney's wish. The Helvetian confession. Rivets custome of preaching on the day.*

1. **M**Y 2<sup>d</sup> consideration was, that *this and other feasts of Christ are retained in the reformed Lutheran Churches, and where they are taken away, wish'd for by sober members, as Ph: Morney Du Pleffis, and approved by the confessions of those Churches as the Helvetian, and in other places the day of Christmas afford'd the solemnity of a Sermon.*
2. To this he answers, that *the Lutheran are not reputed the best reformed Churches, nor by the Doctor, he believes, thought fit to be compar'd with England, and so not fit precedents for our Reformation.*
3. But sure he might have mark'd that *the Lutheran Churches concurring with the English in this of Festivals tis no way to the disparaging of my argument, that I do not compare the Lutheran Churches with that of England; Tis certainly sufficient if they and the Church of England together may be able to compare with all other reformed Churches which have cast out all festivals as superstitious or Antichristian; And thus I shall, without much insolence, adventure to make the comparison.*
4. As for the little regard he is pleas'd to give to such private persons wishes, as that of *Ph: Morney Du Pleffis*, I may reasonably reply, that how fastidiously soever he reject it, it may very well be allowed to keep the practice of the Church of France from being any example or precedent to us, when the prime members of their own Church have express'd their dislikes of it.  
 And I pray why was not the *Helvetian confession* worth his taking notice of? that was no bare wish of a private man, but the approbation of a Church, which Mr. Calvin thought fit to write to for their judgement and suffrage to his new erected model at Geneva.
6. As for the passage of giving Sermons to Christmas day, I see

it is mistaken by him, and applied to, as spoken of himself and such as he in their *former practices*, and upon that *misprision* it is, that he is so much concerned to have *their prayers as good and as large as the Liturgies*, (by the way, if they be not much better, and sure alwayes to be so, why must the *Liturgie be abolished?*) whereas all this while I never thought of him, or such as he, which it seems, kept fair with *Christmas* (from whence I am in charity to believe they thought it not *Superstition*) till they had an advantage of *ejecting* it, and then made all speed to close with the opportunity, but of some other *preachers* in other *Churches*, where this *Festival* was not *observed*, such as *Andrew River* in the *Low Countreys*, who, as I have been informed, constantly preach't on that day to his *auditors*, which was a *civility* fit to be mentioned to those that will now perform that *office* on any day of the week, rather then on *that*.

## Sect. 10.

*Ejecting festivals. Separation from the purest times, even those of the Apostles. Our Churches departure from Rome unjustly paralleld with the departure of sons from our Church.*

1. MY 3<sup>d</sup> consideration was, that the rasing this Festivity out of the Calendar is an act of separation from the Church of England, and the universal Church of all ages, especially of the first and purest times.
2. To this he answers by denial of both parts, Not the latter having proved, as he saith, that the first and purest ages of the Church did not observe it, Not the former, unlesse I yield that the Reformation of the Church of England was a division and separation from the Church of Rome, or the reformation in Luthers time a separation from the Catholike Church, as Papists say it was.
3. But for the former of these, it is sufficient to reply by way of demand, where it is that he hath so proved this of the first and purest

purest ages not observing *festivals*, that he can affirm it certain that this of *disusing* or *laying* them down is not *separation* from the *Church* of those ages? Truly my *eyes* or my *memory* very much fail me, or he hath not as yet *proved* it in any *degree*, much lesse so demonstrated it that a *Corollary* deduced from thence, and depending on that probation, should deserve to be *pronounced* certain.

4. Nay sure there hath yet been no *occasion* offered him (at least made *use* of by him) to attempt so *impossible* a thing, as is such a *negative* probation. Of this I am sure, that for this *Festival* and that other of *Easter* the reason must be the same, and I have already made it as *clear* as the *day*, that that was observed by the *Apostles* of *Christ*, by *Philip* and *John* on the *Jewish* day, and by *Peter* and *Paul* on the *annual* *Dominical*; And if through the *dimness* or *want* of *stories* of those times, this be not so evident of this particular *Feast* of *Christmasse*, yet the *analogy* holding directly betwixt the *one* and the *other*, the *argument* remains as *firm*, that the laying aside either *this* or that *festival*, is a *separation* from the *Apostolick*, and those sure are the *first* and *purest* times.
5. Besides I have as clearly shewed that the *solemnities* and *festivities* commemorative of the *Martyrdom* of *Ignatius* and *Poly-carp*, two *Bishops* that lived in the *Apostles* times, were *observed* from the very times of their *deaths*, and that in compliance with other the like *festivals* of the *Church* before them, which must needs come home to the *observation* of *festivals* in the *Apostles* days.
6. And then how can this *Diatribist* flatter himself that he hath *proved* the *contrary* to this, when he hath not so much as offered either the least *answer* to these, or any the least *reason* or *proof* of his *negation*?
7. For the *latter*, I reply, that there is no *analogy* betwixt the *Church* of *Englands* departing from *Rome*, and the *Diatribists* departing from the *Church* of *England*, I might instance in many, twill be sufficient that I shew it in two particulars, 1. the *Church* of *England* in the *Reformation* departed not from their *lawful* *superiors*, being, as the *Diatribist* acknowledges *αὐτοκράτωρ*, and owing no *subordination* to the *Church* of *Rome*, when she departed from her, whereas the persons then spoken of by me, and the *Dia-*

*Diatribist* for one, were certainly *members* that ought a *Christian* obedience to the *Church of England*, as *inferiors* to *superiors*, and so departed from their *lawful superiors* wherein *Schisme* doth principally consist, as hath elsewhere been shewn.

8. Those things wherein the *Church of England* reformed, and departed from the *Romish* opinions and practices were none of them such as this of *festivals* now appears to be, *i. e.* common usages of the *Universal, ancient*, especially of the *Primitive purest Church*, but *innovations* unduely brought in by them, and imposed on all *Christians*.

9. And as even now, so again this *Diatribists* confession here, is more to the advantage of the *Romish Church*, then any thing that he could likely have said, no way clearing his fact from *Schisme*, nor offering the least colour to it, and yet acknowledging that the *Church of Englands* reformation, and so *Luthers* reformation also, was as truly an act of *Schisme* from *Rome*, as is theirs from the *Church of England*. But I must put in my protestation of dissent to this proposition also, and that is all I need to say to that answer.

SECT. II.

*The profaneness objected to the Festival. Casting out the Creeds.*

1. HIS answer to the 4<sup>th</sup> consideration is so slight, and therein so little on which to fasten any reply, that I may safely intrust the Reader with it, and only minde the *Diatribist*, 1. that till he hath more solidly proved the observation of this *Festival* among us to be *superstition*, then hitherto he hath done, twill be great *un-charitableness* thus to accuse it, and greater *injustice* to destroy the innocent for this (if it were true, yet but) *accidental* and *removable* crime imagined to be *adherent* to it.

2. And 2. till he hath written as full a tract of *profaneness* as he hath done of *Superstition*, and been more successfull in his evi-

dences that this Festival is guilty of it, shewed that that is derived from *super statum* alio, or evinced the same thing by some more sensible way of probation, tis but a pitiful begging of the question, thus irrationally to accumulate crimes on innocency, to adde the Profanenesse to the Superstition, to suppose the Festival able to work miracles, to reconcile the most contrary extremes (as if in the vein of declaiming he should call the same man first Papist, then Socinian) for such he knows are Superstition and Profanenesse.

3. In stead of which it were much more seasonable for him sadly to inquire, which is most liable to the charge of profanenesse, the setting apart a festival from common uses to the commemorating the birth of Christ in Prayer, Praises, Eucharist, hearing the word read and preached, and profiting by all these; or the fastidious refusing to joyn with the Church of God in all or any of these offices at that time, following the Plough, or attending the Shop in stead of it.
4. And I shall with the same seriousness desire him to review his words p. 147. Where in answer to my mention of *disusing* the Creeds and Catechisme, he saith, in a parenthesis, that the Creed is still to be retained in and with the Catechisme ] and demand whether he doth not know, that the same Tempest that carried away the Festivals, swept away (more then one) the three Creeds received from the ancient Church and retained in our Liturgie, and together with them the Church Catechisme, of which, he knowes, I spake.
5. And then what truth can be in his parenthesis, unlesse it be only this, that these are still retained in our Books (which they have joyned to condemn) though they be not retained in their offices, but solemnly ejected by them. Such equivocal answers or responses as these he knowes from what oracles they were wont to be delivered, and therefore should not be imitated.

SECT. 12.

*The Diatribists change of my words, his causelesse praise of himself, and censure of others.*

1. **H**IS 14<sup>th</sup> §. is somewhat of the same making, for when I spake of that deeper knowledge of some, which was some degree above the vulgar ignorance, and yet was observable to be impatient of sound doctrine, to be ready to imbrace any thing that was novel, and contrary to the ancient faith and Principles ] he answers, that the impatience of sound doctrine, and readines to imbrace any thing that is novel, is not to be found in those of deep or sound knowledge.
2. But why should he there insert the word [sound] can he imagine that I spake of those of sound knowledge, when I spake of impatience of sound doctrine, T was visible enough that I spake of those, which while they lesse seemed to want such helps as Christmasse services and sermons to reach them the sound doctrine of Christ, did yet most really need them to cure the vanity of their own minds, and their itch of any thing that was novel.
3. By this tis also manifest how little temptation he had to break out into those *Eulogies* of himself and his friends, to which certainly I never constrained him by those words that belonged not to the *Pastors* but only to their *auditors*, who when they have attained to some measure of knowledge above the more ignorant, are yet experimented to be very fickle and apt to fall off into new doctrines.
4. However, let him not flatter himself as he doth, that those that ejected these Festivities under pretence of Reforming abuses of superstition and profanenesse, are the men only or chiefly that propugne and maintain sound doctrine, when, as he goes on very gloriously, those that were the greatest favourers of those Festivals, are fallen into *Arminianisme* &c. or do little appear to maintain the truth.
5. I wonder what a *Pharisee* could have said more in his *solemnest Magnificat* ; He, forsooth, and such as he, are the men that only



or chiefly propugn and maintain sound doctrine, and who can doubt it when he hath thus affirmed it of himself? and all others are but as this Publicane, for so this new style of Arminian bears proportion with that ancient; and whosoever will not think as this Diatribist doth, that Festivals are forbidden in the 2<sup>d</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandments, that will favour slavish fear, or mercenary obedience, or suspect that grace may be received in vain, must presently fall under that condemnation; and then the best that can be said of them is, that they doe little appear to maintain the truth.

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Sect. 13.

*His 2<sup>d</sup> change of my words. Gedeons golden Ephod not applicable to Feasts.*

1. **S**O again when I had mentioned the designs of this solemnity, no other then to teach us what we have received in Christ, and assist us to render God a pious publick acknowledgement of it, He is pleased not to understand this, but to interpret it (contrary to the expresse words) of the design in the first instituters of this piece of service to Christ Jesus.
2. And to what purpose was this change? why, to make the example of Gedeon's golden Ephah applicable to it, in the making of which, saith he, though Gedeon's design was very fair to leave a monument of his victory, yet it proved a snare to him and his house and all Israel.
3. From which notable example, no doubt, it follows that every Festival, or what ever else is designed as a publick pious acknowledgement of the Christians thankfulness to God, is to be looked on as a snare to all the people of God, and so upon all reasons of piety to be abolished.
4. And there were no way of resisting this conclusion thus inferred, if our common notions, or Logick had not warned us that particular premises would never induce a conclusion, and that examples

*examples are not always argumentative, For then indeed the Lords day which is supposed to have been designed for all these good ends, must upon the same account be abolished also.*

Sect. 14.

*Strictures on his 16<sup>th</sup> §. Our Festivals unfitly compared with the Romish. How observation of Festivals may be a duty of the 5<sup>th</sup> Commandment. The fourth Commandment no way contrary to Christian Festivals. Venial sinnes. All mistakes not sinnes. Chemnitius not producible against me.*

1. **HIS** 16<sup>th</sup> §. is long, in making good his charge of *Superstition and Will-worship* against this *Festival*. And it is certain that I have been large enough on these subjects already, as far as any thing that he could suggest, appeared to have the least force either against ceremonies in general, or particularly this of *Festivals*, and therefore I shall not still bind my self and the Reader to that ungratefull penance of drawing the same *Saw* forever, Yet if any thing shall now be afresh objected, I shall not omit to take notice of it.
2. As 1. When to free it from all appearance of *Will-worship*, I say that those that retain the usage, observe it in obedience to the *Laws of the Church*, he hath great displeasure to this, 1. Because I ought first to have proved that they which instituted that Festival had a Lawfull power to do it, adding that the *Papists* may use the same argument for observation not onely of their Holy days, but of their invocation of *Saints*, adoration of images, and the *Mass* it self.
3. But to this I answer, 1. That my not proving of this was founded in my supposing it. And the reason of that supposition else where competently explained, that as *Magistrates* in general, so particularly the *Governors of a Church* have an investiture of power from *Christ* to the *Apostles*, whose successors they are, to ordain and institute such circumstances of the publick worship:
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of God, as are *times* and *place* and *gesture* and the like, in order to *decency*, *uniformity*, and the *benefit* of their *Churches*.

And 2. That this *Diatribist* can again think fit to compare this with the *Papists* observing their own *holy days* &c. is interpretable as a far greater *kindness* to them, then I have ever been *guilty* of, For the plain inference is this, 1. The *Church* may command in *lawfull* things, therefore it may as well do so in *unlawfull*. 2<sup>d</sup> There is no more *unreasonableness* in *besainting* all those that are gotten into the *Romish Legend* and *Calendar*, and consecrating several days to the *commemorating* of them, then in *commemorating* the *birth* of *Christ* himself. 3<sup>d</sup> It is as *lawful* to *invoke* all the *Romish Saints*, as publickly to *pray* to and *praise* *Christ* on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December*. 4<sup>d</sup> It is as safe to *adore* *images*, and the very *bread* in the *Masse*, as to *adore* and *commemorate* *Christ* on that day. What could *passion*, or *interest*, or *αὐτοκρατία ἀνθρώπων*, or *τὸ βυζαντινὸν ἑμβλημα*, have suggested more unadvisedly then this?

5. His 2<sup>d</sup> *dislike* and *exception* is, that having formerly *founded* *times* or *dayes* designed to *publike* *worship*, on the *equity* of the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*, I should now *devolve* the *observation* of this *festival* to *obedience* to the *lawes* of the *Church*, and so reduce it as a *duty* to the 5<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*, and upon this, as an *especial advantage*, he is pleased to *expatiate*.

6. But the matter is *clear* enough, and was so, till he had taken pains to *involve* it. The *difference* is very *conceivable* and *intelligible* betwixt *time* or *times* for *Gods service* generally considered, and this or that *particular time*. That *God* should have some *times* assigned for his *service* is of the very *law* of *Nature*, and so much of *morality* there is *fundamental* to the *positive precept* of the *weekly sabbath* in the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment*: Nay farther, the 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandment* being given to the *Jewes* for the observing *one day* in *seven*, as a *fit* and *moderate proportion* of *time* to be required of every *Jew*, it might equitably be inferred that a *Christian* should at least set apart *one day* in *seven* for our great *Christian* purposes, the *first day* of the *week* on which *Christ* rose from the *dead*. And accordingly I suppose it *instituted* by the *Apostles* of *Christ*.

7. But then as among the *Jewes* beside the *weekly sabbath* required

red by the fourth *Commandment*, they had many other times of *festivity*, and *fasting*, some appointed by *God* himself in the time of the *Διοπατρία*, others instituted by *men*, and yet constantly observed by *Gods* people and accepted by *God*, and some approved by *Christ* himself, and all this without any *prejudice* to the fourth *Commandment*, though not by any force of that, so now still under the *Gospel* nothing hinders, but that the *Church of God* by the power left to, and deposited with them, may ordain *Christian feasts*, and *fasts*, and obedience be paid thereto by all dutiful meek sons of the *Church*, and this obedience be in them that are thus under *authority* no act of *Will-worship* or *spontaneity*, but of *honour* and *observance* to this ordinance of the *Church*, and so a *duty* of the fifth *Commandment*.

8. As for that which he addes in this matter, that *we Christians* are by *Christ* reduced to the fourth *Commandment*, as for one day of seven to be holy, so for our allowance of six daies for our own works, 1. It hath not the least appearance of truth in it, for where did *Christ* reduce us to the fourth *Commandment*? and tis visible what the consequence must be in affirming it, even an obligation to the *Jewish Sabbath*, for that certainly was the subject of the fourth *Commandment*.
9. 2. It is no way pertinent to the matter in hand, for supposing *Christians* allowed six daies for their own works, tis yet visible that some of these six may by the free act of particular men be used, or by the power of the *Christian Church* be set apart to *Christian uses*, as well as some days were (not only by *God* himself, but) by the *Governors* of the *Jewes*, *Judas Maccabeus*, and others, set apart for the publike service of *God* in the old *Testament*, at which time tis by all confest that the fourth *Commandment* was in force, in all parts of it.
10. A second exception I shall note in this S. p. 157. when upon these words of mine concerning the possible mistake of the day that that will be pardonable in those that verily think they are mistaken, and that in them that do performe the business of the day as compleatly on a mistaken day as on the true, the excuse of blamelesse ignorance will wash away greater errors then this. The presently replies, Does not this sound somewhat like the *Papists doctrine* of venial sins? and upon that occasion is put in minde of

of Bellarmine's defence against the peril of idolatry in the *Masse*, in case the bread be not transubstantiated: And then he asks, Can any ignorance be blamelesse against the Law of God, or wash away any error without the blood of Christ?

11. But to this the answer is obvious, and the fallacy presently discoverable, For 1. he that talks of *venial* or *pardonable sins*, must not be presumed to exclude the *blood of Christ*, those sins are *pardonable* under the *Gospel* for which that *λυσον* was paid, and such are all *sins* that are *reconcilable* with true *repentance*, or the *sincerity* of a *regenerate* state.
12. But then 2. I am no way assured that it is a *sin* so much as of *ignorance*, so *mistake* in the day of *Christ's birth*; every *mistake* is not a *sin*, but only that which is a *breach* of some *law*, and therefore I suppose it is, that the *Diatribist* was compelled to say, Can any ignorance be blamelesse against a *law* of God? But then I profess not to know any *law* of God, against which it is a *sin* (though but of *ignorance*) to *mistake* that *day* for the *annual day* of *Christ's birth*, which really is not the *day*.
13. And I now desire to be informed of which of the *ten Commandments* or any other *law* of *Gods* in the *Old* or *New Testament* this is a *breach*. When he tells me this, I shall attend him more *diligently* to the *remainder* of this *Section*, and answer his instance of so *weighty* consideration about the *very day* of the *Jews passcover*, of which he acknowledges that the *very day* was as *strictly commanded* as the *business* it self, and so the error must be an error against a *law*, whereas he as certainly knowes that this *day* of *Christ's birth* is by none so much as pretended to be so *commanded*.
14. What remains concerning *Chemnitius's* charge of *Superstition*, on *Papists* observation of their *holy daies*, is all answered before it be produced, by this one consideration, that *Chemnitius*, as a *Lutheran*, is by the *Diatribist* confest to allow this and other *Festivals*; For then hath he granted all that I contend for, who undertook not to be *advocate* for the *Legend* or *Calendar* of the *Papists*.



Sect. 15.

*Of riot. Christian joyes no way contrary to our Festivals. Riot as separable from Christmas as the Lords day. Heathen customs cannot be objected. Gods judgments vainly urged for arguments. The charge of want of hospitality on those that retain festivities. The hospitality at Christmas a pledge of it all the year after. Reformation of excess without abolition of the Festival. Attempt to reform, previous to abolition. The Agapa no example for abolishing Festivals. Cures for diseases, excisions only for desperate spreading evils. No cards on Christmas day, as much strictnesse on Christmas, not more sacrednes then on the Lords day. No design of making the Lords day no institution of the Apostles. Neither Superstition nor hypocrisie in abstaining from Cards on Christmas day.*

1. **W**Hat now followes in the 17<sup>th</sup> §. and so on to the 27. is all to the head of Riot. Which I was careful to remove from this Festivity, And first having disclaimed it as more intolerable in a Christian then in a Jew, and that upon this account, that *Spiritual joyes* are his eminent if not only portion under promise, His answer is, that *these are not limited to one or twelve dayes in a year, but are daily joyes, every day is a Christmas to a godly heart, Rejoyce in the Lord always &c.*
2. But he that thus answered, could not but know, that the *weekly Lords day* is set apart for a *Christian Feast* dedicated particularly to these *Spiritual joyes*; and that this was very reconcileable with the text that said once and again, *Rejoyce always*, and how then can this be opposed to an *annual Festival*?
3. Besides, all that I had to say, was, that the *Christian joy* should principally be *Spiritual*, and this not as a proof of lawfulness of Festivals, but of the *unlawfulness* of riots, the *Diatribists* answer is wholly to that other head, to which that was never designed as a *medium*.

To which I might 3<sup>dly</sup> adde, that that text to the *Philippians* is

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an exhortation to rejoicing in tribulations, in the saddest as well as the cheerfullest seasons, and so the *almas* is to be limited by the context; And then the application of it here was still so much less pertinent.

5. In the 2<sup>d</sup> place, my 18<sup>th</sup>. §. being designed to shew how separable all riot was from this Festival, by the nature of *Christian dainties, instruction, prayer, praises, almes, and the Sacrament of the Lords Supper* (none of which were capable of *luxurie*) and *Festivity and Hospitality*, which were clearly separable from it; His answer is, 1. that *these two last are thus separable from riot, but very hardly*; And I shall only demand, Are the *leasure and cessation from business* on the *Lords day*, experimented to be more easily separable from it? Is it more ordinary for the samemen to be drunk upon *Christmas day*, then upon all, or upon any one *Sunday* in the year? And have not *preachers and magistrates* been as *industrious* to cast out this profane Spirit on the *Lords day* and been as *unsuccessful* in their *indeavours*? And shall this be any argument for the *abolition* of that day?

6. Next, saith he, *the heathen usages in it (almost yielded §. 2.) as they imply that the festival was instituted to gratify the heathen, so God to shew his dislike of them, hath suffered them to be attended with two extremes of true worship, superstition and profaneness.* But to this I say, 1. that the *heathen usages* were no way yielded §. 2. but only an argument used *ad homines* that so affirmed. 2. If there were *heathen usages* in it, those would no way imply the Festival to have been instituted to gratify the *heathens*. It was instituted to the honor of *Christ*, and the *heathens* were faire enough from being gratified with that, and tis sufficient if the *converted heathens*, among whom it was instituted by their *converters*, did of themselves assume some of their *Gentile customs* by them thought innocent in the celebration.

7. 3<sup>dy</sup> Tis great presumption and intrusion into Gods *secretest counsels*, to say that Gods suffering this Festival to be attended with *superstition or profaneness* was to shew his dislike if not detestation of it; For who revealed this counsel of Gods to this *Diatribist*? Besides, how easily might this argument be retorted on the *Lords day* by a *few*, and all the riot and *unprofitableness* of *bearers* on that day be made an evidence of Gods dislike.

like if not detestation of the setting apart of this day to his service? What impiety of any *Sett* would want arguments to support it, if such as these might be admitted? Now lastly, the matter of the present debate being only that of riot, what had *superstition* or *profaneness* (either or both) to do with that?

8. His 19<sup>th</sup> S. is the accusing those who keep up and cry up the custom of the festivity, yet have taken liberty to lay aside hospitality and charity not only at the time, but all the year long. To which it is sufficient to answer, that then it seems, their hospitality is not the occasion of riot to any, and that is a competent means of vindicating the festivity so farre from that part of the accusation, which now we have before us.

9. But then 2<sup>dly</sup> it were perhaps worth examining what degree of truth there is in the suggestion, and in what instances it is founded; something like this he had once suggested before, and I had then thought that it was not worthy taking notice of, But now the returning of it again more solemnly makes me suspect there may be somewhat in it; And having no other clue to introduce me into his secrets, and the charity and hospitality of those that have cast off the festivals, and with it their obedience to the Church, beyond those that have retained both, having never been so notorious, that I could take cognizance of it, and the writing a *Diatrib*e against all freewill oblations in a Christian, being no vehement indication that those in whose defence it was written, were very eminent in the exercise of those virtues, I began to pitch upon one thing that might of late have yielded some shew of truth to his observation, viz. that the condition of many mens worldly plenty hath been so changed of late, that the men have been forced to abate somewhat of the degree of that charity and hospitality that formerly they had both ability and will to exercise, and that these fall out to be the men that retain obedience to the Church of England, and so keep up and cry up the festivals of the Church, though they are not able to keep up the good cheer of it in that degree, which formerly they have done.

10. And if the *Diatribist* was willing to take notice of this change of the ryde, and being himself one of the prosperous party that had cast off obedience and festivals, but retained hospitality and charity, was willing to compare himself with others who being depriv-

ved of all their *revenues*, were not likely to hold up their *hospitality*, then sure this is a way of *answer* which might soon be *retorted*, if *justice* were allowed to take place, and every man were *reinvested* in his own again.

12. In the mean, those that are deprived of *ability* to be *charitable* on one side, as to be *occasions* of *riot* on the other, if they must be *reproacht* for their defects in one, should not in *reason* be accused for *excess* in the other: And that is all I shall reply to this *answer*.
13. Unless to the 2<sup>d</sup> part of it I reply in a word, that the *hospitality* attendant on this *Festival* was never by me defined or imagined, and is with no *justice* by him supposed to be a *miser's feast*, nor know I any the least *necessity* that it should be followed with a *neglect* of *charity* all the year after, but rather that it be lookt on as a *copy* which the whole *life* of a *Christian* is to transcribe from this manner of *solemnizing* the *birth* of *Christ*, as a *first fruits* of this *duty* then paid, as a *pledge* of the *future* harvest, as a *solemn entrance* on that *duty* then, which in some degree is to be *exercised* all the year after.
14. In his 20<sup>th</sup> §. having in the first part of it desired no more of me, than that in case of *notorious abuse* I will believe there is *place* and *season* for *reformation* (which I most *willingly* yield, being, as he knowes, as *inclineable* and *desirous* as he or any man, that all *excesses* should be *reformed*, and never *indured* among *Christians* of all other men in the *world*) his *conclusion* hath very fairly taken in one *term* more then was in the *premises*, and to *reformation* of *excesse*, annexed of the *Festivity* it self, meaning evidently, according to the *modern style*, *abolition* by *reformation*; For else, after all his *demonstrations*, it will not do his *business*.
15. For that all *excess* should be *abolished*, that the *Festivity* should be drained from all such *unchristian mixtures*, and reformed in that meeker sense, was visibly the designe of the *Section* to which all of his was *confronted*; And that, it seems, will not serve the turn, but as if *reformation* were never *reformation*, unless like the *breaking in* of the *Ocean* it sweep and carry away all before it, as if our *Dictionaryes* were to be changed, and that word were to be *glossed* by nothing but *vastation* and *depopulation*, all that I had said

said of reformation of excesses signifies nothing with him, unlesse the Festivity it self be reformed also, and that just as Episcopacy was to be reformed, by being turned out of the Church.

16. And all the reason which is offered for this (*viz. because the Festivity hath ordinarily been attended with such mischiefs without the least attempt of reformation*) if it have any the least truth in it, is visibly a reason for the contrary; For is it not madnessse to destroy the vineyard, before any least attempt hath been made to dresse or manure it, to cut down the tree before ever it was once digged about? were it reconcileable with any tolerable sobriety, to abolish the Lords day upon any, much more upon such an account as this of riot and drunkennessse ordinarily attending it, without ever giving the offender the first or second admonition, without ever attempting to reform it? Certainly the rules of sober discipline are directly the contrary, to attempt and diligently indeavour the reformation of the excess, and never to proceed to severer remedies, till the evil is experimented to be not only obstinate but desperate, and yet then too, to divide betwixt the nocent and guiltlesse, and not involve both in the same condemnation; And arguments must sure be very scanty, when those come to be used for the affirmative, which were proper only for the negative; And yet thus it at this time with the Diatribist.

17. But his 21<sup>th</sup> §. offers us an example of this destructive, exterminative reformation, S<sup>t</sup> Paul's discipline on the feasts of charity by way of destruction and abolition, when they began to be abused to surfeiting and drunkenness, 1 Cor. 11. 17. But herein are good store of mistakes, For 1. If that place to the Corinthians be examined, it is most evident that it was the Lords Supper, into which that excess was crept, and accordingly as he tells them v. 20. that *this is not to eat the Lords Supper*, so for the reforming of what was amiss, he tells them what the institution of Christ was in it, and there expressly sets down the first institution of the Lords Supper, *In the night he was betrayed he took bread*; v. 24. &c. And then I must demand, Did Paul destroy and abolish this feast wherein these abuses were observed? if he did, he abolished the Lords Supper; and then here is indeed an instance home to his purpose: But if he did not, why did the Diatribist tender us this instance, when he knows

that *drunkenness* and most unworthy behaviour at the *Sacrament* never suggested to the *Apostle* the least thought of *abolishing* or *disusing* the *Sacrament*.

18. But then 2. To grant him the utmost that he can wish in this matter, *viz.* that there were two parts of this *Δείπνον* *μενάνδρ*, *Lords Supper*, one in taking a morsel of bread, and *tasting* the wine, in commemoration of *Christ's* body and blood, another in *eating* and *drinking* together more *liberally*, after the former was done, and that this latter is it which is meant by *Agape* in *S. Iud.*, and that this latter was taken away out of the *Church*, upon the too common *unreformatable* abuses of it; yet still this is nothing of advantage to the *Diatribist*; For still this will but conclude that the *carnal external* part of the *Festivity*, the *eating* and *drinking* part, should fall under this *discipline*, not the *Spiritual* more *Christian* part, and tis evident one of these is as *separable* from the other, as the *Sacrament* from the *Agape*.

19. And thus much was willingly yielded to his hands in that §. to which his instance of the *Love-feasts* was opposed, and tis certain no more can *rationally*, by any *analogie*, be concluded from it.

20. Nay 3. It was not possible any instance could have been brought more fitted for my turn (and so I hope not for his) then this of the *Agapa*. For when this *disorder* at *Corinth* had brought this attendant on the *Christian festival* under some *constraint*, it was thus reformed, (as appears in *Iustine Martyrs Apologie*, where he sets down the whole *course* of the *office*) The offerings were not lessened by this means, but otherwise *disposed* of, and that which was not eaten at the *Lords Table*, was kept in a *common bank* for the *poor*, the *Stranger*, the *Fatherless* and *Widow*, and a very competent provision was made for all by this means.

21. And so truly in like manner, if upon a just inquiry it be found that the *Christmas liberality* and *hospitality* still ends in this, and that there is no hope of *restraint* to be laid upon it, as it lies in that channel, It is most obvious and easie for every *sober Christian* to turn the *stream* another way, to lay aside for *reliefe* of the *poor*, that which was usually laid out in the *extraordinary entertainments* at this time, and as that is the utmost,



to which the *severity* used on the *Agapa* can extend, or suggest, so it is the very thing which was proposed §. 20. but it seems cannot yet satisfy this *Diatribist*.

22. What in 22<sup>th</sup> §. he censures in me as *pretty untempered mortar*, will not, I believe, be found so, in any *sober judging*. 'Tis onely this, that *though the eating and sporting part of this festivity be strictly to be kept within bounds and as strictly to be reformed wherein it hath been discerned to exceed* (this had been set down before, and was now *supposed*) yet for *abolition of all hospitality and recreation, or any remission* (as *Nazianzen* styles it) at these times it was to be lookt on as a *last remedy*, and so not proceeded to till the disease were *universally spreading* and *obstinate* against all cure, for whilest it were lower then so, it was *still* but the *season of reformation*.

23. From whence that the *Diatribist* should think fit to infer it my sense (that he might accuse me) that *lesse or lesse generall abuses need no reformation*, there can be no tolerable account rendred, but only this, that his ears have been so accustomed to the new *dialect*, that of *exterminative reformation*s, that he cannot think the word signifies any thing else, by whomsoever it is used, but (that which indeed it never signifies in any *propriety of speech*) *extirpation and abolition*. In a word, I think there is no necessity of *excision* till the part begin to *gangrene or corrupt and spread*, yet I can admit of *medicines* long before, and heartily advise *timely prudent applications*, as soon as ever the *patient* begins in the least measure to be *distempered*.

24. His 23<sup>th</sup> §. is the accusing of those that used *cards on the Lords day after the evening service*, and the upbraiding their *superstition* that they will not *touch cards or dice on Christmas day*; and the answer is sufficient, that as I spake not a word of them that did thus, so I never heard of any that thus made a *difference* betwixt *Christmas* day and the *Lords day*, but that if they used that *liberty* on the later, they used it on the former too; However if by the *Diatribist* it were deemed *criminous* in the one, I should have thought he might have been gratified by hearing it was *abstained* from the other: For my own part I never allowed my self the *liberty* on either, and know not that I ever saw it used, and therefore I am sure there is nothing farther to be replied to by me in that §. I as heartily



heartily with a devout, conscientious, profitable *observation* of the *Lords day*, as of any other *Festivity*, and cannot justly fall under the *Diatribists* censure for any thing I have so much as intimated in this matter.

25. And this I say the rather, because §. 24. this is charged upon my doctrine as a crime, and a part of *superstition*, that the day hath been accounted *more sacred than the Lords day*, and the proof brought out of my 20<sup>th</sup> §. where saith he, I call it *most sacred*, and out of my 24<sup>th</sup> §. where I say it *hath been kept if not much more, yet certainly as strictly as any Lords day in the year*.

26. But here is *misprision* in each of these; The phrase *most sacred* §. 20. doth not at all belong to the day, (much lesse to the preferring it before the *Lords day* in respect of *sacrednesse*) but only to a *Christian Festivity*, as that is made up of prayer, praises, *Eucharist*, charity, *hospitality*, &c: All which being put together I hope I could not offend in styling it *most sacred*, such as the *extravagant, irrational riots* of men ought not to assault and pollute.

27. And for the 2<sup>d</sup>, there is no such word as *sacred* to be found in that 24<sup>th</sup> §. all that is said is, that *in this nation the day of the birth of Christ hath been kept* (if not much more) *certainly as strictly as any Lords day in the year*, and this interpreted most clearly by the following words) *in frequenting the services of the Church, in the use of the Liturgie, Sermon, Sacraments, &c.* And I cannot imagine how this manner of *strict observing* of it can be *criminous* in it self, or to the *prejudice* of the *Lords day*, on which tis no news to say that the *Sacrament* of the *Lords Supper*, which I make an *ingredient* in the *strictnesse* of the *celebration*, and that which denominates it *more strict*, is not constantly celebrated; and yet sure no fault that it is constantly celebrated on *Christmas day*.

28. However the *strictnesse* of observing is one thing, and the *sacrednesse* is another. Any private *fast* may be more strictly observed, more, or more *severe strictnesse* of duty allotted to it, than the *Lords day*, and yet the *Lords day*, as set apart by the *Apostles* of *Christ*, in respect of that *institution*, and of the *resurrection* of *Christ*, to the commemorating whereof it was consecrated, be esteemed and lookt on as *most sacred*. I need to say no more of that.

As

29. As for the *ground* which he pretends from his own knowledge, to assigne of my thus speaking: *viz.* that we may *make the Lords day and Festivals to be founded on the same authority*, *viz.* of the *Church*, this he must very much dissemble his *knowledge*, if he confesse not to be a *mistake* also.
30. For in the *margent* he grants that I say that the *Apostles* instituted the *Lords day* §. 31. and so certainly I do (though I know not in what words of *Scripture* that *institution* is set down) But, saith he, there be other words §. 57. which speak of the *Lords day* by the *same authority appointed*. To which I answer that the words there used [*though the Lords day be by the same authority appointed*] belong not at all to the *stating* of this *question*, and being introduced in that form [*though &c.*] they are not any *affirmation* that the *Lords day* is not *instituted* by any *higher authority* then *Christmas day*, but only a *concession* of what was asked by the *Querist*, without so much as *examining* or *inquiring* into the *utmost* of the *authority* by which it stood. Of this I had sufficiently exprest my sense §. 31. as the *Diatribists margent* confesses from me, *viz.* that the *Apostles* instituted the *Lords day*, whereas in that 57<sup>th</sup> §. I speak as plainly of *Christmas day*, that it hath its *authority* from the *institution* and *u'age* of the *Universal Church*; And if when the matter is so clear, and my meaning so expresse both for the *one* and the *other*, I must yet be accused for the *contrary*, and this be affirmed from the *Diatribists knowledge* to be my ground, *viz.* a *designe* to make the *Lords day* and *Festivals* to be founded on the *same authority*, and that by him specified, *viz.* of the *Church*; 'Tis certainly most visible, that either this is a *calumny* in the *Diatribist*, or else that the word *Church* must be so taken as to comprehend that part of it, of which the *Apostles* were *rulers* in person, and then what harm hath been in that *speech* thus interpreted, the *Church* of the *Apostles* instituted the *Lords day*, and either they *personally*, or their *successors* used and delivered down the other *Festivals*, the *Festival* of *Easter* being derived undoubtedly from the *Apostles* *Philip* and *John*, *Peter* and *Paul*, as hath already clearly appeared out of the difference betwixt *Victor* and *Polycrates*; And other *Festivals* by the passages of the *Martyrdome* of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, i. e. by evidence of *story* being demonstrated to be

little later, though of *Christmasse* this do not so expressly appear to me as to be any where affirmed by me.

32. But there is yet more of this captious discourse behinde upon my saying that tis *not usual* to touch cards or dice on *Christmas day*, and this must adde either to our *superstition* or *hypocrisie*, our *superstition*, if they be *lawful*, in that they forbid them on that day, that God hath not forbidden them; *Hypocrisie*, if they be *unlawful*, in abstaining then, and yet using them on other days. But we shall soon be extricated from the power of this *Dilemma*, by affirming, 1. that those *sports* used *moderately*, as *diversions*, and no way *abused* by our *inordinacy*, are not by any argument that ever I met with, proved to be *oto genere*, or *absolutely unlawful*, and so that they may be used for *divertisement* on other days, and particularly on the following days of that *Festivity*, and yet 2<sup>nd</sup> that they are no way *necessary*, and so that no man *offends*, that *abstains* from them on all other days, and employs himself better constantly.
33. From whence it is necessarily consequent also, that he that hath fed on the *body* and *blood* of *Christ*, and consecrated himself in an extraordinary manner to commemorate the *mysterie* of our redemption on *Christmas day*, and agreeably thereto, desires to spend it so much more *strictly* then other dayes, as not to admit those *sports* (which are *lawful* on other days) to divide any part of that, can never be *criminous* in so doing.
- 3 4. As for any thing of *riot* (but such is not all *lawful divertisement*) on the following days, he knowes they are no way pleaded for by me, and if any be *guilty* of them, as the *shame* thereof is due to the *offenders*, not to the *festival*, which is *innocent* and *laudable*; so tis too well known that the *Lords day* it self hath not been secured from the same unhappy adherences.
35. And it might as well be charged on that that the *heathens* worshipt the *Sun* on that day, and that *revelling* upon it are fitter for such *heathen feasts* then for *Christians*, as the *Diatribist* could suggest in this place that the *Saturnalia* were celebrated about the same time that *Christmas* was, and that the excesses of the following dayes are services fitter for the revels of *Bacchus* and *Saturn* or the birth day of *Herod*, then for the festivity of a *spiritual Saviour*. All this is true, and equally granted by both parties, and

and so hath no propriety or pertinency to the dispute between us.

SECT. 16.

*Christmas, if of the same original with Easter, certainly Apostolical. However, of the practice of the Primitive Church. All rendering of motives no λόγος σοφίας.*

1. MY 27<sup>th</sup> §. was introductory to a discourse more general, to shew by what authority, festivals in general, and particularly this of *Christmas*, pretends to stand in the *Catholike Church*, which I acknowledged not to be by any institution of *Christ*, but to have had the beginning from the *Apostles* or the succeeding *Church*.

2. To the view hereof he now proceeds, and briefly sets to it, to disprove each of these *originals*, beginning first with that of the *Apostles*. And of this he thinks he need say no more, then to appeal to the same arguments which he had used against the *Apostles* institution of *Easter* §.6. viz. 1. the no mention of such institution in the *Scripture*; 2. the expresse words of *Socrates*, that neither *Christ* nor his *Apostles* commanded the feast of *Easter* to be observed.

3. But to both these it is certain that I ow no return having now paid it so punctually in the 4<sup>th</sup> §. where beside clear answers to the *Diatribists* arguments, I added evidences undeniable that the feast of *Easter* was observed by the *Apostles*, And I cannot doubt but they will be of force with him, when he shall take leisure to weigh them; And then if the case shall be acknowledged the same betwixt *Easter* & *Christmas*, that of the resurrection & this of the birth of *Christ* (as the *Diatribist* seems to acknowledge) in tending no one argument more against the *Apostolical* institution of *Christmas*, then he had before produced against the institution of *Easter* by them) then it is evident my affirmation must ascend higher then it ever meant to have done, and not proceed disjointedly,

*Elively*, that this *feast* of the *nativity* is derived either from the *Apostles* or the *succeeding Church*, but leaving out the *latter* part of the *partition*, fix upon the *former*, that, being yielded to have the same *original* with *Easter*, it is certainly derived from the *Apostles*, from whence it appears that of *Easter* is derived.

4. To which purpose we have already produced some *evidences* which may justly pretend to some force, at least *ad hominem*, to him that hath no more against this, then against all other *Christian festivals*, viz. those from the *martyrdomes* of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, written by those that were present at them, and so lived soon after the *Apostles*.

5. That of *Polycarps* recorded in that famous *Epistle* of the *Church of Smyrna*, I have set down at large, and made my *inferences* from it §§. 33. and 34. of that *treatise* of *Festivals*, To which I have here formerly added that other *parallel testimony* from the acts of *Ignatius*.

6. So that now I hope I may safely resume my former *affirmation*, without all *diffidence*, that other *Festivals* beside that of the *weekly Lords day*, were derived to us, some certainly from the *Apostles*, others from the *Church* immediately succeeding the *Apostles*; In one of which ranks though I have no reason to doubt but this of the *Nativity* of *Christ* is to be placed, yet because we have not those *evidences* of the *fact* which we have for *Easter* and others, I shall not build upon any degree of *uncertainties*, nor affirm more then what that *treatise* hath shewed out of the *ancient Fathers*, that this *feast* is deduced to us early from the *first antiquity*.

7. And against this I am sure neither *Socrates* nor my *L. of Falkland* (who is joyned next to him) hath suggested any thing; & then what was thus done by them, must not in *equity* fare the worse for my adding the mention of a motive or incitement that might reasonably recommend it to them, which is therefore presently styled *ἡ σοφία*, a *shew of wisdom*, as if all *reasonable* motives were to be blasted under that *title*, as all *uncommanded* performances here are said to be by the express words of the 2<sup>d</sup> *Commandment*, & Col. 2. 23. But sure we have formerly spoken enough of this *arguing*.



SECT. 17.

*The Encania, a religious feast instituted by the Jews, and approved by Christ, vindicated from all his exceptions. Marriage feasts. Religious feasts cannot be unlawful, if civil be lawful. The feast of Purim a religious feast.*

1. **T**HE 29<sup>th</sup> §. proceeds to consider what I had said of the *Encania* among the *Jews*, the feast of dedication not instituted by God in the *Law*, but in commemoration of the purging of the altar by *Judas Maccabæus*, and yet this observed by the *Jews*, and approved by *Christ's* presence at it, *Joh: 10. 23.*
2. To this the *Diatribist* answers, that there may be many mistakes in this, And truly it matters not how many there may be, as long as there appears not to be any one.
3. First then his answer is, that there were three feasts of dedication, and I cannot but know that learned men are divided of which it's here meant. But how can this first answer be of any avail; when I that took notice, as he confesses, of the three, made it evident that the place was meant of the third, that instituted in the *Maccabees*, and the *Diatribist* cannot deny but it's probable so it was, and offers not to answer the proofs, or to pretend ought for either of the two former against this.
4. His 2<sup>d</sup> answer is, that granting it to be the last, yet there are reasons to think it was not a religious Festival but a civil, as the feast of *Purim* seems to be, *Esth: 9. 21, 22.* But it is not imaginable the *Diatribist* should thus think, or be perswaded by these reasons.
5. His reason is from the words *1 Mac. 4. 59.* They ordered it should be kept yearly with mirth and gladness, adding that *Chap: 6. v. 56.* they offered burnt-offerings, yet that *Chap: 5. v. 53.* according to the law, and so was worship commanded.
6. Now truly this I thought had been sufficient proof, that it was a religious feast, and it was great surprize to me to see it brought to inferre the contrary: For what greater evidence can there be brought of a religious feast, then this, of which out of the *Story* he



hath set down a considerable portion, but lies in the *Maccabees* more completely thus.

7. Now on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the Ninth moneth (which is called the Moneth Caslen) in the 148<sup>th</sup> year they rose up betimes in the morning and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt-offering which they had made; look at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even upon that was it dedicated with songs & citherns, harps & cymbals; Then all the people fell upon their faces worshipping & praising the God of heaven who had given them good successe, and so they kept the dedication of the altar 8 days, and offered burnt-offerings with gladnesse; and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise &c. and then v. 59. Moreover Judas and his brethren with the whole congregation of Israel ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days from the 25 day of the moneth Caslen with mirth and gladnesse.

8. And now I shall ask the *Diatribist*, Is there any reason to think this was not a religious festival, nay is it possible for him to give any account, why in setting down the passages of it, he should omit the peoples falling upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heavens and sacrificing the sacrifices of deliverance and praise, together with Judas and his brethren and the congregation (which is not God, as hath hitherto been pretended it ought to be from the 2<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment) ordaining that it should be so kept for the future from year to year?

9. Do not those passages take away all possibility of doubting, either of the religiousnesse of the Festival, or the institution by man and not by God? And is there now against all this any force in the words v. 52. [according to the law] which the *Diatribist* confronts to the mention of burnt-offerings, as an answer, or reason, why that which was kept with burnt-offerings, was yet no religious feast? May not burnt-offerings according to the law, such as the *Mosaical* law approves of, yea and commands to be used for burnt-offerings, be used in a religious feast? what was ever suggested by any disputer with lesse appearance of truth or probability? He knowes that in the free will offerings there were yet laws given by Moses according to which they were to offer, and

and why should it not be so in a feast ordained by Judas? would he imagine that *illegal offerings* should have been sought out for it, to constitute it a *religious feast*?

- 10 Here sure was matter of conviction to the *Diatribist*, I shall not inquire why it did not prevail with him. Only of this I am sure, that if this one instance had been permitted to appear, what indeed it is, and now is visibly demonstrated to be a *religious feast* instituted by the Church of the *Jewes*, and not by *God*, and yet approved by him, there can never need any farther evidence to confute and demonstrate the *vanity* of all his three *Diatriba* of *Superstition, Will-worship, Festivals*, his suggestions from *superstatutum*, from additions to the word, from the 2<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandments*, from *Col. 2.* whether as it mentions *Will-worship* or the *Commands of men*.
11. Our *Christmas festivity*, supposing the utmost that he can wish, that it was not observed by the *Apostles*, but instituted by the Church, be two or three hundred years after *Christ*, being perfectly answerable to this of the dedication, and so demonstrated, by *analogie* with that, to be approved by *Christ*.
12. And therefore it was but necessary that this evidence should by all convenient means be rendred *uneffectual*. All the unhappiness of it was, that the matter would not yield any such, and so the *Diatribist* was to content himself with such as we have now discovered.
13. And because he could not but foresee it possible, that they would be thus discovered, and that yet it will be (more then) said that it was a *religious feast* and so observed, he therefore hath a 3<sup>d</sup> answer in reserve, Then saith he, it may be fairly suggested that they went beyond their commission in making this feast annual and perpetual, which neither *Solomon* nor *Zorobabel* did theirs, for ought we read.
14. Here are again the clear symptoms of a desperate cause, that fain would catch at some supports, but is forsaken of *God*. It is evident *Judas* and his brethren and the whole congregation ordained that it should be kept thus from year to year, I *Matt. 23.* and as evident that it was observed by the *Jews* even in *Christ's* time, and as evident still that *Christ* was present at that feast (and so approved of and confirmed it) *Joh. 10. 23.* And yet saith he, it may be

be fairly suggested that they went beyond their commission in making this feast annual, what again could have been said more unluckily then this, more contrary to expresse evidence in every degree of it?

15. Adde to this 2. that even both of the two other feasts of dedication, at the erecting the Temple in Solomons, and reedifying it in Zorobabels time, if they were annual, were fully parallel with this, and that they were so, was by this Diatribist affirmed to be the opinion of learned men, in this very page, who, saith he, interpreted the place of John 10. some of the one, some of the other of these, which twere ridiculous for them to doe, if it were not annual.
16. Nay lastly, supposing these two were never observed above once a peece, I shall now demand, why might they not as lawfully be celebrated often, or annually and ordinarily, as for one turn and extraordinarily? If the first offended not by being *super statum*, how could the second or hundredth or thousandth repetition render it *criminosus*? Tis not imaginable what reason can be given for this, that what was lawful last year, shall be impious this year; what ground of so great difference, that one should be approved, the other condemned, one not only innocent but commendable, and the other (i.e. the same received into constant annual practice) repudiated and rejected.
17. And yet in this, it seems, all the difference lies all this while, extraordinary days of thanksgiving for one turn saith he, he accounts lawful to be done by the higher powers, and so extraordinary days of humiliation; From whence I conclude, that if King Lucius 1400 years agoe kept Christmas day for one turn and no more, and so Good Friday also, he had the Diatribists leave to do it very freely and lawfully; But if when he had done so once, he shall offer to do it again, the next year, then Mr. C. must needs write *Triplicem Diatribem* against him.
18. What he yet farther addes as a last mistake in me, will be soon found of the same rank with the former. Another mistake, saith he, is this, that that feast was approved and confirmed by Christs presence at it; whereas, saith he, the text produced sayes no such thing, but only thus, It was at Jerusalem (mark that, not at the Temple) not elsewhere, the feast of the dedication, and v. 22. Jesus

*Jesus walked in the Temple, so he did other days, any day when no feast was &c.*

19. I wish we were at an end of this kinde of *arguing*, for it will not easily be *parallel'd* in any *Diatribist*, All that is by me affirmed from the *text*, is that *Christ was present at it*, the rest is my *deduction* from thence, and I hope I have not *offended* therein, For is not that an evidence of *Christs approbation*, and so *confirmation* of it? would *Christ* have been *present* at an *unlawful*, nay (as this must be by the *Diatribists divinity*) *superstitious detestable* feast, wherein the 2<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> *Commandments* were directly *violated* by the very *keeping* of it, and never have *reprehended* it? would he not have *scourged* it and *dispatcht* it out of the *Temple*, as he did that *huck string* custome of *buying* and *selling* there, and *express* as great *impatience* against such *superstitious* violations, as those other *profanations* of his *Fathers house*? would not his *presence* at the *Feast* have had the *scandal* of *superstition*, if the *Feast* it self had had that *crime* in it?
20. What now he appoints to be *markt*, that this *Feast was at Jerusalem*, not at the *Temple*, is very *strange*. For if it were a *religious Feast* (as hath already appeared it was from the *story* of the *institution* in the *Maccabees*) then sure it was in the *Temple*, and so at *Jerusalem*, where the *Temple* was. And what if *Jesus walkt in the Temple* on other days, when no feast was, doth it therefore follow that now it was not the *Feast*, when he *walked* there, and when the *text* saith expressly that it was the *Feast*? This is a new sort of *arguing* still, and this may be reiterated *more turnes* then one, and yet nothing *amisse* in it.
21. What hath thus farre been said by him of the *Encenia*, is applicable, saith he, to my second *instance* among the *Jewes*, the *festivities of marriage*. For *marriage* it self, saith he, is a *civil thing* and not *religious*. But I shall not *engage* farther in new *conjectures*, having enow before me already (else sure *marriage* must be approved to be *religious*) I shall only need to demand on the head of *discourse*, what the *difference* is between a *civil*, and a *religious festivity*? I shall suppose onely this, that in the *publike services* of the *Church*, among *Christians*, *prayers*, *Psalmes*, *Sermon*, *Eucharist*, (some or all of them) are used, as among the *Jewes*, *sacrifices*, &c. adding to these
- O o
- festi-

- festival diet also, whereas the other is made up only of the latter.
22. And then supposing one of these (as the *Diatribist* granteth) lawfull among the *Jewes*, and so among *Christians* at the celebration of marriages, I shall demand how it is possible, the other should be unlawful? Can the services of the Church being added make that *criminous*, which was *innocent* before? Tis possible indeed for a *profane mixture* (such as riot, &c.) to defame and pollute that, which is most sacred, but have the sacred offices of the Church that same accursed force in them, to make that which was but *civil* before, *sacrilegious* and *impious*? This is another rarity, that I had not formerly been acquainted with.
23. But before I leave this matter I must take in, what he hath in like manner affirmed of the feast of *Purim* among the *Jewes*, of which though having made mention in the *Practical Catechisme*, I added no more in the *Treatise of Festivals*, yet there cannot be any thing more pertinent to our present debates, this being without any direction from God, voluntarily instituted by the *Jews* not only for one turn, but as an establishment among them, on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> day of the moneth *Adar* yearly, *Hest.* 9.21. Now of this he takes notice by the way §.29. (treating of the *Encania*) and saith of it as of the other, that it seems to be a religious festival, but a civil; But this again without the least shew of probability.
24. I shall need go no farther then the text to demonstrate it, *Hest.* 9. There v.16. the *Jewes* had rest from their enemies, and thereupon v. 17. on the 13<sup>th</sup> day, and 14<sup>th</sup> of the moneth *Adar* rested they, & made it a day of feasting and gladness and v.18. The *Jews* that were at *Shushan* assembled together on the 13<sup>th</sup> day, & the 14<sup>th</sup> day thereof; & on the 15<sup>th</sup> they rested & made it a day of feasting & gladness, and v. 19. the *Jewes* of the villages made the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the moneth *Adar* a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another, Here I cannot but suppose that a day of rest, of assembly, of feasting, and gladness, a good day (i. e. in their style a festival day) a day of hospitality and charity, sending of portions (such as in a sacrificial feast) will to any impartial reader passe for an indication of a religious feast.
25. And as these days were observed for the first turn, so they are established for a yearly observation, v.21.22. And the *Jewes* ordained.



dained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves to them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep these two days according to their writing, and according to their appointed time every year, v. 27.

26. What could be more expresse for the *religionsness*, and for the *establisment* for continuance; and this still a *feast instituted* by the *Jewes*, and not by *God* himself, and so as clear an *instance*, on our side of the matter contested, as is imaginable.

SECT. 8.

*How the comparison holds between the Lords day and Christmas day. Institution, usage Apostolical for Festivals. No law in Scripture for the Lords day.*

1. NOW follows his view of what I had said of the *Lords day*, not *instituted* by *Christ*, or *God* himself but by the *Apostles*, without any mention in the *New Testament* of any *prescription* or *law* for the *observing* of it.
2. To this he is very glad to proceed, hoping for some great advantage from it; let us see what the *success* will prove.
3. And 1. saith he, *there want not learned men who think that Christ did designe the day*. But I must demand whether he can imagine that those *learned men* were in the right in this, or have herein *expressed* any of their *learning*? If he cannot think they have, why doth he *lose* time and gain nothing by the *mention* of them? If he can, why doth he not so much as offer their *grounds* of thus *opining*, when he knowes nor *Scripture* nor *antiquity* saith any thing of it, and when it were as tolerable in any man to offer his opinion also, that *Christmas day* was by *Christ* himself designed also.
4. But then 2<sup>dy</sup> saith he, *if the Apostles did institute it, he dare more then he dare say of Christmas day*. And what if it be so, that *prejudge* the *observing* of *Christmas*, supposing it certain (as I do suppose) that it was either of the *Apostles* or the *succeeding Church*?



*Church*? Suppose some *feasts* of the *Jews* instituted by *God* or *Moses*, others by the *Church* of the *Jews*, and not by *Moses*, as the *Parim* and *Encania*, Are not these latter as lawfully to be kept to all posterity of the *Jews*, as those former?

5. But then 2<sup>dly</sup> the parallel that I set betwixt the *Lords day* and *Christmas day*, was only this, that as neither of them was found prescribed, or by law commanded in *Scripture*, so the want of such law should be no prejudice to the one, more then to the other, as long as by some other way it appeared of the one, that it was derived from the *Apostles* or the succeeding *Church*, as of the other, that it came immediately from the *Apostles*; It being evident that if the *Apostles* usage gave to one a divine authority, the usage of the succeeding *Church* must be next to that, though not divine, and the latter lawful, yea and obligatory, as well, though not in so high a degree, as the former, as the *Encania* were as lawful, as the *Pasover*, and were obligatory also, though not by the same authority. By this it appears that there is certain obligation for the observing of *Christmas*, though there should be no certainty of the *Apostles* instituting it.
6. Next he demands, If the *Lords day* was instituted by the *Apostles* of *Christ*, do not their institutions carry in them divine prescription or Law? I answer, that if by institution be meant giving Law for the observation of it, then there is no doubt of his proposition, the predication being identical, institution in this sense, is prescribing, or giving Law.
7. But 'tis possible that institution of the *Lords day* by the *Apostles* ] may signifie another thing, viz. that the *Apostles* practice, assembling weekly on the *Lords day*, should have the force of an institution, or a Law with the succeeding *Church*, though indeed the *Apostles* gave no Law for it, or if they did, no such Law appears from them.
8. The examples of the *Apostles* are the onely way of conveying some usages to us without any their prescript Law; And accordingly in this sense also I consent to the *Diatribist*, that their institutions carry in them divine prescription or Law, and so I shall no way contend with him in this matter.
9. Onely upon these grounds, I shall demand, that whatsoever else shall be in the same manner derived to us, through all ages of

of the *Church*, from the times of the *Apostles* themselves, may be acknowledged also to carry a *divine impression* upon it. And then, to omit *Episcopacy* (which he cannot but know hath perfectly as much to be said for it in every respect as the *Lords day*) I shall insist onely on the *feast of Easter*, which hath been demonstrated to be *derived* from the *Apostles*, and so is an instance of all that I pretend in the point of *Festivals*, leaving *Christmasts day* to the *equity of proportion*, and the other evidences that are produced for the *antiquity* of it.

10. Next he proceeds to what I farther say, of the *no Law*, that appears in *Scripture* for the *Lord's day*. In order to which I said, that if *any thing of that nature be sought here, it will rather appear to belong to the annual, then weekly feast of the resurrection*, naming *I Cor. 5. 8. ἐσθίετε καὶ πίνετε* let us keep the feast, and the mention of *Κυριακὴν*, the *Lords day*, *Rev. 1. 10.* by some thought to belong to the *annual day* also.

11. Against these he urgeth some *authorities* of some *ancient and modern* writers, which, saith he, *do not seem to understand these places thus*. And though there were no *impossible* thing to answer those *testimonies*, yet I shall never *discourage* him in that very reasonable course of *appeal* to the *judgement* of the *Fathers*, and other such *Learned men*, but yielding him all he desires of both these places, I must only desire him to remember, that this will no whit *advantage* him or *prejudice* me, unless he can bring out of the *Scripture* some *other places*, which are more *apodicticall* evidences of *Apostolicall Law* for the *weekly Lords day*, then these are for the *annual*; For the matter is clear, all that I was there to *prove*, was no more but this, that there was *no Law* in *Scripture* for either of them.

## Sect. 19.

*Aërius's heresie that Festivals are unlawfull. S<sup>t</sup> Augustine's testimony added to Epiphanius's. The Diatribists inconstancy. The testimony of the Church of Smyrna, an evidence of keeping the days of the Apostles martyrdoms. The Testimony from the martyrdom of Ignatius according with it. Testimonies for the antiquity of Festivals.*

1. **I**N the 32<sup>th</sup> §. to Epiphanius's censure of *Aërius* as of an heretick, for affirming festivals unlawfull, his answer is, that all is not heresie that Epiphanius calls so, nor all *Aërius's* opinions justly censured as heretical.
2. And so indeed the *Diatribist* is concerned to think, both in respect of this and some other interests, that especially of *Episcopacy*. But for the averting of so great a crime, it would well become the accused to offer some reason for the clearing himself; and not onely to have mentioned the name of *Osander* the Epitomizer of the *Centuriators*, whose words are not affirmed to belong to this particular of *Festivals*, and if they did, whose authority is sure so incompetent to weigh with *Epiphanius* in setting down the sense of the ancient Church, that in all reason some evidences should have been annexed to adde weight to him.
3. As it is, I must not thing strange, that they which transcribe that affirmation from *Aërius*, will not allow it to be heresie in him; I will onely demand whether *S<sup>t</sup> Augustine* be of any better account with him, *Her. 53.* he knew what heresie was, and what *Aërius* was guilty of, and whether elsewhere he may deserve to be believed, when in consort with himself and with *Epiphanius*, he saith, *Rectè festa Ecclesie colunt, qui se Ecclesia filios recognoscunt*, they that profess themselves sons of the Church do duly observe the feasts of the Church, setting this of the nativity in the front of such, where surely those that do not observe them, must disclaim their sonsbip, and that is but a paraphrase to exprels those, whom *Epiphanius* styles hereticks.
4. If he shall bring any so fair evidences, that they that observe feasts

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De Temp.

Domin. 1. Adv.

feasts are superstitions, I shall think my self obliged to do more than deny the accusation.

5. For the *festivities of martyrs* mentioned by me in the same §. he acknowledges they began *betimes*, as *superstition*, saith he, *ever attends religion and devotion*, adding that *though they were intended for good ends, yet they produced in time much superstition*.
6. But sure thi answer is very *unsufficient*, and *inconstant*; *Unsufficient*, for what if it were granted that in a proceſſe of time these *festivities* did occasionally produce some *evil*, so *Christianity* it self, so all things that should have been most for *our wealth*, may through the vices of men be perverted into *occasions of falling*; But what is that to the *antiquity of Festivals*, which is the only thing that these instances were required to *testifie*.
7. And <sup>2<sup>dy</sup></sup> *inconstant*, for at first these *festivities* are lookt on as *superstition attending religion and devotion* (and by the way, if that be applicable to these *festivities*, that will be a competent character of their *antiquity*, for *religion and devotion*, were brought in with *Christianity*, and if the *Festivities* were the *superstition* that attended that, they will be pretty *ancient*) and yet in the latter part tis said of them, that they produced in time much *superstition*, which latter if it be true, then the former which was *contrary*, is not true, and that is sufficient to be replied to that answer.
8. As for his return to §. 33. which is of the same matter that I presume too much upon my own reason in concluding from the testimony of the Church of Smyrna, that the days of the death of the Apostles themselves were solemnized thus early, i. e. before Polycarps death ] Sure his censure is not over reasonable; For when by those expresse words of that Churches Epistle it is first apparent, that Polycarps death was thus celebrated, 2. That this Polycarp was immediate successor to the Apostles, and lived in the same time with them, 3 That this commemoration of Martyrs was before this time used in the Church, and no new thing now to be done to Polycarp; what reason of doubting can there be, but that at this time the Apostles having received (many of them) the crown of martyrdom should be thus commemorated in *χαρῆς καὶ ἀγαλλίας* in joy and exultation, i. e. with a festivity, when this appears.

appears so expressly of *Polycarp*, and that in accord to former practice, especially when to that is added the instance perfectly parallel of *Ignatius*, yet more ancient then *Polycarp*, and the day of his death precisely observed by those that were present, on this very purpose, say they, *ut secundum tempus martyrii ejus congregati communicemus asbleta, that they might assemble at the day of his martyrdom, and communicate with this champion.*

9. That I produce not more or more express testimonies for the festivals of the *Apostles*, need not seem strange, the records being so few which remain of those times, and my reading being so small; For the present, these two may be considered, being testimonies of competent antiquity, and force to prove what I pretend to prove, that Festivities were observed by the Church next succeeding the *Apostles*, and why *Polycarp* and *Ignatius* should have that honour, when *Peter* and *Paul* were not allowed it, I still profess not to discern reason, nor consequently to make any doubt of it.

10. Mean while when the *Diatribist* is willing to form an argument from my not bringing of testimonies §. 33. it is remarkable that §. 34. is wholly past over in silence by him, which yet produceth the authorities of *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, of *Cyprian*, of *Tertullian*, *ex majorum traditione* (and so of those that were much more ancient then he) and so intirely made up of testimonies of the first antiquity concerning the memories of the *Martyrs* (which must sure include the *Apostles*, as many of them as were thus crowned) before any Churches were built, wherein to assemble and celebrate their Festivals.

- This shewes that the *Diatribist* had little reason to complain of want, at that very time when he was thus overcharged with plenty of testimonies, and hath not a word to return to any one of them, any more then he doth §. 35. to the mentions of *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and *Chrysostome*, deducing the *Christmas* festivity from the first antiquity.

Sect. 20.

*Strictures on §. 35. The author of the Constitutions a competent testifier when in accord with others. Justinus's edict for Festivals reconcileable with the Apostolical usage of them. The 20000 slain by Diocletian on Christmas's day. Objections against the 25<sup>th</sup> of December answered. The controversie in Chrysostome about the day, not the Feast. Ἀρχαία. ἀνώδεν. His words full for the Apostolicalness of both.*

1. **W**Hat now follows §. 35, is so far from having weight in it, that I must not allot any solemn answers to it, the lightest strictures will be more proportionable.
2. As when of my mention of the Author of the Constitutions he saith, *this will weaken my cause the more, because they are generally accounted spurious*, This sure must be very unjust, that what was confirmed so newly from Origen, Cyprian, and Chrysostome, should not only not gain, but lose strength by the addition of the Constitutions, which besides that they are acknowledged ancient by all which least believe them Apostolical, are known to be designed to imitate that antiquity they pretend to, and are never justly rejected, but when that which they affirm is found discordant to the affirmations of other writings of undoubted antiquity, which having no place here, there is as little room for the Diatribists censure.
3. So what he concludes from Justinus's edict (which I mentioned) that it was a proof that the Apostles did not institute it, is already answered by saying that the Apostles practice being all that is pretended for the institution, the edict of the Emperor, and the Universal observation of it is very reconcileable with that, (and so also with the usage of the first ages after the Apostles in case it be divolved no higher then these, as the several degrees of Magistrates Civil and Ecclesiastical for an universal observation of the Lords day are sure perfectly reconcileable with the original thereof.
4. And this was there evidenced by the 20000 Christians that



• Nicephor. l. 7.  
c. 6.

were burnt by Diocletian on this day (sure long before that edit of Iustinus (at which time saith the \* Historian, πᾶν τὸ Χριστιανικὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν πάσις ἡλικίαις τῷ νῶ ἡσποιστο πανηγυρίζοντας τὰ γενέθλια, all that were called Christians of all ages assembled in the Church to celebrate the nativity, And to that, it seems he hath no other return, but his advertisement that Nicephorus saith it was Maximinus, that was thus bloody, Maximianus, I suppose he would have said, who reigned with Diocletian, and then it comes to the same passe, and the truth is acknowledged, which soever the name were.

5. So against resolving the day of this festival to be Decemb. 25. his proofs are extraordinary; 1. from the Doctor himself, that it was called *Midwinter day*, which is a fortnight before. But that hath already been answered, the variation being evidenced to be from the want of exactnesse in our Calendars, not from any doubt of the day.
6. 2<sup>d</sup> From the opinion of many Divines, that our Lord died when he was 33 and half years of age, or neer unto 34, as saith he, the Doctor saith, *Qu. 1. §. 10.* What Divines theie are that thus calculate, I am not told, nor how competent they are to be confronted to the censual Tables, from whence S. Chrysostome fetches the day of his birth: But the luck of it is, that citation from the Doctor was easily consulted, and on view of the place, there is no more but this, that Christ preache the will of his Father three years or foure together, which I thought had signified no more then for some uncertain space betwixt 3 or 4 years; And if he were born in December and died in April, what difficulty is there in this calculation? or what needed the Diatribist to have cited from the Doctor the words [neer 34.] when he knowes there is nothing to that sense said by him?
7. The 3<sup>d</sup> thing (without which his undertaking to mention many, will be a failure) which may make us doubt of the truth of the calculation, is the younger date of the Arabick Codex of the Councils; But when that Codex was dated, he hath not told us, And if it were later then I thought, it may yet possibly speak truth, and so that will give us no reason of doubting.
8. His last proof is, that the Doctor is upon Ifs, and T is probable, And I heartily with the Diatribist would. but speak probably, and

till.

till he doth so, that he would not have such *aversions* to the *Doctors* *I* *fs*, I mean, that he would use *diffidence*, when he pretends not to demonstrate.

9. I adde nothing to his *returns* about the *Epiphany*, but leave them to be *judged* by the *SS.* to which they are *opposed*.
10. And for the large view of the place in *Chrysostome*, and his dispute against that *Father*, my answer is very brief, that all that I attempted to prove from *Chrysostome*, was the due timing of the feast on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December*, and that being done beyond controversy, I pretend not to derive other decisions from that testimony, but leave them to stand on their own basis.
11. Only when from some words of *Chrysostome*, he at length concludes the authority of the Church in constituting, and celebrating this festival in all ages much shaken, I must remind him that that *Fathers* words which affirm it a question at that time, belong not to the Festivity it self, but only to the \* particularity of the day, whether it were to be kept on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December* or on some other day, and accordingly his proofs proceed, ἡν ἔστ' ταύτης γίνεσθαι ἡ καίρις that this is the very time; And though some doubted whether this were a new, or the ἀρχαία ancient day of the festivity, yet saith he, others defended it, ἡ παλαιά ἡ ἀρχαία ἔδει, ἡ ἀνωθεν τοῖς ἀπὸ Θρακῆς μέχρι Γαδεῖρας ἰνῶσι κατὰ δὴλα ἡ ἐπίσημοι ἡ γινόμε, that it was old & ancient (or original, so ἀρχαία from ἀρχή signifies, and is all one with \* *Tertullians* quod ab initio, as that with quod ab Apostolis) and from these ancient, if not these first times (as ἀνωθεν commonly imports, and so again in \* *Tertullian*, ordo ad originem recensens) it hath been manifest and illustrious to all that dwell from Thrace to Gadeira, from East to West, that sure with him signifies, all the world over. \* l. 1. contr. Marc. c. 5. \* lb.
12. And so still this dispute, which side soever was in the right is founded in a supposition of the feast it self being ἀρχαία and ἀνωθεν original and from the beginning, And indeed if the first proof which he offers for it be considered, tis not imaginable how he should say more to the asserting of the Apostolic almesse both of the Festivity and the day also.
13. That this is the season, saith he, on which Christ was first demonstrated to the world, ἡ πρώτη ἐκδήλωση τοῦ κυρίου, ἡ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν, that the feast was

so speedily promulgate every where, & ascended to so great an height, & flourished, adding that as Gamaliel said of the preaching of the Gospel, that if it were of men it would come to nought, but if of God, ye cannot dissolve it, lest ye be found fighters against God, the same he might say confidently πρὸς ἡμέρας ταύτης of this day (not of the Gospel, as the Diatribist afterward saith, he thinks he means, but cannot really do so in this place, against such \* expresse words) that ἐπειδ' αὖ ἐκ διω-  
 τῶν παντὰ χεῖ διακομζόντων αὐτὸ, seeing, or because it is from God, therefore tis not only not dissolved, but every year advances, and becomes more splendid, and yet farther adding (in the words recited by the Diatribist, and by omitting the former, rendered capable of being misunderstood) ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι τῶν πα-  
 σαν κατέλαβεν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τοὶ σκηνοποῖων, ἀλλέων, ἀγχαμμάτων, ἰδιω-  
 τῶν παντὰ χεῖ διακομζόντων αὐτὸ, seeing the preaching (of it cer-  
 tainly, i. e. of the day, or else it can have no coherence with the feast or antecedents and whole contexture) in a few years took possession of the whole world, though tentmakers and fishermen, un-  
 learned and idiots brought it amongst them.

14. How farre this is now from doing prejudice to the Universal observation of this day in the Apostles times, I leave the Reader (and, if he please, the Diatribist also) to consider.

### SECT. 21.

*The Diatribists answer to my conclusion. Strictures on some passages in it.*

1. **W**HAT now remains is by way of reply to my conclusion, that the fastidious rejecting or not observing the Festivals of the universal Church must be looked on as an act of affected departure from the universal Church of Christ in all ages, and not only from the reformed Church of England.
2. This, saith he, is an heavy charge, if it can be proved. And for that I must now referre my self to the premisses in that treatise and

and in this defence, nor indeed can it be reasonable that I descend to any other way of *probation* or *vindication*, till this which I have used be invalidated; For a *conclusion* being (as this is) deduced from the *premises*, what more can be required to *establish* the *conclusion*, then the *confirmation* of the *premises*?

3. And therefore as it is against all *laws* of *Discourse* for the *Diatribist* to confute or *deny*, or make *answer* to the *conclusion*, any otherwise then by *refuting* the *media*, which have *inferred* it; so must it be in me, to *reply* to such *offers* of *answer*, which can never signify any thing, as long as my *premises* stand in force, especially if it proceed by *denying* those things, which this *vindication* hath undertaken to prove, without offering *answer* (as without the *spirit* of *divination* it could not) to those *proofs*.
4. For example, The *Diatribist* here begins with this *affirmation*, that I have not proved that the *universal Church* of the *first age* hath observed any of the *Festivals*, And I have here evidently proved that *Easter* was observed by *Philip* and *John* the *Apostle*, and from them received by the *Asiatics*, or *Eastern Christians* and so likewise by the *Western* from *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, and so sure there is no farther need of *refuting* this *affirmation*.
5. And the same might in like manner appear in each ensuing *step* of his *answer*, and the *rule* by which he is content to be judged applied exactly to the *condemning* him in this very business of the *Easter Festival*, which is of as much force, as if it equally appeared of every other of the *great Festivals*: But still this were to repeat what hath here been already said, and *vindicated* from all his *exceptions*.
6. In stead whereof I shall only gather up what hath any thing of *newes* in it. And 1. let me admire his *candor*, when he will not stick to grant this *rule* to be good, that whatever doctrine or practice hath the concordant attestation of the Churches of the *Apostolical time*, while they were yet alive, it was *Apostolical*; but withall addes as if he had been too liberal, that the *negative* is a surer rule to judge by, (as if indeed any predication could be surer then that which is identical.)
7. Next his argument against the concordant attestation of the primitive ancients concerning *Apostolical tradition*, from *Papian's affirmation* of the *Milennium*, had nor, I comelle, formerly been produced, but it falls out that I have elsewhere sufficiently cleared it.

8. Thirdly, his citation p. 197. from the *Pract. Cat.* p. 181. that *Christmas was not universally solemnized till about 400 years after Christ, and after (a little more to his advantage) till at least the 400 years, p. 201.* ] is both as to the words and as to the sense very much misreported; The place is ready to be seen, and lies thus. *The authority by which this festival stands in the Church, is that of the practice of the Primitive universal Church, and this made appear 1. from the immemorial observation of it, 2. from the ancient Fathers speaking of it as an ancient usage (in the notion of ἀρχαία even now given) 3. by the testimonies not only of the author of the Constitutions (ancient though not Apostolical) but of Origen, of Cyprian, of Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of Julian 1300 years since, and mentioning the Epiphany as a known festival of the Church, and so both that, and Christmase of a far greater antiquity, then the time of Julian. Lastly, by the words of Chrysostome, that though the particular day December 25. was not fixt at Antioch till his time, yet from Rome over all the West it had been so observed from the most ancient records of Christianity, Upon which my conclusion is, that it appears at least to be an Ecclesiastical constitution very early received over all the West, the far greatest part of Christendome, and within 400 years universally solemnized, and this a very competent authority, when withall tis so probable, that it may be more, according to a\* rule of the Fathers, That very ancient and general usages, whose beginnings are unknown, may be resolved to be of Apostolical institution or practice &c.*

\* In eis que scriptura nec jubet, nec prohibet, illud est sequendum quod consuetudo roboravit, qua sine dubio de traditione manavit. Tertull. de coron. milis. & Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec concilii institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi postate Apostolica traditum testissimè creditur. Aug. de bapt. con. Donat. l. 4. c. 23.

9. This I have thus transcribed from that place, to demonstrate what fidelity there was in this citation, not only in applying that to the Festival, which belonged peculiarly to that particular day Dec. 25. but also in affirming from me, that it was not universally solemnized till about 400. yeares and till at least the 400. yeares (which leaves it free to be of a date yet later) when I say tis so probable that it was of Apostolical institution or practice, that the feast of Epiphany was spoken of, as a known festival long



long before that time, and the feast of Innocents, attending this of Christmas affirmed by Origen to be by the holy Fathers according to the will of God commanded to be for ever celebrated in the Church, and onely added, that it appears to be at least an Ecclesiasticall institution very early received over all the West, and the farre greater part of Christendome, and within 400. years universally solemnized.

10. What can be more visibly unjust then this? or what heed can be given to testimonies thus transformed into shapes, which the writer never dream'd of, and yet from them conclusions deduced such as here follow in this place of the *Diatribist*, that my rash zeale hath carried me beyond the bounds of Reason and Religion.

11. To which expression of his all that I have to say is, 1. That my conclusion was inferred out of premisses, not dictated by zeale, 2<sup>d</sup>. That it affix'd no censure on any person, belonging onely to those who should be found guilty of it, and so was wholly designed to ends of charity, to reforme, not to reproach any: 3. That if there had been any thing of rash, or bitter in it, it might have admonisht the *Diatribist*  $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , not to be so soon guilty of greater sharpness; As it is, I must onely inferre, that it seemes the guilty person hath the priviledge of accusing and judging in any form of language, and so I shall not be so unseasonable as to admonish him of the injustice of it, at a time when it is so improbable he will reap profit by it.

12. There is now nothing behind but his fastidious reflexions upon three *Questions* which I had return'd to the Author of the 16, *Quares*; But because I see he likes not the *Questions* in my termes, and in his proposing of foure others, inserts particulars, wholly rejected by mee, as that of [parts of worship] adding [as it is propounded, §. 9.] (but I hope not by me so propounded, of abuse to superstition and profaneness, &c. I shall be as little obliged to accept them in his termes or tempted by the nature of the task, or by the probability of the success of it with this *Diatribist*) to begin new disputes at this time; It is not amiss that we shake hands for a while and commune each with his own consciences: And so I heartily take my leave of him.

The End.



# ERRATA.

Page	Line	Read	Page	Line	Read
1	38	so full	152	23	ἀκαθαρσία
3	26	if we	30		dele be
12	3	species	154	12	place all
14	10	whither with	171	35	ἐν τῷ
18	22	without	180	38	on his
24	20	superstitious	187	4	καταχρησ.
25	38	destructive	192	3	γυμνασίου
26	24	visions	206	16	41.
38	3	that without	207	35	depredicates
39	8	in it	208	2	& S <sup>t</sup>
42	7	of other	213	20	proposes
45	11	dele to	224	10	glorioſe
48	13	verumque	228	32	it
	25	I shall	229	4	dele ,
75	24	worships	237	32	ὅσον
80	34	of this	239	38	rendred
83	38	institutione	243	29	downward
86	17	of my fence	250	2	hither
28	36	ἔν	251	32	reach
108	26	rendring, These	268	18	entrance
109	11	and	272	1	wish a
113	3	words	279	7	after be add,
116	6	on mine	27		be it two
117	28	of, not	286	17	whose
129	32	ὅσον	22		think
150	2	Will-devised			

p.10. in marg. read χρεὶς: ἔν. p.48. in marg. l.1. Chalcidius.  
p.131. marg. li. penult. r. ἔδωκεν.

